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The Archaeological Institute
of America

#### THE RIGHT ARM OF HARMODIOS

Among the most famous statues in antiquity were the Tyrannicides—the Harmodios and Aristogeiton erected by the Athenians to commemorate their deliverance from the tyrants. It is a familiar story that the original statues executed by Antenor about 510 B.c. were carried off to Persia by Xerxes and new statues by Kritios and Nesiotes were set up in 477 B.c.; I that the original figures were restored to



Figure 1. Marble Head of Harmodios in the Metropolitan Museum

Athens after Alexander's conquest of Asia, and that the two groups then stood side by side in the market-place at least until the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Roman copies of the second group by Kritios and

In the archonship of Adeimantos, Ol. 75, 4 (Marm. Par., Epoch., I, 1, 70 ff.)
 For the evidence of this history cf. the references cited in Frazer's Pausanias,
 p. 93 (commentary to I, 8, 5).

Nesiotes have long ago been recognized in two statues in the Museum of Naples,1 the two fine striding figures beloved by every student of Greek art. The Metropolitan Museum has just acquired another replica of the head of Harmodios<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 1 and 2), not so well-preserved as that of the Naples statue, for the surface is considerably corroded, but of at least equally good workmanship. It is welcome for its own sake since its original belongs to that splendid period of Greek art which produced the Boston and Ludovisi reliefs and the



MARRIE HEAD OF HARMODIOS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

bronze horse in the Metropolitan Museum; and it, too, partakes of the strength and the monumental quality of this great epoch. Our head has, moreover, peculiar archaeological interest in that it furnishes an important clue for the reconstruction of the Harmodios fig-In the Naples statue the original arms are both missing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Now that we know so well the stylistic development of Greek sculpture during the late sixth and early fifth century B.C., the claim that these statues are copies of the Antenor group has been practically abandoned.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, 1927, pp. 141, 142.

present restoration of the right arm has long been recognized as incorrect.1 for the various copies of the group on coins and vases show that the arm was brought further back and bent sharply at the elbow; which would indeed make a more compact composition, more in line with the accepted scheme for the striding type at that period. The attempted reconstructions of the Harmodios figure in the cast collections at Dresden,2 Strassburg3 and Braunschweig4 have accordingly been made with this in view. That these reconstructions are

not yet correct and that the arm should be brought still farther back in close proximity with the head is shown by the replica of the head acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. For on it are clearly visible remnants of two supports, one in the centre front (on the sixth row of curls), one on the left side. These supports clearly connected with the arm or sword, as is indicated in the coin and vase representations. The question only remains which of the two poses which we find on these copies



FIGURE 3. COIN OF KYZIKOS 477-6 B.C. (twice actual size)

was actually the one of the statues. For there are two distinct variations which I think have not been hitherto sufficiently stressed. On the one hand we have the attitude which appears on the Athenian coins of the first century B.C.5 with the hand brought to the front of the head and the sword passing over it; which appears also on the Skaramanga lekythos 6 and the Würzburg stamnos,7 both probably of the first quarter of the fifth century B.c.; on two Pan-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For references to the extensive literature on this subject cf. Frazer, Pausanias, II, pp. 92 ff.; E. Robinson, Boston Museum Bulletin, August 1905, p. 29; Waser, Arch. Anz., 1922, p. 157, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Joubin, La Sculpture greeque, p. 51, fig. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Springer, Kunstgeschichte, Das Altertum, 12th edition (Wolters), p. 238, fig. 455.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Röm. Mitt., 1905, pl. XI.
 <sup>5</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, pl. DD, XIV-XVI; Svoronos, Les Monnaies

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Minoot-Blumer and Gardner, pl. DD, AIV-AV1; Svoronos, Les Monnates d'Athènes, pl. 74, 9-21.

<sup>5</sup> Arch.-epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterreich, 3, pl. VI; A.J.A., 1918, p. 150, fig. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Arch. Ztg., 1883, pl. 12; A.J.A., 1918, p. 151, fig. 5; attributed by Beazley, Attische Vasenmaler, p. 156, to the Copenhagen Painter. (Compare also the similar group with names inscribed on a fragment of a kotyle from Gela, Orsi, Not. Scav., 1900, p. 276.) The Tyrannicides are draped and show other variations; so that at best they can only be adaptations of the sculptural group. The Vivenzie by Nydria (A.J. A. 1918, p. 147, fig. 1) Layer not included here for it seems. Vivenzio hydria (A.J.A., 1918, p. 147, fig. 1) I have not included here, for it seems too far removed from the original composition.

athenaic amphorae in Hildesheim dated in the fourth century B.C.,1 and on some late Attic lead tokens.2 On the other hand we have the attitude on the Panathenaic amphora in the British Museum,3 dated about 378-370 B.C., where the whole forearm is brought over the head and the sword held point downward. It is the pose that occurs also on the red-figured fragment in Boston found in the grave



FIGURE 4. FRAGMENT OF BLACK-GLAZED VASE (about twice actual size)

of Dexileos4 and therefore dated about 394 B.C.; on the elektron stater of Kyzikos (Fig. 35) believed now to be practically contem-

Arch. Anz., 1919, p. 86, fig. 3, b and c.
 B.C.H., VIII, 1884, p. 11, pl. III, 72; Arch. Ztg., VII, 1869, pl. 24, No. 1;
 Svoronos, op. cit. pl. 74, 22–27.
 Mon. dell. Inst., X, pl. 43d; Brauchitsch, Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, p. 50, 6a

p. 50, fig. 11.
 E. Robinson, Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, August, 1905, pp. 27 ff.; Hauser,

Röm. Mitt., 1904, pp. 163 ff. Köm. Mitt., 1994, pp. 163 fl.

<sup>5</sup> The specimen here illustrated comes from the collection of Grand Duke Alexander and is now in the possession of Edward T. Newell. It is published by von Fritze in Nomisma, VII, pl. IV, 6, pp. 9, 26-27. Other specimens are in the British Museum (Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Mysia, pl. VII, 3, p. 29), and in the Greenwell Collection in Boston (Numismatic Chronicle, Series III, vol. VII, pl. III, 28; Regling, Die Griechischen Münzen der Sammlung Warren, pl. XXXIV, 1495. I owe this information to Mr. Newell.

porary with the Kritios and Nesiotes group (477-476 B.C.); and probably on the relief of the marble throne in Broom Hall.<sup>2</sup> To these well-known monuments I can now add two others: (1) a fragment of a black-glazed vase with reliefs (Fig. 4), probably a so-called lamp-feeder,3 of the third to second century B.C. It is said to be from Naukratis and is now in the possession of Edward T. Newell.4 The representation is particularly clear and reliable, for it is wellpreserved at this point and in relief instead of painted, so that the

relation of the planes makes it certain that the right arm is held across the head with the forearm passing from the centre front to the left side. (2) A redfigured oinochoë in the Museo Villa Giulia 5 close in style to the Boston fragment and with attitudes of the Tyrannicides practically identical.

The supports on the Harmodios head in the Metropolitan Museum fit admirably this second position, being located in the centre front and on the left side. They do not fit the first pose, for in this the sword did not pass to the left side. Moreover, this second position is



FIGURE 5. HEAD OF HARMODIOS IN NATIONAL MUSEUM ROME. REAR VIEW

on other grounds rendered more probable. At least it is noteworthy that several of the monuments illustrating it can be definitely dated in the period when only the Kritios and Nesiotes group was familiar to Athenian artists (that is between 477 and the time of Alexander the Great); while the monuments reproducing the first attitude can practically all be placed with considerable probability

<sup>1</sup> Cf. von Fritze, loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J.H.S., V, 1884, p. 146 f., pl. XLVIII; Stackelberg, Gräber der Hellenen, p. 33. The forearm is missing; but the upper arm is held at the right angle for this position and is too far back for the other.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. R. Pagenstecher, Die Calenische Reliefkeramik, Jrb. Arch. Inst.,

Ergänzungsheft VIII, 1909, pp. 90 ff., pls. 19 ff.
Bought in Egypt in 1914. I want to acknowledge here Mr. Newell's kind permission to publish this fragment as well as the coin in his collection (fig. 3). The fragment is now on loan in the Metropolitan Museum in the Seventh Classical Room.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Shortly to be published by Dr. Giacomo Guidi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The only possible exceptions are the minute representations on the Panathenaic amphorae in Hildesheim (see p. 4) which, though later than the British Museum example, should be, according to Brauchitsch's dating, before 340 B.C., since the

either before 477 B.C. or after the time of Alexander, that is when the Antenor group was still or again available. From all this evidence, therefore, it follows that the second attitude must reproduce that of the Kritios and Nesiotes Harmodios, while the first may well have been that of the Antenor statue.

Since supports appear on the New York Harmodios the question naturally comes up whether other replicas show similar traces. sides the Naples statue, which shows no such remains,2 the only other known extant replica of the Harmodios head is one formerly in the Villa Mattei, now in the National Museum in Rome. The swelling at the back, to be seen in Arndt, Einzelverkauf, No. 115, is illusory (so Mr. John Marshall informs me) "because the surface in front of it has been eaten away by water which makes the part behind seem to swell up. But," so Mr. Marshall's report continues, "above and behind the left ear there are marks which might be traces of a sup-The condition of the surface is so bad that certainty is out of the question, but I thought that the marks might well be traces of a support" (Fig. 53). The position of this possible support would be exactly right for our suggested restoration. We must remember, however, that since such props were not needed in the original Greek statues which were presumably of bronze4 each copyist might, of course, vary their location.

In the suggested reconstruction of the Harmodios<sup>5</sup> shown in Figures 6 and 7, we have combined the evidence of the New York head, the Newell fragment, the Kyzikos coin, the Boston vase fragment and the Villa Giulia oinochoë. The right upper arm could not be made to rise as abruptly as in some of these monuments, for the remains of the shoulder in the Naples statue demanded a slightly more oblique position. The line of direction would naturally vary according to the point of view of the spectator, who tried to translate a three-dimensional into a two-dimensional composition. With the right arm thus changed, the left, as restored in the Naples statue, no longer harmonized. Since the versions on the vases and the Kyzikos

ing the Naples and Mattei replicas.

Athena is still turned to the left. The time involved, however, is so short (less than ten years) that it should be possible to explain the Hildesheim vases as survivals of the earlier style, and to date them shortly after 334, that is, after the return of the Antenor statues to Athens (The shield device may even have been painted in celebration of that event!).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This possibility has already been suggested for the Skaramanga figures by E. Robinson, *loc. cit.*, on account of their long hair.

<sup>2</sup> So Mr. John Marshall informs me. I am greatly indebted to him for examin-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Photographed by Signore Faraglia. <sup>4</sup> For the evidence cf. Frazer's Pausanias, II, p. 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The restoration was carried out at the Metropolitan Museum by the sculptor, D. DeCurtis.

coin had proved so comparatively accurate we have followed them also in our reconstruction of the left arm—slightly further removed from the body than in the old restoration, held straight and taut as demanded by the tense attitude, and with the hand held open not grasping the sheath; for the latter hung from the left shoulder as indicated by the marks made by the straps on the marble. The



FIGURE 6. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CAST OF HARMODIOS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

removal of the disturbing tree-trunk has brought out the composition to better advantage.

The pose of the Harmodios by Kritios and Nesiotes as we have now come to know it represents just the kind of advance over the older striding attitude that we should expect in Athens at 477 B.C. The arm held thus in a position of intense action ready to swing

the fatal blow imparts a new energy to the whole figure. this work shows himself a leader in the new era which Greek sculpture entered after the conquest of Persia. The profound impression



FIGURE 7. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CAST OF HARMODIOS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

made by his Harmodios is shown by the recurrence of the composition in the Peirithoos of the Olympia pediment<sup>1</sup> and in one of the Greek warriors of the Phigaleia frieze.2 Kritios' new creation evidently became an accepted type.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART NEW YORK

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Buschor und Hamann, Skulpturen des Zeus Tempel zu Olympia, pl. LVI; Treu, Die Bildwerke von Olympia, III, text, pp. 74–75, fig. 119. The right forearm was fastened to the top of the head by a dowel.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, Catalogue of Greek Sculpture, I, No. 533; Ancient Marbles in the British

Museum, IV, pl. 13.

# American School of Classical Studies at Athens

### LATIN ELEGIACS FROM CORINTH

Among the new inscriptions which we examined in the excavations at Corinth during the summer of 1926 was a Latin epigram in elegiac metre.¹ It was discovered when a part of the Byzantine ramp on Lechaion Road was removed in August 1925. The poem was cut on a limestone block, measuring  $0.78 \times 1.17 \times 0.23$  m. It is now broken into seven fragments. The block had been previously used for some Greek monument the character of which is unknown.



FIGURE 1. GREEK INSCRIPTION ON BLOCK USED LATER FOR LATIN ELEGIACS

On one of its narrow sides is still preserved a part of a beautifully cut Greek inscription of the best period, probably fourth century B.c. in date (Fig. 1). The size of the letters, ca. 0.022 m. in height, and the careful cutting are evidence for the importance of the building to which it belonged, but unfortunately very little of the Greek inscription is preserved, and it offers no clues for the solution of the problem. It reads:

. . . . . . ονας ὅστις

-εχει vac.

The inscription consisted of two lines only, the ends of which are now preserved. The first line scarcely reaches the center of the block, while the second line, which is completely preserved as far as this stone goes, contained four letters, being eleven letters shorter than the first. It is evident both from the anathyrosis at the left

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Inv. Nos. 788, 791 frgs. A-E; Hill, A.J.A., 1927, p. 79.

end of the stone and from the spacing of the Greek inscription that another block of presumably equal length was originally attached to it on the left. It is possible indeed that there were once three stones of which only one has been found.

If the inscription was centered carefully, as seems probable, and if it was carved on two adjacent blocks, the first line contained about thirty letters and the second about eight. If there were three blocks, the first line would be more than twice as long and the second line would contain about forty letters. Thus it is almost hopeless to attempt a restoration even of the words which have been preserved. An important clue was lost when the stone was broken away where

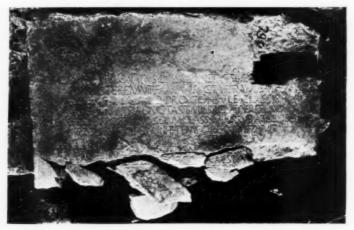


FIGURE 2. LATIN ELEGIACS FROM CORINTH

the beginning of the word ending in  $-\sigma \nu as$  stood, and we hesitate to choose between the numerous possible restorations. One might restore ' $A\mu \varphi \iota \kappa \tau \dot{\iota} \sigma \nu as$ , and connect it with Pindar's sixth Nemean ode, lines 40–42, but ' $A\mu a \dot{\iota} \dot{\sigma} \nu as$  and a host of equally possible readings make any restorations extremely hazardous.

The Latin inscription (Fig. 2) was cut upon the original top of the block. When the Latin inscription was set upright, the narrow face on which the Greek was inscribed became the new top. The Latin letters which are 0.032 m. high are well cut and can be read in all cases where the surface of the stone has been preserved. In the upper right-hand corner a deep rectangular cutting has destroyed the end of the first line, and much of the last three lines has disappeared because of the loss of fragments there. There is a rasura in

the third line. The major portion of the inscription is on one piece, to which the smaller fragments join either directly or indirectly. Thus the position of every fragment is known exactly.

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm QVOD} \cdot {\rm NEQVE} \cdot {\rm CONATVS} \cdot {\rm QVISQVANST} \cdot {\rm NEQVE} \cdot ----- \\ {\rm NOSCITE} \cdot {\rm REM} \cdot {\rm VT} \cdot {\rm FAMAA} \cdot {\rm FACTA} \cdot {\rm FERAMVS} \cdot {\rm VIREI} \end{array}$ 

AVSPICIO · (rasura) I · PRO · CONSVLE · CLASSIS

ISTHMVM · TRADVCTAST · MISSAQVE · PER · PELAGVS

 $\begin{array}{l} \textbf{IPSE} \cdot \textbf{ITER} \cdot \textbf{EIRE} \cdot \textbf{PROFECTVS} \cdot \textbf{SIDAM} \cdot \textbf{CLASSEM} \cdot \textbf{HIRRVS} \cdot \textbf{ATHENEIS} \\ \textbf{PRO} \cdot \textbf{PRAETORE} \cdot \textbf{ANNI} \cdot \textbf{E} \cdot \textbf{TEMPORE} \cdot \textbf{CONSTITVIT} \end{array}$ 

LVCIBVS · HAEC · PAVCIS · PARVO · PERFECTA · TVMVLTV MAGNA .ºa. 41. OM · RATIONE · ATQVE · SALVT - - - -

 $\mathbf{QuEI} \cdot \mathbf{PROBVS} \cdot \mathbf{EST} \cdot \mathbf{LAVDAt} \cdot \mathbf{QVEI} \cdot \mathbf{CONTRA} \cdot \mathbf{EST} \cdot \mathbf{INV} ---$ 

INVID . . NT · DVM · Q . . ca. 7 !. . ECET · ID · V ---- 1

The erasure probably contained about ten letters. The first one has a stroke sloping up from left to right like that of an A or an M. Following it comes a vertical stroke sloping down to the right from the top as in an N. The fourth letter is circular and seems to have been an O. After it came a letter with a vertical stroke, as in I, N, or L. The letter at the end of the erasure is curved without being a complete circle; it must be either a C or a G. Between it and the vertical stroke are sloping strokes belonging to two letters, AM, MA, or MM. There are other slight traces of letters which cannot be identified without the context. The restoration of the erasure we shall discuss later.

For the lacunae we suggest as completions of the thought not inconsistent with the available space adhuc meditatus in line 1, and simul at the end of line 8.2 In the lacuna at the beginning of the eighth line the surface of the stone is preserved from the punctuation after magna to a line running diagonally upward to the right far enough from the final A of magna to make it probable that the next letter was either another A or an M. At the end of the lacuna there is trace of a circular letter before the M. As there are about four letters in the lacuna before the circular letter, the most probable restoration is ac quom.3

The restoration of lines 9 and 10 are interdependent. Since only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The letters under which dots have been placed are clear enough to be practically certain in their context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The use of *simul* after coördinate terms is chiefly ante-classical. In Plautus there are several examples of this usage, with the word *simul* at the end of the line as we have restored it. See particularly Men. 1090: 4xl. 578.

as we have restored it. See particularly Men., 1099; Aul., 578.

For the use of quom as the spelling for the preposition it is sufficient to cite C.I.L. 1, 2, 583 (ca. 123 B.c.) 50, 56, 74, 75; 585 (111 B.c.), 21: oina quom agro; 592, II, 27, 38 (49 B.c.). Cf. Bersu, Gutturalen, 41f. For adque — aque meaning both — and, see Virg., Ecl., V, 23. The use of ac and atque together can be accounted for by the exigencies of meter, even though both words are before consonants (as is also true in Cic., Cat., IV, 12), and though some authors avoid ac before gutturals. For the evidence see the Thesaurus s.v. atque, 1048. Cf. ac quam, Cic., Agr., II, 98; ac quaerenda, Cic., De Orat., III. 57.

two letters of the first word in line 10 are missing, the restoration invid[ea]nt is practically certain. Toward the end of the line the surface of the stone has been injured slightly so that it is difficult to choose between -EGET or -ECET, but the latter reading is more probable. Q[uos cond]ecet would exactly fit the available space. Condecere is fairly frequent in comedy and it is used also in postclassical Latin, though it is rare in the classical period. The accusative is regularly found with the word.1 For the last word in the line we suggest v[ideant] with a word play such as is common in early Latin. Invidere here, as in Catullus 5, 12 (ne quis malus invidere possit) would mean "to look askance at." This meaning for the word is cited by Cicero in a line of Accius, where, as Cicero notes, the use of the accusative instead of the more common dative with invidere brings out videre in the word. If, as seems probable, the inv- of line 9 is to be restored inv[idet], perhaps we should restore an accusative with it, illum for instance rather than illi.2 The two lines would then mean "He who is upright praises, he who is the contrary, looks askance at him. Let men look askance at him, if only those who should (i.e., the probi) look at this monument." For the freedom of the upright from envy one might quote Cicero, Timaeus, 9: Probus autem invidet nemini. Perhaps our verses contain a reminiscence of Plato's original dialogue.3

The interpretation of the poem is closely connected with the problem of punctuation. Should we read profectus in line 5 as a participle modifying Hirrus, or should we supply an est and make it coördinate with constituit, placing a full stop after Sidam? With this punctuation the proconsul named in the erasure becomes the chief subject of the epigram; to him ipse refers, and Hirrus pro praetore is his substitute in command of the fleet at Athens after his departure for Side. Furthermore, the proconsul would then be the man praised by the upright and envied by the wicked.

This is the interpretation which we have preferred, but it is not impossible that *profectus* is a participle. *Ipse* would then be in

¹ See Plautus, Amph., 722, omen — capies quod te condecet; cf. Carm. Epig., 187, 1: vixi quomodo condecet ingenuom. The inscription seems to be Augustan. ² See Cicero, Tusc., III, 20: ab invidendo autem invidentia dici potest ut effugiamus ambiguum nomen invidiae, quod verbum ductum est a nimis intuendo fortunam alterius, ut est in Melanippo:
Quisnam florem liberum invidit meum?

Male Latine videtur, sed praeclare Accius; ut enim 'videre' sic 'invidere florem' rectius quam 'flori'. Nos consuetudine prohibemur; poeta ius suum tenuit, et dixit audacius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 29e: ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδείς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος. For the use of invidere see also Martial I, 40, quoted in an inscription, C.L.E., Suppl. 2064. See also C.L.E., 334:

Aemule, siqui potes, nostros imitare labores. Si malevolus es, geme; si benevolus es, gaude.

apposition with Hirrus and he would become the subject of the epigram.

The inscription, tentatively restored and punctuated in accordance with the interpretation which seems to us most probable, reads as follows:

 ${\bf Quod\ neque\ conatus\ quisquanst\ neque} [{\it adhuc\ meditatus}].$ 

Noscite rem ut famaa facta feramus virei.

Auspicio ---- i pro consule, classis

Isthmum traductast, missaque per pelagus.

Ipse iter eire profectus Sidam. Classem Hirrus Atheneis

Pro praetore anni e tempore constituit.

Lucibus haec paucis parvo perfecta tumultu

Magna [ac qu]om ratione atque salut[e simul].

Q[u]ei probus est lauda[t], quei contra est inv[idet illum].

Invid[ea]nt, dum q[uos cond]ecet id v[ideant].

We append the following translation to show our interpretation of the poem:

"Learn to know of a thing which no man ever tried or ventured to think of, learn to know that we may celebrate with fame the deeds of the hero. Under the auspices of ————— proconsul, the fleet was transported across the Isthmus and despatched over the sea. The proconsul himself set out for Side. Hirrus, his propraetor, because of the season of the year stationed the fleet at Athens. In a few days all this was accomplished with little confusion, and at the same time with great skill and security.

"He who is upright praises; he who is the opposite looks askance at him. Let men look askance, if only those who should, look at

this monument."

The shapes of the letters furnish nothing conclusive as to date, but the forms of C, E, F, M, O, and P suggest the last century of the Republic, particularly the period before Sulla. The P is always open, though sometimes only slightly so. The side strokes of the M slant acutely. The letters M, O, and C are very broad. The punctuation marks are triangular. The letters bear a fairly close resemblance to C.I.L., 1,<sup>2</sup> 2, 652 (129 B.C.) and 692(110 B.C.).

Since our inscription was found on a Greek site, it is natural to compare it with the Latin inscriptions of Delos. The letters, it will be noted, are less regular, and they lack the deep cutting and the flare at the end of a stroke which characterize the official records of Delos. The Corinthian inscription was probably not cut by a workman who possessed the skill of the Delian stone cutters with their extensive practice in Greek inscriptions, and the limestone of the

block did not adapt itself so well to finished work as did the island marble used at Delos.

The spelling, especially the use of the double vowel for the final long A of fama, provides a far more definite indication of date than the letter forms. This type of spelling, instituted by the poet Accius, was common from the time of the Gracchi until Sulla. recorded use of it belongs to the year 132 B.C.1 In isolated cases it is found after Sulla, once in an inscription from Africa which dates between 49 and 46 B.C.2 and again on coins of 40 and 38 B.C.,3 but most of the post-Sullan instances of it are to be found in proper names which always tend to be conservative in their form.4 In general the doubling of a vowel to indicate length may be considered an indication of pre-Sullan date.

The use of spurious EI for long I, another invention of Accius, is also characteristic of the same period, but it occurs not infrequently as late as the time of Augustus. The poet, it may be noted, is as inconsistent in the use of EI as other writers of the period. spelling of anni in line 6 he seems to be following the rule of Lucilius (X, 362-3) that the genitive of an o-stem is not to be spelled with EI, but in virei in line 2 he violates the rule.5 The phonetic suppression of final S in lines 2 and 5, feramus virei and profectus Sidam, is another mark of the republican period. It is fairly frequent in Lucretius, but, as Cicero tells us in the Orator, 161, written in 46 B.C., it was already going out of fashion.

The aphaeresis in quisquanst and traductast is a more doubtful mark of early date. Suppression of the E in est is commonest in manuscripts of poets of the Republic, especially Plautus and Lucre-In inscriptions it occurs rather on private than on public records, and in verse more often than in prose.6 The change of M to N before S is comparatively rare. One example only is cited in compound words, quansei from the Lex Agraria. We have found no parallel for aphaeresis with quisquam.7

The use of TH to transliterate the Greek theta in Isthmum and Atheneis can hardly be earlier than the middle of the second century

<sup>1</sup> C.I.L., I 2, 2, 638.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dessau, 5319; cf. also a Delian inscription of 58 B.C., B.C.H., 1922, 199.
 <sup>3</sup> Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum, I, pp. 571, 587.
 <sup>4</sup> A late case of a double vowel in a common noun is posticuus, Dessau, 5319 (49-46 B.C.)

There is a similar inconsistency in the use of the double A. Only one of the long A's in fama is doubled, and the final A of magna (ablative) is represented by a single letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kühner, Ausführliche Grammatik d. lat. Sprache, I <sup>2</sup>, 129, 155. <sup>7</sup> Diehl, de M finali epigraphica, Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher f. Class. Phil., Suppl. 25, 1899, 301-305. Diehl cites thirteen examples of the change of M to N before a word beginning with S, many of which are either Christian or late.

Up to that time chi, phi, and theta appeared in Latin simply as C, P, and T. In a dedication of Mummius in 145, C.I.L., I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 626, the forms Achaia and Corinto are used together. By the year 100 B.C. the aspirate had become regular in official inscriptions and on coins,1 though Catullus' famous Arrius (carm. 84) shows that individuals were insecure about the use of H half a century later.2

The language and letter forms of the inscription, though not conclusive in their testimony, provide an accumulation of evidence for assigning the epigram to the period between the destruction of Corinth by Mummius and its refounding by Julius Caesar. Nevertheless, one hesitates without strong reasons to date the monument in a period when we have no other inscriptions and almost no monuments of any sort from Corinth. We must then proceed to consider the inscription from the standpoint of history.

It was set up in honor of the proconsul whose name was erased or of Hirrus who was serving pro praetore under him apparently as a substitute in his absence. It records the unheard-of deed of transporting a fleet of war across the Isthmus at a time when the season was unfavorable for navigation. An important objective of the voyage was Side, presumably the well-known port on the coast of Pamphylia, but the season, which made it undesirable to attempt the dangerous course round Malea, also made it necessary to station the fleet temporarily at Athens.

There are two indications of date which will be noted immediately. The mention of proconsular auspicia points to a date before the principate of Augustus, for after its foundation military operations were performed under the auspices of the Emperor.3 The other indication is less sure. The deletion of names from Greek inscriptions is well known before Roman times, but it occurs first in Roman official records when the names of the Antonii were removed from the Fasti after the fall of Alexandria.4 In private records it is unknown until the Empire.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Kühner, op. cit., p. 44.
<sup>2</sup> As far as we have been able to discover, this is the only occurrence of the name Side in verse, either in Greek or in Latin. If the poet has given the quantity of the I correctly, there can be no connection between the name of the town and the word  $\sigma i \delta \eta$ , pomegranate. The pomegranate is represented on the coins of the

See Wissowa, s.v. Auspicia, R.E., 2583.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dio, LI, 19; Plutarch, Cicero, 49; cf. Mommsen, C.I.L., I <sup>1</sup>, p. 422; Hermes, IX, 1875, 267 ff. (Rôm. Forsch., II, 58 ff.). See also Hirschfeld, Hermes, IX, 1875, 93–108; XI, 1876, 154–163; Zedler, de memoriae damnatione, p. 12. Cicero's statement (Phil., XIII, 12, 26) cuius totus consulatus est ex omni monumentorum memoria evolsus, words which refer to Antony, spoken in March 43 about a month before he was declared a hostis, are interpreted by Mommsen as gestures (Staatsrecht, III, 1191, n. 1)

In connection with the erasures of 30, Hirschfeld has pointed out, loc. cit., that no ancient monument except the Capitoline Fasti and certain of its copies

There is, as far as we have been able to ascertain, only one name which fits the meter, the spacing, and all the traces of letters in the rasura, ANTONI MARCI. The inversion of nomen and praenomen is not infrequent in verse, especially during the Republic. One thinks immediately of Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus of the Scipionic inscriptions and of Pacuvi Marci in Pacuvius' epitaph.1

At first sight our inscription might appear to be a record of the triumvir Mark Antony, another honor to add to the long list of those accorded to him during the years of his power in the East, and another indication, in the deleted name, of the complete triumph of Octavian. But quite aside from the evidence we have produced for an earlier date, there are serious objections to assigning the record to Mark Antony. In the first place, although the triumvirate gave to its members the proconsulare imperium,2 nowhere is Antony or either of the other triumvirs referred to as proconsul during its term. Their title is always triumvir rei publicae constituendae or simply triumvir. Only in the year 43 up to the twenty-seventh of November, when the Titian Law established the triumvirate, was Mark Antony properly proconsul. During these months Antony was in Italy, claiming first Cisalpine and later Transalpine Gaul as his province. His brother Gaius had secured from the senate the right to Macedonia, which at one time had been temporarily assigned to Mark Antony, but Marcus Brutus, a still earlier claimant, had possession of the province, except for the city of Apollonia in which Gaius was being beseiged. It is difficult to see how a propraetor of Mark Antony could have stationed a fleet at Athens in this year, or what reason he would have had for sending a fleet to Side. Certainly Antony himself was not in Eastern waters at this time, and it is almost as certain that he possessed no fleet either in the East or in the West, for he and Octavian in 42 experienced considerable difficulty in transporting their troops across the Adriatic.

Moreover the obvious haste with which the monument was erected is in itself a reason for doubting whether it could have been set up in honor of the triumvir. The colony of Julius Caesar, whose stately buildings are coming to light at Corinth, did not honor its patrons

show Antonian erasures. The first erasure in a private inscription known to Hirschfeld is that of the name of Asinius Gallus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>C.I.L., I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 7; Pacuvius, ap. Gel. I, 24, 4; C.I.L., I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 1209. It is true that the inversion in our inscription is not necessary for metrical reasons, since Marci Antoni would scan. But there are some parallels for inversion in prose. Cf. Livy, II, 32, 8, Menenium Agrippam; XXIX, 2, 11, Cornelium Servium; XXX, 1, 9, Lucretio Sp. Lahmeyer (Philol. 1865, 471ff.) is not convincing in his effort to explain these cases as corruptions in the text. See Mommsen,  $R\bar{o}m$ . Forsch., I, p. 41, n. 68; Weissenborn's note on Livy, I, 56. <sup>2</sup> Appian, B.C., IV, 2 and 7.

by inscribing their names and their claims to glory on old blocks from Corinth's ancient splendor. The city that placed Mark Antony's name on its coins1 and built a temple to his wife Octavia2 would hardly have permitted a rough monument like this one to be set up in honor of the man who for a decade was supreme in the eastern half of the Roman world.

Another objection to associating the epigram with Mark Antony is that the only Hirrus of whom we have information during the period belonged to the opposite party, and therefore could hardly have served pro praetore under Antony. This man, C. Lucilius Hirrus, was tribune of the plebs in 53 and was defeated for the aedileship in 51.3 In the period leading up to the civil war he was in close relation with Pompey. During the war he was active first as a Pompeian military leader in Picenum and then as Pompey's envoy to the Parthian king. After the defeat of the Pompeians he apparently became reconciled to Caesar, as Cicero and Varro did, and sent the dictator a large supply of lampreys from his preserves. If, as seems very probable, he is identical with the "Ιρτιος of Appian, B.C., IV (43 and 84), he, again like Varro and Cicero, went over to the side of the conspirators and was proscribed. Late in the year 43 he brought together a force of slaves in Bruttium with which he crossed over to establish Sextus Pompey in Sicily. There is a bare possibility that this Hirrus may be identical with the Lucilius who was with Brutus at Philippi. He surrendered himself to Antony, pretending to be Brutus. Antony then pardoned him and kept him at his side as a trusted associate until the very end.4 Nevertheless he was not with Antony until after the latter had become triumvir, and from that time on, as we have seen, there is no parallel for the use of the title proconsul for Antony.

If we cannot associate the inscription with this Hirrus and with the triumvir, we must suppose that we are dealing with another and inevitably an earlier Marcus Antonius and also with an earlier Hirrus. There are two other Marci Antonii, the father and the grandfather of the triumvir, who held commands in the east. For either of them

<sup>1</sup> See B.M.C. Coninth, p. 59, no. 490, Pl. XV, 3; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner,

Numismatic Commentary, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, II, 3, 1. See Arch. Anz. 1911, 137-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cicero and Caelius refer repeatedly in the letters to this Hirrus, mentioning him always without nomen and often without praenomen, in a manner that indicates that there was only one well-known person of the name. His full name, C Lucilius C.f. Pup. Hirrus, is given at the head of a senatus consultum quoted in Cic. ad Fam., VIII, 8, 5. For full citations of the ancient sources about him see Münzer, s.v. Lucilius 25, R.E. See also Cichorius, Röm. Studien, 67-70.

\*See Appian, B.C., IV, 129; Plutarch, Brutus, 50; Antony, 69. Cf. Münzer, s.v. Lucilius, 2, R.E. Münzer does not suggest this identification. It is noteworthy that Plutarch, Pompey, 54 refers to Hirrus as Λουκίλλισς.

the erasure can be explained, for when Mark Antony's name was removed from the Fasti by senatorial decree in 30 B.C. and members of the gens Antonia were forbidden henceforth to bear the praenomen Marcus, 1 even Antony's ancestors of like name were not spared. The name of his grandfather, the great orator Marcus Antonius, was erased in the Fasti Consulares where he was listed as consul in 99 and as censor in 97 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Whoever the Antonius of our epigram may have been, the erasure of his name could hardly have taken place until 30 B.C.<sup>3</sup> It does not therefore militate against an early date for the inscription.

Both of the earlier Antonii had commands that involved the possession of a fleet in the east. The former, the great orator just named, was practor pro consule4 and had a command against the Cilician pirates in 102, and his son, the triumvir's father, had an imperium against the pirates which in its unlimited character foreshadowed the power given to Pompey by the Gabinian Law seven years later.5

The circumstances described in our inscription do not accord with what we know of the second Antonius' command which ended in the disastrous expedition to Crete and gave him the derisive nickname Creticus. They do accord exceedingly well with the first Antonius' command in Cilicia.

In the first place, Antonius, like the praetors who commanded in Spain and in Asia at the same time, was sent out with the title pro consule. 6 His status was thus the same as that of Hirrus' commanding officer. Furthermore, his route to his province led by way of Athens, and he too was delayed there by unfavorable weather. In the De Oratore (I, 82) he is quoted by Cicero as saying: Cum pro consule in Ciliciam proficiscens venissem Athenas, compluris tum ibi dies sum propter navigandi difficultatem commoratus. Finally Antonius' ultimate objective must have included the town to which the expedition recorded in our epigram was going, Side, an important port in Pamphylia, which lay close to Cilicia. We know little of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dio, LI, 19; Plutarch, Cicero, 49.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Mommsen, C.I.L., I <sup>1</sup>, p. 422.
 <sup>3</sup> If it belongs to that year, it is the earliest recorded case of an erasure in a private inscription.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Livy, Per., LXVIII: M. Antonius praetor in Ciliciam maritimos praedones perseculus est. Cf. Velleius, II, 31, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, Verr., II, 8; III, 213; cf. Klebs, s.v. Antonius R.E., 28, 29; Foucart, Les Campagnes de M. Antonius Creticus, Journ. d. Savants, 1906, 559–581. 6 On his title see Holleaux, Στρατηγός υπατος, Bibl. Ec. Fr. de Athènes et de Rome,

<sup>1918, 30-31.</sup> If the ipse of line 5 refers to Antonius, it may seem surprising that he should have left his fleet behind at Athens when going into the very heart of the enemy's country. The pirates were not enemies that could be disregarded. Still profectus means merely "set sail for," and not a small part of Antonius' task

details of the expedition beyond the fact that the final result was successful enough to give Antonius a triumph (Plutarch, Pomp., 24).1 But we do know that neither the pirates, who soon after the triumph carried off Antonius' daughter, nor Cilicia proper was conquered. Like the earlier Roman expeditions against the pirates of the west,2 Antonius' command seems to have attempted no more than the occupation of ports that served as naval bases for the pirates.8 Pamphylia, Strabo tells us (XIV, 3, 2), was full of such ports, and Side where the pirates built their ships and sold their captives was perhaps the most important. Pamphylia was included in the military command known from the time of Antonius as provincia Ciliciae.4 This was a province in the early sense of the term; that is, it was simply a command in Cilician waters, named from the objective against which its operations were directed. It is sometimes referred to as Pamphylia.<sup>5</sup> When as a result of the conquests of Servilius Isauricus, Lucullus, and Pompey, the pirates were finally conquered, Pamphylia with its port Side became a part of the organized province of Cilicia.

Obviously the Hirrus who was a contemporary of Cicero could not have served pro praetore under the orator Antonius. Still it is possible that the Hirrus of our inscription belonged to a previous generation of the same family, and that he too was a Lucilius. The genealogy of the Lucilii will be discussed in another paper.

A word may be added as to the meaning of pro practore. is rarely used independently.6 Where it is used alone, it seems to was undoubtedly the collection of ships from the Greek cities of the Aegean. Some may have met him at Athens, and others would join him at Rhodes, where he seems to have stayed for some time. Thus Antonius would not be without escort, and the need of organizing the naval contingents of the allies would be sufficient explanation of his leaving Hirrus and a part of his fleet at Athens. Moreover, it may well have been necessary to leave a squadron there to ensure control of the western Aegean.

<sup>1</sup> He was probably the Antonius to whom Byzantium furnished aid. See Tac. Ann., XII, 62. Lucius Cicero, Cicero's uncle, and Marcus Gratidius, who was Antony's prefect, were in the retinue (Cicero, de Orat., II, 2; Brutus, 168). member of the expedition was Aulus Gabinius, to whom along with Antony the Rhodians seem to have dedicated a statue during their stay in the island. Gabinius was quaestor, ταμίας 'Ρωμαιών is [Κ]λικίαν. See Foucart, op. cit., 576; Holleaux, R.A., 1918, 228. A Delian inscription set up in honor of the orator after he was made censor in 97 possibly indicates a stop at Delos. See B.C.H., 1884, 29 f.; Foucart, Rev. de Phil., 1899, 258, 6; Rev. Et. Anc., 1917, 83 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, Hist. of Rome (ed. 1900) III, 382, n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On Antonius' command see Ormerod, Piracy in the Ancient World, 208-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw., I <sup>2</sup>, 379 ff.
<sup>5</sup> Cf. Athen., V, 213 a; Cic., in Verr., Act. I, 2.
<sup>6</sup> It is for instance cited only twice in Dessau's indices to the Inscriptiones Selectae, and only twice in Cicero's orations. It is found more often in Livy, but regularly for the substitute in command when the responsible authority is absent. Cf. Livy, X, 25, 11; XXVII, 35, 2; XXXI, 3, 3; see also Sallust, Jug., 36, 37, 103. The phrase *cum imperio* is sometimes used as a substitute for *pro praetore*. Livy, XXIII, 34, 14; XXXI, 3, 2; XXXV, 23, 6.

denote not a provincial governor but a man who possesses the imperium as substitute for the commanding officer in his absence.1 The practor who went forth to a provincial command seems, at least in the latter part of the Republic, to have been called practor pro consule. That was, we have seen, the title of Marcus Antonius the orator, when as praetor he was in command of the Cilician provincia. at the time of his expedition against the pirates.2 Often the man delegated for the imperium had not held the praetorship; thus quaestor pro praetore is a fairly frequent title. Hirrus then at the time of this inscription had not necessarily held the praetorship, and he certainly was in charge of no independent province. He was simply the member of Antonius' staff chosen to command the fleet when the operations of the campaign took the ranking officer beyond range of a command which could include Athens.

Our elegiacs are not only a new record for Rome's long struggle with the Cilician pirates. They are also an important document for the operation of a fleet in Greece in time of war. The Diolkos, the track across the isthmus where ships were transported between the Corinthian and the Saronic Gulfs, was used for small vessels to save mariners from the dangerous course around Malea. For ships of war its use was known as early as the Peloponnesian War.3 In 217 B.C., Philip III of Macedon transported his small vessels over the Diolkos and sent the others around the Peloponnesus.<sup>4</sup> If the claim that Antonius had done something never accomplished before is based on anything more than the poet's enthusiasm, the new thing in his achievement must have been the transportation of larger ships. The operation was repeated later by Octavian in 30 B.C. who, also because of the unfavorable weather, used the Diolkos in his operations against Antony and arrived in Asia before it was even known that he had left Rome.5

The inscription, carved as it is upon an old block of limestone, apparently belonged to a monument hastily improvised to commemorate the achievement of transporting the fleet across the Isthmus. It was set up probably by participants in the expedition, very soon after the Isthmus had been successfully crossed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See the detailed discussion, Mommsen, Staatsrecht, I, 680–686. Under the Empire, of course, the representative of the Emperor in charge of a province was

Empire, of course, the representative of the Emperor in charge of a province was regularly styled legatus pro practore.

Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II, 647 ff.

Thue. VIII, 7 f. Cf. Pliny, N.H., IV, 10: longo et ancipiti navium ambitu quas magnitudo plaustris transvehi prohibet.

Polyb., V, 101, 4; cf. IV, 19. On the Diolkos, see Fimmen, R.E., s.v. Isthmos 2259; Strabo, VIII, 2, 1, 335: τὸν διολκὸν δι' οὖ τὰ πορθμεῖα ὑπερνεωλκοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς έτέρας είς την έτέραν θάλατταν.
6 Dio, LI, 5: τὰς ναῦς ὑπό τοῦ χειμώνος ὑπερενεγκών οὕτω ταχέως εἰς την ᾿Ασίαν ἀνεκο-

μίσθη.

Hirrus himself, left behind in command of the fleet, was responsible for erecting the memorial. This would explain his prominence in the verses, a prominence difficult to explain on the basis of his share in the exploit, if we are right in thinking that the actual crossing was made under the supervision of Antonius.

The monument may originally have stood not in the deserted town but on the Isthmus, the scene of the exploit.¹ It is easy to understand its transference from the Isthmus to Caesar's new colony on the site of ancient Corinth, especially in the years when Mark Antony had command of the eastern half of the Roman world. The block, containing, as it did, the name of the triumvir's illustrious grandfather, certainly attracted attention, as the very fact of the later erasure shows, and the Corinthians in an attempt to honor the grandson may have seen fit to place the inscription, rough though it was, in some prominent spot in their new city; in other ways, as we have seen, they were lavish enough in honoring him.²

When the senatorial decrees of 30 B.C. condemned Antony's memory, there were eager partisans of Octavian at Corinth ready to expunge the name of his enemy's ancestor of like name from a monument which was popularly associated with the triumvir. Hipparchus, who was said to have been the first of Antony's freedmen to go over to Octavian (Plutarch, Ant., 67, 73) is associated with Corinth through his father Theophilus and through the fact that he himself was later twice duumvir of the colony. It is tempting to suggest that his new zeal for Octavian was manifested in the erasure of the name Antonius from the epigram. In the Roman Fasti, some one, probably before the death of Augustus, restored the names of the Antonii to their former place, but at Corinth no one troubled to put back the name of the orator.

Our inscription is an honorary epigram of a type which is rare in Latin epigraphic records. The closest parallel to it is provided by two fragments of a poem in Saturnians, discovered in the vicinity of Aquileia. They celebrate the victory of C. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul in 129 s.c., over the Taurisci and other people of the region. Since they mention his triumph, they were obviously not composed until after the conqueror returned to Rome. They lack the spon-

<sup>1</sup> This has been suggested by Mr. B. H. Hill.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> If the Lucilius who was with Antony during these last years was C. Lucilius Hirrus, there was an additional reason for bringing from the Isthmus to the city a monument which associated their ancestors. Moreover, the words of Antony at the time of Lucilius' surrender may suggest some past connection between the men or their families.

B.M.C. Corinth, nos. 503-506; see R.E., s.v. Hipparchos 9.
 On the date of the restoration of the names, see Mommsen, Hermes, IX, 1875, 267 ff.; Tac., Ann., III, 18; Dio, LIX, 20; Suetonius, Caligula, 23. Cf. Hirschfeld, Hermes, IX, 1875, 63-108; XI, 1876, 154-163.

taneous character of our verses, and in purpose they resemble rather the ordinary dedicatory inscription attached to some public monument or statue.<sup>1</sup>

The Corinthian elegiacs were perhaps written by some poet of the expedition possessed of more enthusiasm for his subject than poetic power. Roman generals from the time of M. Fulvius Nobilior, who took Ennius on his Aetolian campaign, to C. Memmius, who went to Bithynia with a cohort of "neoteric" poets, seem often, like the Hellenistic kings, to have gone to war accompanied by a poet to celebrate their exploits.<sup>2</sup> Our inscription is perhaps the first record found for the activity of such a poet on the scene of action.

This was especially an age of epigrammatic activity, both in Greek and in Latin, and the circle to which Antonius the orator belonged contained a number of poets chiefly famed for this type of verse. Catulus, from whom the circle receives its name, himself wrote epigrams, and he was associated in one way or another with Archias, Antipater, Porcius Licinus, and Valerius Aedituus.<sup>3</sup>

In conclusion, the historical evidence for dating the inscription in 102 B.C. accords with the indications of language and letter forms. If our interpretation of it is correct, the inscription is significant from many different points of view. As a specimen of Latin elegiacs from a period when metrical inscriptions are rare, the poem is interesting for its language and its form. As an honorary epigram it represents a comparatively unknown type in Latin epigraphic records. historical document it provides new evidence for the obscure expedition of the orator Marcus Antonius against the pirates and for the use of the Diolkos in the transportation of ships of war. Its value for the history of Corinth cannot be determined until its original site can be established, but wherever it first stood, it is the only inscription so far found in the ruins which belongs to a time when the city was a deserted waste. The epigram is likewise a monument of Mark Antony's years of supremacy in Greece, and it is still today evidence of the zeal with which men hailed the supremacy of Octavian and expunged even the name of his defeated rival's ancestor from public monuments.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. C.I.L., I<sup>2</sup>, 2,652; Lommatzsch, C.L.E., Suppl., 1859, with references cited there. The poem is in Saturnians, as were the historical epigrams which Accius wrote to be inscribed on the temple of Mars erected by D. Junius Brutus about the same time. See Schanz, Röm. Lit. Gesch., I<sup>2</sup>, 176.

same time. See Schanz, Röm. Lit. Gesch., I<sup>2</sup>, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Mummius, for example, was accompanied by his brother Spurius, as legatus; he seems to have kept his friends at home informed of the events of the campaign through epistulas, versiculis facetis, ad familiares missas a Corintho (Cic., ad Att.,

See Büttner, Porcius Licinus u. d. lit. Kreis d. Q. Lutatius Catulus, Leipzig. 1893. Cf. Münzer, s.v. Lutatius 7, R.E. 2080.

## Archaeological Institute of America

## AN ENGRAVED GLASS BOWL IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY<sup>1</sup>

In the Museo cristiano of the Vatican library there is a small engraved glass bowl (Fig. 1, A and B)2 which is first mentioned by Ruggieri in the Giornale arcadico, volume XCII<sup>3</sup> and subsequently by De Rossi in the Bullettino dell' archeologia cristiana for 18684 and in his manuscript inventory of the museum<sup>5</sup> wherein he states that it originally came from a catacomb in Rome. It is of white glass, the



FIGURE 1. ENGRAVED GLASS BOWL IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO, VATICAN LIBRARY, ROME

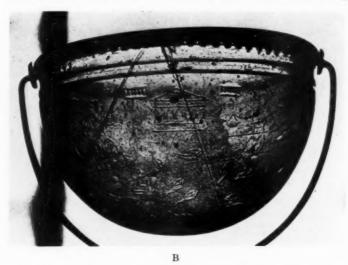
whole surface being covered with a dirty white film, and is cracked in three places across the body. There is a nick out of the edge of the lip near one of the present hinges. The bowl is mounted on two swivels which are attached to a gilt copper setting and the whole set on a gilt wooden base. It is hemispherical in shape, with a slight flare outwards at the rim, and measures 4.5 cms. in height and 7.0

<sup>1</sup> Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano No. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Museo cristiano, inventory No. 443. <sup>3</sup> P 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. 241.

cms. in diameter. Two incised channels, enclosing a torus in relief, encircle the bowl below the rim. The river-landscape scene, with which the entire exterior surface of the bowl is ornamented, is executed in hollow engraving, the technique showing the almost universal use of a small wheel. Scattered over the expanse of water in the foreground of the scene—that is to say, the lower and middle portions of the field—there are eight figures of fishermen, all nude, and numerous large and small fish. The fishermen hold rods, poles, oars, tridents, and nets. Two of them fish from islands, while the others are in small rowboats. On one of the islands stands a large



palm tree (Fig. 1, A). In addition to the fishermen there are also three figures which swim diagonally across the field. These are on the sides of the bowl not illustrated in the photographs. In the middle distance stand a large colonnaded temple, set upon a podium and having an entablature ornamented with cross hatchings, and an aedicula of approximately the same size (Fig. 1, B, to left). In the far distance, along the upper edge of the field, are scattered seventeen small colonnaded buildings. These small buildings are on a higher level than the larger ones just mentioned, and are not on the same level with reference to one another; in other words, the placing of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The heavy lines across the bodies of the men are, it seems to me, to be interpreted as attempts to represent the muscles and not as drapery folds, since none of them extends beyond the outlines of the forms.

these structures betrays the remnant of true landscape perspective.

The drawing is summary and somewhat crude, relying mainly on a few thick lines, which in most cases suggest the forms rather than actually delineate them: the buildings are reduced to their essential elements; the eyes of the figures consist of triangles enclosing one or two short vertical strokes; the hair is a series of thick parallel hatchings which start from the prolonged evebrows and slant diagonally upwards and backwards from the head; the hands are merely five parallel strokes coming out from the stump of the forearm; and the fish are nothing more than lozenges, having at one end two short strokes to represent the tail, and at the other an extra line to suggest the lower jaw. Extremely heavy outlines dominate the figure forms, but there are, at the same time, attempts at modelling in the faces, the throats, the forearms, and the legs below the knee, and in the entire torso of the man with the trident. The technique, as a whole, seems to belong to the period when the antique tradition began to give way to the crude styles of the later centuries and when the artistic standards of Rome began to show abundant evidences of a decadence, i.e., the fourth century A.D.; but not much reliance can be placed upon an evaluation of this sort, since we are dealing here with a technique that was certainly influenced by the minute size of the work and by the material in which it was executed. There is also, at the outset, the possibility that this bowl, in spite of the fact that it was found in a Roman catacomb, may belong to a provincial fabric, in which case any dating which depends solely upon technique becomes valueless.

The most plausible forerunner for the shape of the glass seems to be the Arretine bowls which appear in southern Italy as late as the second century A.D., and which, in turn, seem to be an Italian development of the well-known Megarian bowls. The majority of these are hemispherical in shape and have the slight flare at the rim. Moreover, a great many examples also have the torus, or similar simple moulding, below the rim. The popularity of this shape for glass vessels throughout the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries A.D. cannot be doubted. Morin-Jean<sup>2</sup> calls it the characteristic shape of this period. Fritz Fremersdorf publishes a recently discovered cup of this shape from Cologne, which he dates, from the type of the glass used, in the early fourth century A.D. The shape has been found at Cologne with coins of Volusian, Postumus,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>427 of these are published by G. H. Chase, The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> La verrerie en Gaule, p. 125. <sup>3</sup> Germania, xi, 1927, p. 43.

Claudius II, Carus, and Galerius-Maximianus1; and in the same grave with a rasum diatretum bearing the inscription . . . . . . xim . . ne aug, which has been filled out to read Salve Maximiane Auguste.<sup>2</sup> Examples of the shape come from Beauvais, Beaumont.<sup>3</sup> Abbeville, Vermand, Boulogne, Nîmes, Reims, Breny, Versigny, 8 Strassbourg, Cologne, Bonn, and Hohensülzen.9

As regards the composition of the scene on the bowl, it immediately becomes evident that we are dealing with a continuation of the second, third, and fourth Pompeian styles of wall painting. In Figure 2<sup>10</sup> is shown a fresco in the Villa Albani, which belongs to the second Pompeian style. To be noted are the island with the tree, the figures in the foreground, the vertical expanse of water with the men in boats above these, the buildings in the middle distance at



FIGURE 2. ROMAN WALL PAINTING, VILLA ALBANI, ROME

the left, and the small colonnades in the far background at the upper edge of the composition. In the scene of the Vatican bowl (Fig. 1, A and B), as in the wall painting, we have the high point of view, the vertical treatment, with the expanse of water and the figure decoration in the foreground, and the rows of diminutive colonnaded fa-

Bonn. Jb., 114-115, p. 425, pl. xxv.
 L. Ulrichs, Bonn. Jb., 6, 1844, pp. 377-382, pls. xi-xii; E. aus'm Weerth, Bonn. Jb., 59, 1876, pp. 64-74, pls. ii-iv.
 Collection Morin-Jean, No. 2215; Morin-Jean, op. cit., p. 124, fig. 154.

<sup>\*</sup> Musée de Saint-Germain, Salle xi; Fouilles de F. Moreau; Morin-Jean, op. cit., pp. 124–125, figs. 155, 156, 157, 158, 296, 307, 324.

\* Musée archéologique de Nîmes, from the Grezan quarter.

\* Musée de Reims, No. 2281.

<sup>7</sup> Excavations of 1880, Musée de Saint-Germain.

<sup>8</sup> Musée de Laon.

Bonn. Jb., 1844, pp. 377–382, pls. xi–xii; 1860, pp. 54–62, pl. xviii; 1876, pp. 74–87, pls. iii–iv; 1876, pp. 64–74, pl. ii; 1878, pp. 119–129, pl. x; 1880, pp. 49–61, pl. ii; 1882, pp. 57–68, pls. iii–iv; 1909, pp. 352–369, pls. xxv–xxvii. 10 M. Rostovtzeff, Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft, Röm. Mitt.,

xxvi, 1911, fig. 5.

cades in the background, placed in the upper portion of the field. Significant is the demarcation between the larger and more detailed buildings of the middle distance and the smaller and more summarily treated temples of the far background, a feature of this landscape which shows, if not very close contact with the wall paintings, at least a surviving understanding of the solution to the landscape problem as presented therein. The developed Pompeian landscape style was revived in Italy in the second century A.D., and we see the continuation of it, for example, in the miniature depicting the Sicilian cities from the Aeneid of the Vatican Vergil,1 in a mosaic from Sousse in North Africa,2 and in a mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere at Rome.3 In both of the mosaics the scene depicted is very similar to that on the Vatican bowl: a river scene with colonnaded buildings set high in the field, fishermen in boats with nets, and fish scattered over the whole foreground water area.

Philostratos the Elder, in his Imagines, describes sixty-four paintings which he claims to have seen "set into" the walls of a portico "outside the walls" of Naples, "in a suburb built on the coast . . . which overlooked the Tyrrhenian Sea." 4 One of these, a scene on the Bosporos, 5 is very like the landscape of the Vatican bowl. It is a scene along the banks of the Bosporos, viewed from out on the water. In it appear hunters and fishermen in boats in the foreground. One of the fishers has a net, another a trident, and a third fishes from the shore with a rod and line. High in the background were seen several houses, a portico, and a peripteral temple. Imagines was probably written about 230 A.D., since Philostratos was born in 182 and this is one of his later works.6 That he actually saw such paintings in the vicinity of Naples seems likely; for the descriptions are extremely explicit as to the composition and contents of the scenes, and take up every feature in so orderly a manner as to suggest that the writer had the pictures themselves before him. Nor does it seem probable that the paintings were antique at the time the writer viewed them, for they were set into the walls of the The painting described by Philostratos is therefore evidence of the persistence in the third century of compositions such as that of our bowl.

A group of engraved glass flasks with representations of the

5 Book i, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Miniature accompanying verses 692-715 of Book iii, Fragmenta et Picturae Vergiliana, Cod. Vat. Sel. I (Cod. lat. 3225), Folio 31 verso.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. Gauckler and E. Gouvet, Musée municipale de Sousse (Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie, xi, pp. 25–29, pl. vii).
 <sup>3</sup> Rostovtzeff, Röm. Mitt., 1911, p. 150, fig. 64.
 <sup>4</sup> Foreword to the Imagines, A. Bougot, Philostrate l'ancien.

<sup>6</sup> Bougot, op. cit., pp. 1-5.

topography and buildings of Puteoli—which are dated by H. Jordan<sup>1</sup> in the fourth century A.D. on the basis of style, and which were certainly made after 161, since an example from a catacomb in Rome<sup>2</sup> contains a representation of an arch of Antoninus Pius-present striking analogies to the Vatican glass. A series of colonnaded buildings is represented, those in the background being set in the upper part of the field. In an example of this group from Odemira, Portugal,\* the entablatures and podia of the buildings inscribed Solariu and Therme, iani are drawn in heavy outlines and are beveled at the ends, the space inside the outlines being decorated with cross hatchings. These features also occur on an analogous engraved fragment from Pisa,4 on which the word ZESES is inscribed—a fact which associates it with the vetri d'oro of the fourth century with their constant formula PIE ZESES.5 A newly published fragment of engraved glass from Cologne, belonging definitely to the Puteoli group, actually bears the inscription PIE ZESES.6 Precisely the same entablature and podium appear on the large central temple of the Vatican bowl (Fig. 1, B). Puteoli is the town which is nearest to Naples on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, and may well have been the "suburb" in which Philostratos saw the painting of the Bosporos described above. However that may be, there at least exists a connection between the landscape of the Vatican bowl and the conception of landscape current in Campania in the third century A.D.

In regard to the dating of this bowl: the fact that it was found in a catacomb in Rome fixes a terminus ad quem at 410 A.D., when Rome was sacked by Alaric and at which time burial in the catacombs ceased. Colonnaded buildings occur, set high in the field, on coins of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Alexander Severus.<sup>7</sup> The use of the extremely heavy outline in figure drawing, as here, is a characteristic of the Roman catacomb paintings of about 300 A.D. and later.8 A point in favor of a comparatively late date, rather than one in the second century, is the fact that we undoubtedly have here an example of what Riegl<sup>9</sup> calls the "optic viewpoint" and the "crystalline," or "isolating," treatment, wherein the composition is viewed as if from a great distance and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Arch. Zeit., 1868, pp. 91-97, pl. xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> De Rossi, Bullettino archeologico napoletano, p. 133 ff., pl. ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Arch. Zeit., 1868, pl. xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A. Deville, Histoire de l'art de la verrerie dans l'antiquité, pp. 74–75, pl. lxxxix. <sup>5</sup> H. Vopel, Die altchristlichen Goldgläser.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> F. Fremersdorf, Germania, xi, 1927, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> P. Delaroche, H. Dupont, and C. Lenormant, Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique, etc., pp. 51, 60, 61, 70, and 87, pls. xxvii, 4 and 11, xxxii, 9 and 10, xxxv, 1, xxxviii, 9 and 10, xlvii, 1 and 2.

<sup>8</sup> G. Wilpert, Le pitture delle catacombe romane, pls. 91 ff. passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Die spätrömische Kunst-Industrie, i, pp. 16-22, 130-134.

various objects in the composition are widely spaced over the field, each one isolated from the others, producing just such a lack of unity in composition as is so apparent in the scene on the Vatican bowl. This method is shown by Riegl to be a characteristic of late Roman work, and impossible in the earliest centuries of the Christian era, when it would have clashed violently with the classic feeling for the articulation of the parts of a composition. Added to this there are the indications presented by the *Imagines* of Philostratos, the Puteoli glasses, the adaptation of this landscape from the paintings of the revived Pompeian style, and the general impression produced by the style of the drawing, which make a first or second century date for the Museo cristiano bowl impossible. It is therefore safe to date the bowl, on the general considerations adduced above, in the third or fourth centuries A.D.

But we are fortunate in having, in addition to the evidence cited above, a wall painting from the private oratory of a house near the Baths of Diocletian at Rome (Fig. 3)1 which is strikingly similar in subject, content and composition to the scene depicted on the Vatican bowl, and therefore belongs to the tradition of the Pompeian style of landscape picture. Here we see the same vertical expanse of water, the minute colonnaded structures on the high shore line, the fishermen in the same type of boats, or on islands, fishing with the rod, trident, and net, the man swimming diagonally across the scene, and the numerous fishes which are scattered throughout the field. This fresco is dated in the latter part of the fourth or the first part of the fifth century A.D. by De Rossi.<sup>2</sup> In a painting of Christ and the Twelve Apostles, which is on the same wall just above the landscape scene, Christ, seated in the midst of the standing Apostles, wears a nimbus surmounted by the Constantinian monogram, which dates the fresco at least after 300. De Rossi's attribution to the second half of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century for this and the fishing fresco was determined by style, by the iconography of Christ and the Twelve Apostles, and by the appearance of the monogram on the nimbus, the earliest example of which occurs in the arch-mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. We therefore have proof of the continuation of the Pompeian architectural landscape style in Rome as late as the fourth century and evidence of the existence in Rome down to this time of wall paintings from which the scenes on the Vatican bowl could have been taken.

But in the painting from the Roman house (Fig. 3) we see a much more complete infiltration of the "crystalline" treatment and a

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Rossi, B. Arch. Crist., 1876, pp. 7-15; pp. 46-58, pls. vi and vii.

much greater degradation of the Pompeian landscape style than we do in the scene on the glass bowl: the islands have become schematized inverted hemispheres and are used merely as elements in a pattern, as is also one of the colonnaded structures which has now been brought down from the upper part of the composition and set in the midst of the boats and fishers. Our bowl is therefore appreciably earlier than the painting, retaining as it does the diminution of scale



FIGURE 3. WALL PAINTING IN HOUSE EXCAVATED NEAR THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN, ROME

caused by distance. Hence we can, from the evidence cited earlier and from the indications presented by the Roman painting, date the Vatican bowl in the period from the last part of the third to the middle of the fourth century A.D.

An Italian provenience for the piece is indicated by Philostratos, the Puteoli glasses, the evident origin of the landscape type, and by the fact that the bowl was found in a catacomb at Rome. Rostovtzeff, moreover, asserts that architectural landscape is absent in wall decoration in the East, during the period to which this glass

<sup>1</sup> J. H. S., xxxix, 1919, pp. 144-163, pls. vi-ix.

belongs, the "incrustation" and "carpet" or "tapestry" styles having dispossessed it in the oriental countries, if indeed it had ever gained a foothold there at all. This statement is at least supported by a number of examples of wall painting coming from South Russia,1 Pergamon,2 Palmyra,3 and Sardis.4

A number of glass vases from Cologne, for example a fragment with the representation of a chariot race in an amphitheatre and a conical cup with a grape-gathering scene 6 (Fig. 4) are somewhat similar in style and composition to our bowl. E. aus'm Weerth and E. Kruger, in the Bonner Jahrbücher for 1882 and 1909 respectively, have endeavored to show that these belong to a local German fabric,



FIGURE 4. GLASS VASE FOUND IN COLOGNE

which might open the possibility that the Vatican bowl was an importation into Rome from Germany. This, on the face of it, is unlikely. It is far more probable that the style would have been carried from Rome to the provinces than that the reverse were true. On the other hand the Vatican bowl exhibits a distinctly superior style to that of the German glasses. Moreover the technique of the glasses, while presenting a generally similar appearance, differs widely in several fundamental features (Cf. Figs. 1 and 4): the eye in the German cups is full face and the hair runs diagonally across the ears, while in the Vatican glass the eye is seen in profile and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rostovtzeff, loc. cit.; E. H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, pp. 307-321, figs. 220-231.

<sup>29-251.
2</sup> P. Schazmann, Ath. Mitt., xxxiii, 1908, pp. 437-441, fig. 1.
3 J. Strzygowski, Orient oder Rom?, pp. 11 ff., pl. i.
4 H. C. Butler, Sardis, vol. i, part i: C. R. Morey, appendix ii, pp. 181-183.
5 E. Kruger, Bonn. Jb., 118, 1909, pp. 352-369, pl. xxv-xxvii, fig. 5.
6 E. aus'm Weerth, Bonn. Jb., 74, 1882, pp. 57-68, pl. iii.

hair runs diagonally up and back from the forehead. The outlines of the figures are far more emphatic in the Vatican example. There is a distinct difference in the conceptions of the composition: in the German glasses the elements, whereas they are much the same as those in the Vatican bowl, are used in a purely decorative space-filling fashion; the arrangements of the scenes show little or no contact with an illusionistic landscape tradition; and the spacing of the figures is altogether different. Finally, the presence in Rome, during the third and fourth centuries, of fresco models from which the scene on the Vatican glass could have been taken is definitive in favor of Italian provenience.

WILLIAM C. HAYES, JR.

### Archaeological Institute of America

# FOUR UNPUBLISHED VASES IN THE STYLE OF THE BRYGOS PAINTER

The first three vases to be discussed in this article are in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology at Toronto and I am indebted to the Director, Professor Charles T. Currelly for permission to publish them. The first is a fine Attic red-figured kylix of the severe style. In the interior in a medallion (Fig. 1), diameter, 0.162 m. (63%)



FIGURE 1. INTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

in.), surrounded by a continuous meander pattern, a tall slender youth with small head, moves to left, with right foot advanced and leg bent at knee. He is nude except for an himation which is draped round his back, falling in front over his left shoulder and right elbow. The lower edge is arranged in zigzag folds and decorated with broad

<sup>1</sup> Accession No. C.362. Height, 0.108 m. (4½ in.). Diameter, 0.286 m. (11¼ in.). Purchased in Rome. Sturge Collection.

Thin graceful foot; slender stem curving into bowl; wide shallow bowl; thin walls. The foot is painted black, but the edge is red and the top has a circle of red around it. The shape is almost exactly like that of the famous kylix in Würzburg which bears the signature of Brygos. Cf. Wiener Vorlegeblätter, Series VIII, pl. V, and Harrison and MacColl, Greek Vase Paintings, pl. XXVI.

black lines so characteristic of the signed vases of Brygos. The ends of the himation hang down as if weighted. In his right hand the youth carries an oinochoe with off-set neck and trefoil lip. In his left hand he holds down behind him a long wine-skin.\(^1\) The breasts and the upper part of the body of the man on the interior are in full front although his feet are in profile. His face has a very pleasant expression and is turned back to right. The eye is very narrow and bead-like, characteristic of Brygos. His hair has, in front, a fringe of short lines in relief in diluted brown paint, and is finished off above with black circles, separated from the background by a narrow strip of red. He wears a broad purple-red fillet decorated over his forehead with two pompons. The fillet is tied in a loop at the back of his hair and streams out far front and back, terminating in tassels within several ends.

On the exterior, is a comus scene. (A) To the left (Figs. 2 and 3) a youth is moving to right clad only in an himation which is draped round his back and falls over both his arms, in the characteristic Brygan fashion. This may be seen especially on the Würzburg kylix in the case of the second figure from the left on one of the exterior sides.2 This arrangement is characteristic of all the himatia on this vase. The right foot of the youth is advanced and flat on the ground, but his left knee is bent, and only the ball of the left foot rests on the ground. On his head is a broad purple-red fillet tied in a loop at the back, with one end streaming in front of the youth, the other falling straight down behind. This fillet and all the other fillets on the exterior have the tasseled ends, such as are characteristic of the fillets on Brygan vases. The tassels on the exterior are threestringed, whereas those on the interior are four-stringed. The top of the hair ends in a rugged line, made of continuous semicircles, such as occurs on all the male heads but not on that of the flute player. Round the face the hair ends in a fringe made by short lines of diluted brown paint. This style of coiffure is found on all of the other heads on this vase, except that of the bald-headed man. The rugged line at the top, and the short diluted lines are characteristic of the Brygos painter. The face has the characteristic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a similar wine-skin with large curving ends cf. the rhyton with figures by the Brygos painter in New York, Beazley, Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, p. 92, fig. 60. The Brygos painter may have adapted this form from his teacher the Panaitios painter who also uses it. Cf. the Baltimore kylix, Beazley, op. cit., p. 85, fig. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. upper part of illustration in Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 121; and also Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, pl. 50; Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, X, p. 566. The himation of the Toronto figure has the same kind of folds and is decorated in the same way with broad black lines at bottom. It is arranged in the same way, but has long hanging ends, which seem to be weighted, as on the interior of the vase.



FIGURE 2. EXTERIOR SCENE ON KYLIX AT TORONTO

Brygan intense expression, especially the delicate nostril, the slightly open mouth, and the narrow beady eye. The youth is gesticulating with hands open, his left arm outstretched, his right bent upwards at the elbow.

Next comes a very interesting, somewhat bald-headed bearded man who is represented dancing in an original daring attitude. He is in front view with his left leg raised very high, and strongly bent at the knee. His right leg is slightly bent at the knee. His right foot is in profile whereas the raised left foot is in full front view, with the toes pointing downward so that the whole upper part of the foot shows. His arms are outstretched to either side; the left



FIGURE 3. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

hand is open, palm upwards, the right hand is open, palm outward, but bent downward at a sharp angle to the wrist. He is clad in the usual kind of himation, falling over the arms and painted with broad black lines at the lower edge of the folds. His body is left nude, by the himation which falls over his shoulders, and is in full front view, but his head is turned to right. He wears the usual long purple-red fillet, and has a beard solid in the upper part, with fringing lines below. The top and front of his head are bald, and the back covered with hair. Instead of ending in a fringe, his hair ends in a series of small black dots round the edge. It is characteristic of the Brygos painter to have a row of such bordering black dots, which are often found along the edge of a black line. This figure is very reminiscent of the famous Silenus on the Boston kylix, assigned to the Panaitios master, which has been so in-

geniously interpreted by Klein, Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, I, p. 305.1 The position of the feet, though reversed, especially of the raised leg, showing the whole of upper part of the foot in front view; the position of the hands; the representation of the muscles of the breast and neck; and the bald head are so similar that the two figures undoubtedly go back to the same artist. Very probably the Panaitios painter who made the Boston kylix also worked for Brygos. He is very fond of raising one leg as may be seen on the Baltimore kylix, where also occurs a wine-skin which is very similar to that on our vase.2 This resemblance rather confirms Beazley's idea that the artist of five signed Brygos vases was trained by the Panaitios painter whose work he not only refines but infuriates.3

The third figure is a flute girl draped in a thin chiton showing the form of her legs through it, with short scalloped sleeves such as are characteristic of the Brygos painter. The chiton has fine folds and wavy edges so characteristic of the Brygos painter. Beneath the overfold appears a part of her girdle, a purple-red loop with three purple-red strings on either side. The lower edge of the farther side of her chiton appears with a curving edge below the lower edge of the folds of the front side. This is also especially characteristic of the Brygos painter.4 This lower edge is decorated with six black crosses and another cross appears even on the bare right leg. The hair of the flute player which is bound with a narrow purple-red fillet has a fringe of vertical lines in diluted brown paint. She is moving to left, but the upper part of her body is turned completely to right. With puffed-out cheeks, she is playing a double flute which she holds with her dainty fingers widely outspread. This also is characteristic of the Brygos painter.5 The painting of a flute player looking back, as he or she plays the flute, and moving forward is also especially characteristic of the Brygos painter. A very similar figure to ours, though male, is represented on a kylix with a comus scene in the style of Brygos in the Vatican.<sup>6</sup> The idea seems to have been that of representing

of the Forman Collection, p. 76, no. 361, which Beazley, op. cit., p. 92 says is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 424, no. 46; Beazley, Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, p. 82, fig. 50 bis.

Attic Red-gyarea V ases in American in useums, p. 82, fig. 50 bis.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Beazley, op. cit., p. 85, fig. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Beazley, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, pl. 47, pl. 25; Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, pp. 110 and 118. <sup>5</sup> Cf. especially the two flute players on the Würzburg cylix, Hoppin, op. cit., p. 121; also the comus kylix in Florence signed by Brygos, Hoppin, op. cit., II, p. 495. Cf. also cup in style of Brygos illustrated in Catalogue of First Portion

certainly by the Brygos painter. 6 Alinari's photograph 35797.

the flute player as turning around to encourage those who were following from behind. Hartwig is probably right in attributing this motif to the Brygos painter alone. Tonks gives such a flute player as one of the ten characteristics which occur on works of Brygos and on those of no other artist.

Following the flute girl is a bearded man wearing the usual purplered fillet, nude except for the himation, which is brought round his back and over his elbows. He is gesticulating with his hands open and is moving to left. His left knee is bent and his lower leg is doubled back close under his thigh, another original and very audacious posture. Behind him is a young man, wearing the characteristic fillet. His body is again shown nude against the background of the himation which falls over his elbows. The lower edge of the himation has the usual broad black lines. In his left hand he holds two castanets.<sup>4</sup> In his raised right hand he holds a skyphos, decorated with two horizontal, fine black lines running from handle to handle.<sup>5</sup>

(B) At left (Figs. 4 and 5) a young man, nude except for the himation hanging over his shoulders, is dancing to right, gesticulating with his hands. His left arm is stretched out straight in front of him. His right arm is bent at the elbow, and his right hand raised behind his head. He wears the usual fillet with tasseled ends. His attitude of hands and legs is similar to that on a signed Euphronios vase in Boston. (Hoppin, op. cit., I, p. 387.) Next, is a young man moving to right but looking back. His himation falls over his left shoulder and right lower arm. In his right hand he holds a straight staff with slightly slanting top such as occurs on the other Toronto kylix in the style of Brygos. (Fig. 6.) This is different from the knotted staff with crook at top which is used on vases signed by Brygos and in his style.<sup>6</sup> This youth differs from the others in that he wears, in addition to the usual broad purple-red fillet, a kind of purple-red ivy wreath.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Hartwig, Die griechischen Meisterschalen, text to pl. 32, and also p. 333, fig. 44 b; Wiener Vorlegeblätter, VIII, 5; Tonks, Brygos, in Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, XIII, 1904, p. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Le., p. 80.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. also No. 164 at Yale, a vase in the style of Brygos, where also a youth leans backwards. Cf. Baur, Catalogue of Stoddard Collection, pp. 108 ff. pl. XIV.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. vases in the style of Brygos, Cecil Smith, Forman Catalogue, no. 361; Bates, A.J.A., XVII, 1913, p. 481, fig. 2.

Bates, A.J.A., XVII, 1913, p. 481, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bates, ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Würzburg kylix, Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 121; and also Bates, A.J.A., XVII, 1913, pp. 480–483. For the straight staff cf. Gerhard, Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder, pls. CCLXXXII and CCLXXXIII; Hoppin Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 255 etc.; and a kylix in the British Museum in the style of Brygos; cf. Hartwig's Meisterschalen, pp. 350–351, to which Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 142, no. 110, seems to refer without knowledge of its present location.

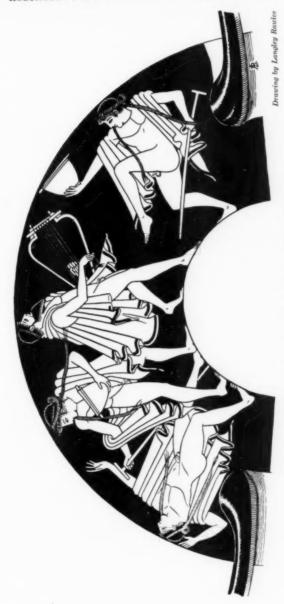


FIGURE 4. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

The next figure is also original and highly interesting. A bearded man clad in the usual himation, draped over his shoulders, but leaving the front part of his body nude, is moving to right with right foot advanced and left leg bent back, resting only the sole of his foot on the ground. In his left hand he holds a lyre of the type which is called barbiton, which is represented on the famous Sappho vase in Munich.1 It is very similar in form to the lyre on the Würzburg kylix which, however, has seven strings. The lyre on the Toronto vase has only six strings, represented by raised black lines which are visible over the black background. There are only six strings also on a lyre on the kylix in the style of Brygos in



FIGURE 5. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup> The lyre does not bulge as much at the top as on the Würzburg kylix.3 The slender lyre does occur on vases by Hieron, Douris, and Phintias and so in itself cannot be used as an argument for attributing this vase to the Brygos painter, nor on the other hand can this characteristic form of the lyre be used against attributing this vase to Brygos.4 In his right hand the lyre player holds a plectrum, attached by a purple string with three ends, to one arm of the lyre. He wears a narrow purple-red fillet, on his head. His mouth is wide open as if he were singing and we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, pl. 64; Robinson,

Sappho and her Influence, pl. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bates, A.J.A., XVII, 1913, p. 481, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Tonks op. cit., p. 74, says that it is not slender, as Hartwig had stated, but

cf. Hartwig, Die griechischen Meislerschalen, pl. 34.

4 Cf. Tonks, Brygos, p. 74. Cf. also a kylix in Paris attributed to Brygos by Hartwig, op. cit., pls. 32 and 33, where the lyre is twice represented with six strings.

know from literary sources, that the barbiton was used to accompany drinking songs. The lyre player leans far backward and his head is thrown still farther back. A similar lyre player, leaning far back and singing, occurs on the Philadelphia kylix to which we have already referred, but our player is rendered with much more life, with a more intense expression on his face, with a greater feeling of art and freedom of movement.1 Such figures, with the body tilted backward, are very characteristic of the Brygos painter. although Hieron, Euphronios, Oltos, Onesimos, and others also use them.2

In front of the lyre player is a lively figure dancing to left. His himation falls over his shoulders, leaving his body nude. He wears the usual broad purple-red fillet, but here it is decorated over the forehead with three pompons such as occur on the Würzburg kylix. He holds in his right hand, which is outstretched, a skyphos and in his left hand a staff similar to the one already described. He bends his right knee and rests his right foot solidly on the ground, but he raises his left knee very high in a way that is very characteristic of the Brygos painter.3

The himatia of all the male figures have broad black lines along the lower edge. All have the boyish beady eye and facial features that are so characteristic of the Brygos painter. All the details seem to attribute this ceramic masterpiece to the Brygos painter. There is almost no feature which cannot be paralleled on his signed vases or on vases attributed to him with good reason. Many of the characteristics may be paralleled on the vases of other artists. and we have seen that the pose of the baldheaded man, in front view, is reminiscent of the Panaitios painter. Unfortunately many of the distinctive characteristics are lacking; such as the rendering of anatomy with diluted paint, especially the hairy median line, the use of a narrow fillet looped behind and ending in a ball from which start three strings, and especially the use of dots. However, enough characteristics appear to enable us to say that there is no reason why the vase should not have been painted by the Brygos painter about 470 B.C. The strongest argument is not the characteristic details, but the great originality and high form of art shown by

<sup>1</sup> For a very similar figure, on a Brygan kylix now in Copenhagen, with drapery also similar to ours, and without dots, cf. Froehner, Van Branteghem Catalogue, pls. 26–27, no. 76; Hartwig, op, cit., p. 333, fig. 44 c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. references cited by Tonks, Brygos, p. 70, no. 6. For this attitude on vases of Brygos cf. Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, pls. 47–50; Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, pp. 110 and 121.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the satyr on the altar on the London kylix, Furtwängler-Reichhold, op. cit., pl. 47; Bates, A.J.A., XVII, 1913, p. 481, fig. 2; J.H.S., XXXVIII, 1918, pl. 4; cf. also a kylix in the Vatican, Alinari's photograph 35797.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a very similar figure, on a Brygan kylix now in Copenhagen, with drapery

the vase which is surely one of the first rank, and whose true excellence may be seen when compared with the other Toronto cylix in the style of Brygos, but made by an imitator. No one but a great master could have made such lively figures as the three men who are kicking up one leg so high, or as the wonderful lyre player who is singing so intensely as he moves forward but leans back.



FIGURE 6. INTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

The second vase which I desire to discuss in this article is another red-figured kylix of the severe style, much shattered and with parts missing. On the interior in a medallion (Figs. 6 and 7), diameter, 0.134 m.  $(5\frac{1}{4}$  in.), surrounded by a meander pattern is a youth reclining on a couch of which the foot, head, and legs do not appear. Under the couch are two shoes, to right, resting on a narrow black

¹ Accession No. C.363. Height, 0.096 m. (3¾ in.). Diameter, 0.242 m. (9½ in.). Purchased at Orvieto from Mancini, who excavated it there. Sturge Collection. One handle and a piece at the side, missing. The vase was mended in ancient times with the handles and pieces of another vase. These pieces have not yet been reattached to the vase but seven rivet-holes may still be plainly seen at the edge of the original vase. Shallow bowl; thin flat foot with ridge; foot curving into body. Type common in the Euphronian cycle.

line which indicates the floor and leaves a small exergue below. Shoes appear very frequently under the couch on vases of this severe red-figured style representing banquet scenes. On the farther side of the couch is represented the youth's staff, the top appearing to left above his knee, and the lower part reaching below the couch to The youth is draped in himation, leaving right shoulder and breast bare. He reclines, resting his left elbow on a cushion doubled over. His right knee is raised, and his left foot is bent back at the knee, a frequent position in such kottabos scenes.<sup>1</sup> The cushion is decorated with a series of three lines and dots. himation is likewise decorated with dots, such as occur on signed vases of Brygos and Douris. The youth holds in his left hand a tall skyphos decorated with a red band at the height of the handles. He wears a purple-red wreath. His eye is almond-shaped with a dot in the centre. On his right cheek appears a slight down painted in diluted light brown. In his outstretched right hand he holds, with his first finger, the handle of an archaic kylix with off-set lip. He is evidently playing the game of kottabos.2 On the best red-figured vases, mortals play the game, on the later ones, gods and satyrs. It must have disappeared from social life about the end of the fifth century.3 The youth on the interior wears on his head a purple-red fillet with an upright piece over the forehead.

The reclining figure is so similar to the one to right on the interior of a kylix in the British Museum, that we must conclude that the two vases were painted by the same artist. The figures on the exterior of the British Museum kylix are also somewhat similar to the reclining figure on the interior of our vase. The fillet with upright piece over the forehead and pairs of boots occur there also.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Robinson, A.J.A., XXV, 1921, pl. I and II, p. 4. Cf. a kylix in similar Brygan style in Nijhoff, Greek Vase Paintings, pl. 75, 2.

<sup>2</sup> For this game cf. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, V, 1894, pp. 73 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire, s.v.; Klein, Euphronios, pp. 115 ff.; Jahn, Philologus, 1869, p. 201; and the references given by Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, II, p. 181, note 5. "No instances of the cottabus occur before the middle of the control of the c of the red-figured period, and on the cups of that time it is usually indicated only by the manner in which the banqueters twirl their cylices with a finger crooked in the handle preparatory to throwing the remaining drops at the little figure on the top of the cottabus-stand, the hitting of which caused a part of the apparatus to fall with a ringing noise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For additional representations of the kottabos, cf. Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, pp. 47 and 404; II, p. 329; A.J.A., XX, 1916, p. 331, fig. 13; Vatican photograph 35826.

<sup>\*</sup>For the British Museum vase see Smith, Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum, III, pp. 94–95, E 70; Murray, Designs from Greek Vases, pl. XII, no. 48; Philologus, XXVI, p. 228; Sartori, Stud. Griech. Privatalt., p. 106, no. 23; Hartwig, Die griechischen Meisterschalen, p. 330; Tonks, Brygos, p. 109, no. 20; Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, II, p. 181, fig. 138; Beazley, Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, p. 96, no. 26, fig. 64; Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 133, no. 64.

Hartwig and Hoppin attribute the British Museum kylix to Brygos. But the British Museum kylix and ours seem to lack the life and originality that are so characteristic of the Brygos painter. Beazley therefore, op. cit., pp. 94 ff., attributes the kylix to an imitator or companion of the Brygos painter whom he calls the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy Cup. Many of the vases attributed by Beazley



FIGURE 7. INTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

to this painter, who reduces the fabrication of Brygan pieces to a mechanical process, have scenes from the symposium.<sup>1</sup> Beazley attributes thirty-eight vases to this master but Hoppin<sup>2</sup> allows him only twenty-seven. The characteristic fillet, the dotted garment, the striped pillow, the intense expression, the narrow boyish beady eye and shape of the head, the use of details such as the staff and shoes to indicate locality, the side beard done in diluted paint, are all characteristics of Brygos.

2 Op. cit., II, pp. 322 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Beazley, op. cit., p. 95, no. 16; p. 96, nos. 26-29.

On either side of the vase are boxers (Figs. 8–11). At the left a nude youth advances to right with his left foot forward and resting solidly on the ground. The ball of his right foot only rests on the ground. His left arm is bent at elbow and his left hand raised to guard himself, while his closed right hand is drawn far back ready to strike. His breasts are in front view though his legs and head are in profile. His nude opponent draws away from him, putting the ball of his right foot on the ground, bending his left knee, and resting his whole left foot on the ground. He is bending far to right with his body, but his head is turned back to left while his body is in full front. He raises his closed right hand, with bent elbow, over his head, as if about to strike. His left arm is stretched downwards to right.



Drawing by Langley Rawles
FIGURE 8. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

To the right stands a young paedotribes leaning his left side on a straight staff which passes under the boxer's left hand.¹ The paedotribes on our vase faces the left, clad in an himation, decorated with characteristic dots and folds. His right shoulder and arm are bare and in his right hand he holds a trainer's forked stick. On his head appears the characteristic purple fillet with an upright piece over the forehead. All the youths have traces of a slight down on the side of the cheek painted in a diluted brown paint, and in the case of the nude youths the anatomical markings below the breasts are also done in diluted brown paint. Both of these features are characteristic of the Brygos painter. The open mouths of the boxers, the profiles and features of all the faces, the narrow, boyish, sly eyes are very characteristically Brygan. On the other hand the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a very similar figure cf. a kylix with arming scenes in the style of Brygos in the Vatican, Alinari's photograph 35810.

hair is smooth, even at the edges and has not the delicate fringe done in relief lines, that occurs so often on the signed pieces. The scenes on the two sides are almost identical. On one side, at the

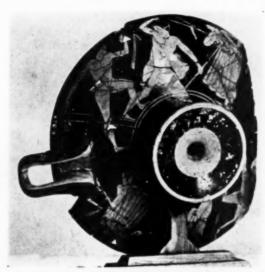


FIGURE 9. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

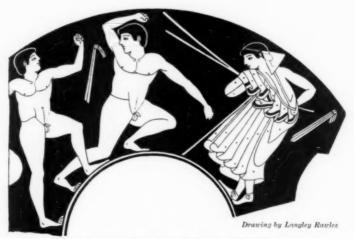


FIGURE 10. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

left, are two vertical measuring rods or sticks. On the other, where the boxer's right arm is missing, appears the bottom of a bag, such as is often seen in such scenes, for holding jumping-weights or the discus. Between the two boxers, on either side of the vase, appear boxing though or leather straps which were called  $\mu\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$ . These appear also behind the paedotribes on either side. Although the two sides are so similar there are other slight variations. On the side which is better preserved the though between the boxers are



FIGURE 11. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX AT TORONTO

rendered by four fine black lines, but on the other side by only three. On the side less well preserved the boxer to the right holds his right hand much farther over his head and the trainer is painted farther to right, leaving a space between the boxer's left hand and the staff on which the trainer leans.

There are replicas of these same three figures with slight variations on both the exterior sides of a kylix in the Musées du Cinquantenaire in Brussels, R 337 (Figs. 12 and 13). On the interior of the same vase is also a replica of the figure with a staff on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Gardiner, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals, pp. 402 ff.; Hyde, Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art, pp. 235 ff. For these thongs hanging on the wall as on our vase cf. Smith, Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum, III, E 78, also Beazley, op, cit., p. 108, fig. 67, a vase in the Louvre in which a youth is adjusting a thong to one arm while another hangs behind him.

exterior of our vase. There are kylikes in similar style with similar boxing scenes in Corneto, Munich 2649, in Dr. Preyss' collection in Munich, in Copenhagen in Thorvaldsen's Museum 110 (Figs. 14 and 15) and elsewhere. In the Louvre on G 252, a kylix from Italy, with off-set rim, the interior scene with its meander border is very



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FIGURE 12. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX IN BRUSSELS



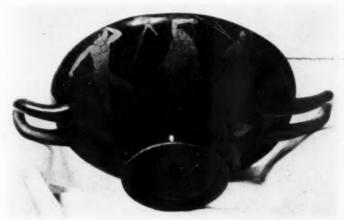
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FIGURE 13. EXTERIOR OF KYLIX IN BRUSSELS

similar to our interior scene though there is a table in place of the shoes, and a flute-case instead of the staff.

The duplication of the same scene, on both exterior sides of the vase, and the duplication on the interior of the scene that occurs on another vase makes it likely that this vase was not painted by the Brygos painter, who was so noted for originality, but the vase has so many Brygan characteristics such as have been pointed out above,

that we must consider it an excellent school piece made by some clever companion or imitator of the Brygos painter, whom Beazley calls the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy Cup.<sup>1</sup>



Reproduced by permission of Th. Oppermann
Figure 14. Exterior of Kylix in Copenhagen



Reproduced by permission of Th. Oppermann
Figure 15. Exterior of Kylix in Copenhagen

 $^1$  Cf. his list in Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, pp. 94–96. Our identification of the artist is now accepted by Beazley, Attische Vasenmaler

The third vase to be discussed in this paper is a moulded redfigured kantharos in the form of a girl's head.1

The lower part of the cup is in the form of a woman's head which is moulded in halves (Fig. 16). The joining of these may clearly be seen both on the inside and outside of the vase. The upper part was turned separately and is more or less cylindrical with slightly flaring lip. At either side is a vertical, flat, curving handle. The form most nearly resembles that of a vase in the Louvre illustrated by

FIGURE 16. A KANTHAROS IN TORONTO

Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, X, p. 748, pl. 23. Most vases of this type have two faces, back to back.2

The face is painted in a reddish flesh color, the hair is modelled in wavy ridges parted at centre quite in the style of pre-Persian sculptured heads. The hair is painted purple-red with a black lower border. The evebrows are indicated by curving black lines. The eyes are almond-shaped and the pupil is indicated by a large black dot, surrounded by a black circle. The nostrils are painted with purple-red and the protruding lips are purple-red

with a narrow curving black line at either end. The back of the head is covered with solid black paint which is meant to represent

des rotfigurigen Stils, p. 190, no. 24. He also includes the Brussels vase as no. 10 and the Copenhagen one as no. 9.

and the Copenhagen one as no. 9.

For athletic scenes on Brygari vases cf. Caskey, A.J.A., XIX, 1915, pp, 129 ff., and the references cited by him. Several of the vases attributed by Beazley to the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy Cup have boxers. Cf. Beazley, op. cit., p. 95, nos. 4, 5, 7, 8. No. 7 is probably the vase in Copenhagen which Caskey, l.c. p. 132 says Beazley assigns to Brygos himself.

Perhaps the same artist did P. 9023.01.8034 in Boston, a kylix with two men on a couch, one holding a kylix in his right hand and playing kottabos and a skyphos in his left hand. On the outside is a figure playing kottabos. In Philadelphia on a fragment in the same style, is a reclining youth playing kottabos.

delphia on a fragment in the same style, is a reclining youth playing kottabos, with a kylix in either hand.

<sup>1</sup> Accession no. C.366. Height, 0.219 m. (8½ in.). Diameter, 0.146 m. (5¾ in.). Formerly in the Castellani Collection. Also in the Dickenson Collection and the Sturge Collection.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, op. cit., pp. 750–753; Cecil Smith, Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum, III, p. 372, E. 784; Beazley, op. cit., p. 92, fig. 60; also Miss Richter, Handbook of the Classical Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, p. 101, fig. 60; Buscher, Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Künste, 1916, pp. 12 ff.

a hair-net confining the hair in such a way as is actually seen on the example in the Louvre. Under this, the hair projects in a roll at the bottom, and in two pointed knots higher up. The face is represented in the pleasant archaic style. It is so similar to the head of the Louvre example that there can be no doubt that the two heads came from the same pottery. The head is not, however, by the same modeller as the New York head which has a more pronounced smile and is generally more archaic, though likewise reminding one of pre-Persian archaic heads in sculpture. On the other hand the heads in the British Museum seem somewhat more advanced.

This type of vase perhaps started with ointment vases in the form of a female head such as occur in the Proto-Corinthian vases.2 This style was made in Attica by Prokles, Charinos and Kalliades. Prokles made a more archaic type than our vase, but Charinos worked in about the same style as that seen on the vase in Toronto.3 In the case of early vases of this kind the modeling was more important and the rôle of painting was secondary, but by the time of our vase it had become customary to add a skyphos or kantharos instead of an aryballos mouth, and to use the vase for drinking pur-In such cases the archaic modelled head is often still kept but the painting on the skyphos was done in quite a different style. The design, on either side, consisting of a satyr chasing a maiden, is no longer in the archaic style but is rendered with considerable freedom and life. An ithyphallic bearded, bald-headed, snub-nosed, satyr wearing a purple-red wreath, clad in a panther's skin which is tied in front of his neck and falls down behind him, is running to right. His left leg is raised and stretched far forward well off the ground; his right arm is extended far back, while his left hand reaches forward to grasp the maiden who flees from him. She is clad in a chiton, the lower back edge of which appears below the front edge. Over the chiton, which she holds up with her right hand, falls an himation with zigzag edge over either shoulder. She is running to right stretching out her left hand, but she turns her head to left, to look back at the satyr. She wears a purple-red wreath on her hair which has a fringe of locks rendered in the diluted paint, used also for markings on the upper part and lower edge of the

On the other side (Fig. 17) there is a similar scene, but the satyr wears the panther's skin over his outstretched left arm from which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a vase of similar shape in handles and style of face but with scenes rendered in a different style on the upper part of the vase cf. no. 60 (154 and 58) in Naples. <sup>2</sup>Cf. Robinson, A.J.A., X, 1906, p. 425.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For Charinos see Reisch, Röm. Mitt., V, 1890, pp. 313 ff., pl. 11; Buschor, op. cit., pp. 12 ff.

it falls across his raised left leg. He is not ithyphallic as on the other side. The female figure is not holding up her chiton with her right hand. There is no himation but the peculiar small overfold is represented at the waist in a manner which is characteristic of the signed vases of Brygos. In the field occurs the inscription καλός running retrograde behind each satyr's head and from left to right in front of each satyr's head. In front of each maiden is καλός running in one case above the handle (written carelessly καλύς).



FIGURE 17. KANTHAROS IN TORONTO

In another case, the inscription is written to the side of the handle. All have the threebarred sigma. The posture of the satyr is almost identical with that of the satyr named Dromis on the famous signed cylix of Brygos in the British Museum.2 The female figure reminds one very much of Iris on the same vase. The snub nose of the satyr, the decoration with dots on the panther's skin, the small beady eye, the type of baldness, the fringed hair and beard, and other features already mentioned are certainly in the style of the Brygos painter. However, although the scene is rendered with much action and spirit, it is

probable that an imitator, such as Beazley's Foundry Painter, or the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy Cup, painted our vase. The Brygos painter himself would hardly have made such a copy from his own vase, and would have been too original to duplicate the scene on the same vase, as was done also in the case of the other Toronto vase, in the style of Brygos, but not by Brygos himself. According to Beazley, op. cit., p. 92, the Brygos painter did the painting on the similar vases in New York and in the British

Vases, I, p. 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a similar scene of a Silenus chasing a maenad cf. the mule's head in Boston, Buschor, Griechische Vasenmalerei, p. 155, fig. 110; Fowler and Wheeler, Greek Archaeology, p. 521, fig. 405. This vase has been attributed to the Brygos painter by Beazley, op. cit., p. 92, and Hoppin, Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 127, no. 33: Tonks, Brygos, no. 60 etc.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, op. cit., pl. 47; Hoppin Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases, I, p. 140.

Museum.1 Buschor dates such vases which he says are not rhyta (rhyta must have a hole in the mouth), about 470 B.C.

Here is a convenient place to publish another vase in the style of the Brygos painter and probably by the master himself. It is a redfigured lekythos (Figs. 18 and 19) formerly in the Warren Collection at Lewes, England, but now in the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence. It is said to come from Gela in Sicily. It has an

elaborate palmette pattern on the shoulder and above and below the main scene a double fret pattern alternating with saltire squares.2 The main interest is in the bird and the beautiful seated figure which reminds one somewhat of figures on the late archaic grave reliefs such as the seated goddess to the left on the west side of the so-called Harpy Tomb and especially of the contemporary seated female statue, probably Persephone, now in Berlin and said also to come from Magna Graecia or Sicily.3 The goddess on the Providence vase, who is more probably Hera than Persephone because of the sceptre, sits to right on a cushion on a throne with broad straight legs ending in animal feet, with an arm-rail decorated with three dotted circles and ending in a knob and supported by three uprights. The high back has a slight curve and terminates in a palmette,4 on which is perched in a unique fashion a falcon.

The bird is one of the smaller and more graceful kinds, probably the merlin (falco regulus) of Europe and



FIGURE 18. A LEKYTHOS IN PROVIDENCE, R. I.

northern Asia, a bird closely related to our pigeon hawk. The merlin has a length of 12 to 14 inches and the under sides are reddish

<sup>1</sup> Cf. no. 12.234.5 in the Metropolitan Museum; and Buschor, Münchener

Jahrbuch der bildenen Künste, 1916, p. 12, fig. 21.

Height. 0.335 m. (13¼ in.). Width across top, 0.02 m. (¾ in.). Upper <sup>2</sup> Height, 0.335 m. (13½ in.). Width across top, 0.02 m. (¾ in.). Upper diameter, 0.115 m. (4½ in.). On the bottom the letters Δ| and A are inscribed. I am indebted to Director Earle Rowe for permission to publish this lekythos. It is mentioned in Beazley, Attische Vasenmaler des rot-figurigen Stils, p. 474, no. 24.

Antike Denkmäler, III, pls. 37-43.

<sup>4</sup> For the palmette as a finial, cf. Miss Richter, Ancient Furniture, figs. 7 and 37.

yellow with dark brown spots. The only other bird which might be suggested is the peregrine falcon, one of the most graceful of all winged creatures, but this bird had a length of nearly 18 inches, which is too much in comparison with the female head on the vase. Both of these birds have a great stretch of wing but it is natural that



FIGURE 19. DRAWING OF SCENE ON VASE IN PROVIDENCE BY MIRIAM A. BANKS

the vase-painter should have shortened them a bit and in any case they are not fully unfolded. The bird cannot be a peacock or parrot as one would expect associated with Hera, for all parrots have very short legs with zygodactyle feet adapted for climbing with the aid of the bill, whereas the Providence bird has long shanks. With Hera is generally associated the cuckoo, which stood on top of Hera's sceptre in the statue by Polykleitos in the Argive Heraion. The

peacock and crow were also sacred to her but the falcon on our vase is unique.

The goddess holds in her left hand a sceptre which ends in a lotus-bud, and in her right a phiale like that held by the goddess on the so-called Harpy Tomb. She is clad in the fine Ionic chiton with characteristic Brygan dots near the bottom and wears also a himation with characteristic Brygan edges. She has an earring in her visible ear. Her hair is done up at the back and confined by a fillet about her head, which falls in two streamers behind her shoulders. Her Brygan eye is long and narrow and in full front The face with its refined smile reminds one of the work of Oltos but especially of the style of the Providence Painter. There is so much similarity in the arrangement of the hair, the features of the face and the earring to the head on a lekythos in New York<sup>1</sup> that at first I thought that the Providence lekythos was by the Providence Painter, but the whole feeling and beautiful archaism are Brygan. Only such a master could have been so original and drawn such a charming goddess. The design is so original that I can find no parallel to the remarkable throne with the unique falcon. There is none such in Miss Richter's Ancient Furniture. For this reason and because of resemblance in style to signed vases, the lekythos may rank as one of the finest of the works of the Brygos painter.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

DAVID M. ROBINSON

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Beazley, Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, p. 75, fig. 44.

Archaeological Institute of America

# GENERAL MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 28-30, 1927

The Archaeological Institute of America held its twenty-ninth meeting for the reading and discussion of papers at the University of Cincinnati, December 28, 29 and 30, 1927, in conjunction with the American Philological Association, the College Art Association, the Linguistic Society of America, the American Association of University Professors, and the National Association of Teachers of Speech. There were four sessions for the reading of papers, besides one joint session with the American Philological Association, and another joint session with the College Art Association. The summaries of the papers which follow were furnished by the authors.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28. 2.30 P.M.

- ΤΗΕ ΚΩΦΟΣ ΛΙΜΗΝ OF THE PIRAEUS (read by title)
   John Day, Hamilton College
   This paper was printed in the A.J.A., xxxi, 4.
- 2. Roman Restituit Coins (read by title)

  Thomas S. Duncan, Washington University
- Some Votive Offerings from the Acropolis of Halae (read by title)
   Hetty Goldman, American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- 4. Some Notes on Columnar Sarcophagi
  Marion Lawrence, Bryn Mawr College

A dated monument of the early Gothic style and a new and important example of French influence comes to light in the sarcophagus in Mantua Cathedral which has until now passed unchallenged as a work of the early Christian period. In composition it shows many peculiarities and upon examination of the marble, traces of re-cutting are apparent. It was originally of the seven-arch type with the scene of Christ upon the Mount with his twelve apostles as we see him on a number of sarcophagi, notably the one at St. Honorat and the members of the city-gate group. The front is now too much mutilated to be of value in a study of style. The ends, however, are intact and also show clear evidence of re-working. The squat, thick columns of the fourth century have been pared down to extreme thinness and have been made polygonal. The capitals have assumed a Gothic character, while on one end indented Ghibelline battlements appear. The figure style bears close resemblance to the work of the early school of Reims and many

parallels for proportion, drapery, shape of head and face, and cast of features can be drawn between the Mantua sarcophagus and the St. Sixtus portal. Both show the same feeling for plastic form and the same treatment of the drapery so that its folds will not obscure the limbs beneath. The technique of the hair is peculiarly mediaeval with single locks ending in snail-like curls, a treatment which we find in France rather than in Italy and which appears in works of the transitional period in the St. Stephen of Sens and at Reims, on the Romanesque door and at intervals in the later work.

A similar instance of the influence of Reims is found on the portals of the Cathedral of Lucca where many echoes of the St. Sixtus portal occur. The comparison is closer, however, between Mantua and Reims than between Mantua and Lucca,

so that we cannot predicate influence from the latter.

The style of the ends of the Mantua sarcophagus can date only in the thirteenth century. Corroborative evidence of this is afforded by the sixteenth-century inscription on the inscription block of the cover which states that the present occupant of the tomb, Johannes Bonus, died in 1249. This is without doubt the date of the re-working.

About fifty years earlier is the sarcophagus of S. S. Nabor and Felix, now in S. Ambrogio in Milan. Unlike our first example, this is clearly a copy of a fourth-century sarcophagus. The early Christian labarum is completely misunderstood and here appears as a Greek cross with a handle, while the monogram and wreath have vanished, although the soldiers remain below. The Pilate scene upon the right also shows inconsistencies, as one of the soldiers has no body below the waist and Pilate squats in mid-air. Many other features might be cited as proof that the artist had little familiarity with his iconography but was copying an early Christian five-niche sarcophagus, such as the one at St. Maximin, with almost the same sequence of scenes, or another in the Chapel of St. Baudille at Nimes, or No. 171 of the Lateran.

The strange and barbaric figure style called Lombard by Garrucci comes, I believe, from a mingling of the early Christian features carried over from the original and the style of a follower of Benedetto Antellami. The formalized parallel folds of the drapery especially betray a technique similar to that found on the reliefs of the Baptistery of Parma.

5. Buttons and Their Use on Greek Costumes (read by title)

Kate McK. Elderkin, Associate Editor of the American

Journal of Archaeology

This paper will be printed in a later issue of the A.J.A.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29. 9.30 A.M.

- 1. Unknown Spanish Frescoes of the Romanesque Period Walter W. S. Cook, New York University
- 2. The Back of the Lorsch Book Cover C. R. Morey, Princeton University
- Arabic Glass in the Toledo Museum
   Blake-More Godwin, Director, Toledo Museum of Art
   See News, p. 112.

# 4. Occident and Orient in Architectural Ornament Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University

The origin of various architectural and artistic motifs is still in doubt. Some, e.g., the garland, the vine pattern, the hippocamp, are believed to be Hellenic; others, like the lotus, are considered Oriental. The combination of architectural sophistication in some respects with infantile ignorance in others, such as is exhibited at Angkor, is puzzling. There we have only false arches, but a wealth of ornament, much of which is suspiciously Occidental in type. Interesting varieties of the rinceau may be seen at Sarnath, at Angkor, at Anuradhapura, and in elegant form at Fathpur-Sikri.

The fine scrolls emerging symmetrically from an urn at Boroboedoer are reminiscent of the well-known Lateran relief from Trajan's Forum, and of another

familiar example from the Forum Romanum.

At Angkor we see Tévadas dancing on an upturned lotus flower, which in reverse position reminds one of the outlines of the egg-and-dart motif. This motif appears in many varieties of type: at Pagan in garland form, in the Ramesvara cave at Ellura, the Buddhistic Javanese ruin at Prambanan, and the highly conventionalized decorations at Fathpur-Sikri.

The elaborately-decorated pilaster occurs in several elegant examples at Angkor, with a notable similarity to the acanthus motif at the start. Its development, including the use of animal and human figures, is strongly reminiscent of the Ara Pacis of Augustus and of the fine pilaster in the crypt of St. Peter's, at Rome.

The lattice-work tracery of the East has advanced far beyond its Occidental counterpart, as seen in particular at Agra, or Fathpur-Sikri, when compared with the Vesta-temple relief in the Uffizzi.

With the Karyatid idea may be compared the Garudas on the face of the royal terrace at Angkor.

Finally, the magnificent series of reliefs, historical and mythological, at Angkor-Vat and Angkor-Thom, as well as at Boroboedoer, are well worthy of comparison with the Roman triumphal arch and the Parthenon frieze.

Such parallels and similarities are very suggestive, and serve to stimulate our interest in further study of a fascinating problem.

#### 5. AN EDUCATION IN MODERN ART

#### Alice Robinson, Ohio State University

Modern Art—and for the sake of illustration, the paper was limited to painting—has been conspicuous only since the rise of democracy. Before that time it was possible but unusual and quite abnormal. It is the logical result of an artist freed from a patron, from tradition, from the moralist, the scientist and the literary man. To understand Matisse it is necessary to study the successive steps that have given us this freedom. The contributions that Sir Joshua Reynolds made to Constable, that Constable made to Delacroix, that Delacroix made to Manet, that Manet made to Cezanne, that Cezanne made to Picasso—have given us Modern Art. Most modern painting is "expressionistic" rather than decorative. That is, it has a life of its own independent of its surroundings. To judge a painting made by a brilliant decorative painter such as Raphael away from a proper position for that painting is as unfair as to judge a Matisse by the wall on which it is hung.

Perhaps the greatest single influence in Modern Art has been the Oriental view-

point. Cezanne's dictum—"every line must work"—is nothing more than the Oriental principle put in the vernacular, but it has freed modern painting from the superfluous. The Impressionist has brought to his attention the futility of chasing after that elusive quality, realistic color, and the scientist has proved to him that his dearest possession, perspective, was based on the fallacy that a straight line was crooked. The invention of the Wilfred Color Organ is not to be ignored; it has been as important in giving freedom to the artist as the invention of the camera. One relieved the painter of his desire to make "snapshots," the other, empty abstractions.

The decorative arts of today offer a challenge to the freed artist. There is a chance for him for social service in a community equaled only by that of the doctor or an automobile salesman. The new fenestrated architecture gives to him a greater opportunity than Michelangelo ever had, the small servantless house is as interesting from the standpoint of design as a Ricardi Palace and a new religion, omitting a formal theology, awaits a Giotto.

The price that the artist has been asked to pay, in times past, in detachment from his group, has, perhaps, been too much to ask of him. If the aesthetic emotion could be aroused today, as it was in the time of the Renaissance, by an artist like anyone else doing his duty by a steady job, the freed artist might be in a position to justify himself.

# 6. An Ivory Diptych of the Museo Cristiano

## Donald D. Egbert, Princeton University

The subject of this paper is an ivory diptych in the Museo Cristiano which is classed by Koechlin in his "atelier of Soissons." This atelier, however, should be subdivided into two ateliers, the second being distinguished from the first by the more casual and decorative use of the little dots that represent the shutters in the tourelle windows of the first atelier, and also by the use of closed cusps pierced by trefoils instead of the open cusps of the first. The use of bar tracery instead of plate tracery in the architecture of the second atelier is also a point of distinction.

To this second atelier belongs the diptych in the Vatican, which shows many peculiarities that distinguish it from the general run of French ivories of its period, which is of the end of the thirteenth century. One of these peculiarities is the extreme thinness of the hinge arrangements which seem hardly feasible for any actual or permanent hinging. Another is the peculiar iconography which departs in certain respects from the French iconography of the period. Thus the Synagogue is left out of the Deposition from the Cross, although the Church is present. The use of these two figures in the Deposition instead of a Crucifixion is in itself peculiar. In the Adoration of the Magi, the French scheme is departed from to the extent that the kneeling Magus is placed on the other side of the Madonna opposite the other two, and the first Magus is bearded and the second beardless, contrary to French usage of the time in which the first Magus is beardless and the second bearded. Along with these peculiarities go certain characteristics that seem to point to an Italian rather than a French hand, namely the comparatively bulky and Giottesque quality of the figures and drapery, and the handling of the tourelles which resemble Italian campanili. Such indications point to an Italian copyist who is following French models, but the style of the second atelier seems to be consistent, and this relation would have to be predicated of the rest of the group as well as of the Vatican diptych on account of the consistency of the style. The same style is found in a triptych of the Metropolitan Museum, where the Italian characteristics become more marked. It is possible that the triptych

in the Metropolitan Museum is a work which did not have a French model and that the whole group is the work of Italian ivory carvers, who in the case of the piece last mentioned were able to follow their native bent, while in the other pieces they were confined by the imitation of the French pattern. The group at least demonstrates the necessity of a reconsideration of Koechlin's rather sweeping attribution of all ivories of this type to French ateliers without sufficient reference to Italian and other imitations thereof.

### 7. THE MONTE SIEPI FRESCOES (read by title)

### George Rowley, Princeton University

The frescoes of the Gothic chapel which adjoins the Romanesque Cappella Rotonda at Monte Siepi, present a four-cornered puzzle involving the life of S. Galgano, the successive periods of prosperity and decline of his Cistercian Foundation, the actual condition of the chapel walls and the various styles of the paintings. Although the truth will never be known exactly, the problem is like an intricate detective case in which the several elements are so dove-tailed that apparently only one general hypothesis will serve to answer every question.

Galgano Guidotti of Chiusdino having lived as a hermit for a year on the top of Monte Siepi died on December 3, 1181, at the age of thirty-three, and in 1185 was canonized. Before 1200 a Cappella Rotonda was erected on the Monte and decorated with frescoes representing the miracles of the saint. In the thirteenth century, this Foundation became so important that a monumental Abbey and a large Monastery were built in the valley at the foot of the hill, while the Cappella Rotonda remained to serve as a shrine for the sword of Galgano which had been miraculously transfixed in the rock. To this Cappella a small rectangular chapel was added in the fourteenth century which represents the problems discussed in this paper.

The adornment of this Gothic chapel was first described in 1645 by Libanori who was Abbot of S. Galgano and something of an antiquary. He tells us that the altar held a tavola on which were painted a Crucifix, the Archangel Michael and S. Galgano and in the predella some of the Apostles. Moreover, the tavola opened, revealing a painting of the Madonna with the Child in her arms. In the cornice of the crucifix, the following words were inscribed:

"Questa tavola con la cappella fece fare "Ristoro da Selvatella MCCCXXXVI

and in the predella:

"Nicolaus Segre me pinxit"

In the absence of contrary evidence, and of any tradition of the presence of the great Ambrogio Lorenzetti to whom the frescoes of the chapel have recently been attributed, the presumption is that Nicola Segre painted the frescoes as well as the tavola. Furthermore these agree in style with the Petronilla polyptych in the Belle Arti and with the Platt Madonna, forming a group which should be attributed to a new artistic personality, a personality quite distinct from Ambrogio, although belonging to his bottega. It is even possible that the Platt Madonna formed the center of Segre's triptych, since the Monastery of S. Eugenio from which it came was formerly affiliated with the Abbey of S. Galgano. At any rate, 1336 fixes the date for the painting of the original frescoes.

The successive periods of damage and restoration may be outlined as follows: (1) The sacking of the countryside by Sir John Hawkwood in 1364, with troops billeted at S. Galgano.

The original frescoes represented the life of Galgano. The scenes on the side walls were his Canonization, his Renunciation of life, and a vision at Rome; on the end wall were the saint's first two visions—the appearance of Michael and the Madonna in Majesty. The condition of the frescoes during the fifteenth century can best be seen on the side walls, because they were protected by a coat of whitewash until the nineteenth century.

(2) Deterioration from 1500 until the restoration of 1577.

The appearance of Michael to Galgano was changed into a normal Annunciation by transforming the saint into a virgin. The portrait of a Cardinal was added, kneeling behind the Archangel.

(3) Rapid decline from 1666 to 1789 when the Abbey was abandoned and the

Cappella Rotonda became the church.

The Cappella Rotonda was changed into a baroque polygon. The side walls of the chapel were covered and the end wall was heavily repainted. A new Madonna and Child in fresco was superimposed upon the original figure of Galgano's second vision, who held a sceptre in French Gothic fashion.

### 8. A CATALAN RETABLE IN COLOGNE (read by title)

## Hugh S. Morrison, Princeton University

The paper described a retable in Cologne which was published by Margaret Burg in "Ottonische Plastik" (1922) as a work of Ottonian sculpture. The relief was described by Dr. Burg as an antependium, but is in reality a retable, as shown by the projection of the central portion containing the Crucifixion and replacing the crucifix which previous to the use of retables stood upon the altar. The peculiar technique of the panel and the use of the Alpha and Omega on either side of the Crucified combine with various indications of ornament and style to show that the work is a product of Catalonian art. The use of the retable came in during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the symmetrical and ordered composition of the panel indicates a date far later than its primitive style would indicate. The latter has much in common with the Catalonian and south French sculptures of the type of the lintel of St.-Genis-des-Fontaines which is dated early in the eleventh century. The attribution to Catalonia is further confirmed and the date in the second half of the twelfth century indicated by the resemblance of the panel to the Catalan altar frontals published by Dr. Walter W. S. Cook, and especially such stucco antependia as the one from Esterri de Cardos in the collection of George Gray Barnard, which is dated about 1200.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29. 2.30 P.M.

#### 1. THE EUMENIDES SHRINES AT ATHENS

#### Walter Miller, University of Missouri

There are two famous sanctuaries of the Eumenides at Athens—the one just below the summit of Ares Hill, the other at Colonus Hill, the birthplace of Sophocles.

In regard to the former, most of our information is derived from the tragic poets, especially Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. His testimony, corroborated by Pausanias, leads us to look for three apartments, with three altars and three statues, at the shrine upon the Areopagus. It was a place of refuge for the oppressed and persecuted.

For our information in regard to the shrine at Colonus we are again led to the

tragic poets, especially Sophocles' Oedipus Coloneus. The shrine there was an inviolable one, in the midst of a region checkered with sanctuaries—the Academy, a Prometheum, a sanctuary of Theseus and Parithous, a Posideum, A Heroum of Colonus, and a shrine of Demeter Euclous. Round about all was a grove of olive and laurel and varied vines and shrubs, the haunt of myriad nightingales.

The entrance to the Cave of the Eumenides is still visible in the cellar of a house near the base of the hill. Investigation of this place may reveal some of the various objects mentioned by Sophoeles—the "bronze foot-threshold," the "sheer step," the "rock-hewn lustral bowls," the "hollow wild-pear tree," the "Thorician stone," the "tomb of stone," et cetera. The adjacent sanctuary of "Demeter clad in green" has been inherited obviously by the Παναγία Ἑλέουσα (which was not the "Mary of Mercy" originally but Ἑλαίουσα, a paraphrase for Είγλοσ, the "Mary of the olive groves.")

- SIX YEARS' WORK AMONG THE ANTIQUITIES OF PALESTINE
   John Garstang, the University of Liverpool, Charles Eliot
   Norton James Loeb Lecturer of the Institute
- 3. DISCOVERY OF AN ISRAELITE TEMPLE AT TELL EN NASBEH William F. Badè, Pacific School of Religion
- 4. The Mycenean Plume Leceister B. Holland

This paper will be printed in a later issue of the A.J.A.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30. 9.30 A.M.

1. Theseus as a National Hero

Walter R. Agard, University of Wisconsin

A study of the way in which Athens liked to think of Theseus, a hero created in her own image, reveals the evolution of Athenian ideals. Prior to the time of Pisistratus he was chiefly a fighter and ravisseur. In the sixth century he became markedly Ionian in character, noted as a dancer and musician, a religious hero and athletic patron. The conception of Theseus as a sportsman became increasingly popular from 515 to 480; the painters of red-figured vases pictured him nearly half as often as Herakles, whom he was rapidly supplanting as the Athenian heroathlete. He was represented as an ephebe, conquering his enemies less by force than by strategy, and fighting for humane purposes. As Athens came to maturity, she preferred to regard Theseus as a mature fighter for democratic principles, a statesman, and a sympathetic friend and protector of the weak and suffering, irreproachable in honor, and profoundly religious.

2. The Basilica Aemilia

Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania This paper will be printed in a later issue of the A.J.A.

3. Recent Investigations in the Temple at Bassae
William Bell Dinsmoor, Columbia University

This paper will be printed in connection with a special work on the Temple at Bassae.

4. THE DELPHIC FESTIVAL AND ITS OBJECT

Eva Sikelianos, Delphi, Greece (read by title)

5. The Excavations of Tsoungiza, the Prehistoric Site of Nemea

J. Penrose Harland, University of North Carolina

The site on the hill west of the village of Herakleion was inhabited from Neolithic times throughout the Bronze Age. The Early Helladic Period was particularly well represented—several houses, pottery, "small finds," etc., being found on the knoll and on the terrace below and around it.

Three building periods could be distinguished in the E. H. stratum, and noteworthy is the fact that the width of the house-walls varied with the sub-periods: average width of walls of E. H. I, 1.00 m.; of E. H. II, .50 m.; of E. H. III, .35 m. Similarly the pottery could be roughly classified in groups corresponding to these sub-periods. Incised ware was a striking feature of E. H. I, the "sauceboat" was especially common to E. H. II, and Patterned Ware (mostly dark-on-light) was abundant in E. H. III.

The plan of the "House of the Querns"—of one room—is interesting because of its rounded corner. Against the back wall and adjacent parts of the side walls were eight pithoi and near them the nine saddle-querns which gave this house its name.

Special features of the E. H. Period were the *bothroi*, of which no less than twelve were found on the knoll, a well-made *cist-grave* cut in the rock and covered with slabs, and a *well*, *ca.* 1.20 in diameter and 12.25 in depth, which yielded among other things four vessels and a quantity of sherds (all E. H.).

Below and around the knoll, above an E. H. stratum, I uncovered two Middle Helladic (I–II) houses with the accompanying Gray Minyan and Mattpainted wares, and at a higher level several houses of M. H. IV (1500–1400 B.C.). The "House of the Arrowhead-Maker" contained, along with several arrowheads and blades of chert and obsidian and hundreds of chert and obsidian flakes, numerous painted vases of excellent fabric, notably "Ephyraean" ware. In a corner, covered by a slab, was an Intramural Burial.

The Late Helladic Period (1400-1100 B.C.) was scantily represented.

Summary of results: The E. H. Period was brought to an end by a fire which destroyed the entire settlement. Above this stratum rose the successive settlements of the M. H. "Minyans." Another "break" seems evidenced at ca. 1400 B.c. The (apparent) newcomers built their houses on the south slope of the hill, but the "palace" probably occupied the knoll. The proximity to Mykenai may account for the comparatively scanty remains of the L. H. Period.

6. A RECONSIDERATION OF THE GRECO QUESTION

E. K. Waterhouse, Princeton University

7. Newly Identified Fragments of Chalcidian Pottery in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (read by title)

H. R. W. Smith, Princeton University

Rumpf's researches in Chalcidian Vase Painting enable us to recognize as Chalcidian two pieces in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania which his admirable monograph, Chalkidische Vasen, fails to notice. One is a fragmentary

eve-cup (M.S. 4864), which Dr. Luce in his catalogue of the Mediterranean Section of this museum (p. 64, No. 51) correctly placed in the Phineus class, a group which Rumpf has proved to be Chalcidian. This cup appears to have been decorated by the painter to whom Rumpf gives his No. 255 (the Madrid eye-cup) and No. 247. We can trace the hand of this artist in the cautious, uniform flow of the brush-strokes and in details of the apotropaic face-scheme (the eyebrows, the relation of the eyeballs to the upper lids, of the lower lids to the lines connecting nose and ears, of these lines to the upper edge of the varnish, the curve of these same lines, especially where they join the ears, and the peculiar stylization of the nose). The Philadelphia cup has interesting sketching-vertical guide-lines, and preliminary incision for most of the design. Rumpf's No. 251 (almost a replica of the Philadelphia cup) is probably, and his No. 250 possibly, by the same painter. More important than this cup is the second item (M.S. 5658), part of a convex plaque with apotropaic eyes and floral ornament, incised herring-bone border, grooves at the vertical sides, and plastic birds'-heads at the corners. The surface of the clay, the characteristic perishing of the varnish, the drawing and proportions of the eyes and the form of the lotus-buds prove the piece Chalcidian; the decoration has something of the manner of Rumpf's "Master of the Inscribed Amphorae," but an attribution would be rash. The object is neither an epinetrion nor a tile nor a box-lid. It is perhaps an apotropaic charm, intended to be tied against a beam, or a bough (κεράμβηλον?); the vertical grooves and the birds'heads seem adapted to hold cords in place. With the valuable assistance of Professor William N. Bates, the writer of this paper is attempting to trace its provenience. This, if determined, might tell us where Chalcidian was manufactured; only utensils were exported by the Greek potteries, and this singular plaque was probably made for the home market. If, as Professor Bates is inclined to believe, it was acquired in Italy by its previous owner, the late John Thompson Morris, the suggestion of Langlotz that Chalcidian is an Italiote ware may be correct.

# The Castanet Dancers, a Greek Innovation in Egypt Caspar J. Kraemer, New York University FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30, 2:30 P.M.

# 1. The Distribution of Brick Architecture in France Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., Vassar College

A preliminary study toward the history of the use of brick as a building material in France.

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Of the factors which cause the geographical and chronological variety of monuments of architecture or of building art, material is one of the most important. Maximum distribution depends on two things only: availability of the raw stuff from which a given building material is prepared and means of transport to carry it beyond those regions where the raw stuff is available. Minimum distribution depends on the lack of this availability and these means of transport. Modern America offers an example of maximum distribution. Minimum distribution is perhaps best seen in Holland and North Germany during the thirteenth century when brick was substituted for imported granite in regions devoid of good local building stone. In France conditions have twice approached maximum distribution; and at both times a centralized civilization had largely replaced local cultural autonomy. Today, of course, brick is known as a building material

practically everywhere. In late Roman times similar or even greater centralization also had carried brick practically all over France. Usually the distribution of brick in France between the final period of Roman civilization and what Spengler has considered the final period of our own has been determined by the artistic force of taste.

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The Gallo-Roman enceinte of Senlis had stripes of brick—or rather "tile"—in a regular large petit appareil of limestone covering a concrete core. The Basse Œuvre at Beauvais (Oise) nearby shows that both the habit of banding walls and arches and the desire for this simple polychromy continued in this region to the end of the Carolingian period. Toward 1500 brick reëntered Senlis as a building material and with the new century was used in an important late Flamboyant Hotel now being restored as a museum for the Société Archéologique de Senlis. With the seventeenth century appears such a characteristic domestic use of brick as is found in the Hôtel des Trois Pots. With the reign of Louis XIV brick disappears entirely, only to reappear in the middle of the nineteenth century with the Romantic copying of other styles, "Renaissance" in the popular French sense of the Style Louis XII and Louis XIII.

2. Two Early Red-Figured Cups in Providence Stephen B. Luce, Rhode Island School of Design

This paper will be printed in a later issue of the A.J.A.

3. The Antikythera Bronze Youth and a Herm-Replica
A. D. Fraser, Alfred University

This paper will be printed in a later issue of the A.J.A.

- 4. Some Thoughts on the Derivation of the Medusa Head Raymond S. Stites, State University of Iowa
- THE GENESIS OF THE GREEK BLACK GLAZE
   Charles F. Binns, New York State School of Clay-working and Ceramics, Alfred University

A. D. Fraser, Alfred University

This paper will be printed in a later issue of the A.J.A.

6. A Mediaeval Antependium in Cologne

Hugh S. Morrison, Princeton University

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS1

# NOTES ON RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; OTHER NEWS

EDWARD H. HEFFNER, Editor

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

# MISCELLANEOUS

Rhodesia.—In the Illustrated London News, Dec. 10, 1927, pp. 1058–1059 (8 figs., 5 in colors), Margaret Taylor writes about the discovery of remarkable rock-paintings at Rumwanda, in southeastern Rhodesia. The paintings are very different from those normally found in this region. From the shape of the human body and the instruments—harp, pipe, and cymbal—carried by the figures, an argument is made for an Egyptian origin of this work. The Egyptians were fond of music and were in the habit of taking bands along on their voyages. It may well be that, as Herodotus says, Pharoah Necho in about 600 B.c. sent a fleet from Egypt, manned by Phoenicians, round Africa, which stopped several times to sow and harvest grain en route. Perhaps then, while waiting for the grain to ripen, the crew went inland and had their pictures painted by the natives, in accordance with a well established practice in other parts of the world.

## NECROLOGY

Walther Amelung.—Professor Walther Amelung, First Secretary of the Roman branch of the Archaeological Institute of the German Empire, died after a short illness, at Bad Nauheim, on September 13, 1927, in the sixty-second year of his age. A pupil of Heinrich Brunn, of whom he often spoke with respect and gratitude, he always maintained the older tradition of a literary, as well as a technical, appreciation of art; and in this he was aided by exceptional talent and training, for in his youth he was intended for the stage, and he always showed an intense love for music and an ability as a speaker which can have been equalled by few scholars.

The earlier years of his scientific activity were spent in Rome as a private scholar, though he was entrusted with several extensive commissions by the German Archaeological Institute. During the World War he returned to Germany, where he cooperated in the re-arrangement of the cast collection of the Berlin University. With the renewal of peace conditions, and the re-establishment of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, he was the ideal choice for the head of that establishment, and it is largely to his scholarship, his administrative ability, and his personality that its present prosperity is due. He was always ready to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor Heffner, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor Samuel E. Bassett, Professor C. N. Brown, Miss Mark Buckingham, Professor Sidney N. Deane, Professor Hobert E. Dengler, Mrs. Edith Hall Doham, Professor Handld N. Fowler, Dr. Stephen B. Luce, Professor Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Professor Clarence Manning, Professor Elmer T. Merrill, Professor Lewis B. Paton, Professor Homer F. Rebert, Professor John C. Rolfe, Professor John Shapley, Professor Frank G. Speck, Professor Axel J. Uppvall, Professor Shirley Weber, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after December 31 1997

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see Vol. xxx, 1, p. 124.

help others from out of the fullness of his knowledge and experience, and the hospitality of his villino outside the Praetorian Camp will be long remembered by many. He was incomparably the greatest authority on the sculptures in the Roman museums; and at the same time his intimate appreciation of the literature of Greece deepened with the years. His attainments in the criticism and interpretation of Greek art had won universal recognition, and the charm of his sincere, lovable nature had endeared him to all those whose privilege it was to come within the circle of his friendship. His Führungen, in which the presentation was fully worthy of the content, were coming to form an essential element in the scholarly life of Rome. On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, representatives of many nations united to do him honor; but the volume of studies which his friends had hoped to present to him in commemoration of that event must now serve as a sad memorial of their esteem and affection.

The following incomplete bibliography will convey an idea of the extent, and the character, of his published work: Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea, Munich, 1895; Photographische Einzelaufnahmen Antiker Sculpturen, Munich, since 1895 (in collaboration with Paul Arndt, who had begun the series in 1893, and Georg Lippold); Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz, Munich, 1897; Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, text and plates, Berlin, I, 1903, II, 1908; the third edition of Wolfgang Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom, Leipsic, I, 1912, II, 1913 (in collaboration with Emil Reisch and Fritz Weege). Numerous articles in periodicals, chiefly the Jahrbuch and the Römische Mitteilungen of the German Archaeological Institute; several of these, such as the reconstruction of a standing statue of a goddess of the transitional period in Röm. Mitt., xv, 1900, 181–197, have become veritable landmarks in the progress of archaeological science. Various articles on individual artists in the Thieme-Becker-Vollmer Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler, Leipsic, from 1907.

The results of his remarkable investigations in the storerooms of the Vatican will appear shortly, it is hoped, in the publications of the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.

A. W. VAN BUREN

Rome, September 15, 1927

Sir Sidney Colvin.—The death of Sir Sidney Colvin occurred in May, 1927, at the age of eighty-one years. He was curator of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge for many years, then (1884–1912) of the department of engravings and drawings in the British Museum, which he enriched considerably and classified well. His chief publications relating to art are of the beginnings of engraving in England and the chronicle of Finiguerra. But his friendship for Robert Louis Stevenson and his researches on the biography of Keats made him better known in his own country than his writings on art. (S. R., R. Arch., xxvi, 1927, p. 179; cf. London Times, May 12, 1927.)

Domenico Comparetti.—Professor Domenico Comparetti was born in Rome in 1835 and died at Florence, January 20, 1927. In early youth he was apprenticed to an apothecary, but he spent his nights in the study of Greek, Latin, French, German, and English, and even a little Turkish, Arabic, and hieroglyphics. In 1858 two short articles of his, one on the funeral oration of Hyperides, the other on the annalist Licinianus, were published in the Rheinisches Museum by Ritschl. The Duke Michelangelo Caetani, father of the learned Ersilia Lovatelli, visited him, became his friend and protector. At the age of twenty-four years he was made professor at the University of Pisa, and soon after at the Institute of Higher

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Studies at Florence, where he taught for thirty years. Once only he gave a course on the Greek theatre at the University of Rome. His interest was not confined to a specialty, for antiquity and the Middle Ages attracted him equally. He published editions of the laws of Gortyn, of the gold tablets of Petilia, and of the Gothic War of Procopius, and wrote a monograph on the Herculanian villa of the Pisos, as well as monographs on Virgil in the Middle Ages and the popular Finnish epic, the Kalevala. He was an active collaborator in the Museo Italiano (1884–1890), and as a member of the Academy of the Lincei played a great part in the foundation of the Monumenti Antichi. He was the author of twenty volumes and two hundred articles. Comparetti was also one of the earliest to study what is now called folklore. His great learning was equalled by his courtesy and his desire to be useful to others. (S. R., R. Arch., xxy, 1927, p. 391.)

Edmond Courbaud.—Born in 1868, Edmond Courbaud entered the École normale (1887), then the École de Rome (1890), and, after ten years of secondary teaching, was Professor of the Latin Language and Literature at the Sorbonne (1902–1927). His archaeological published work consists of articles in the Dictionnaire des Antiquités and essays in the Revue des Deux Mondes on Greek portraits (Aug. 15, 1895) and Roman villas (Sept. 1, 1904). The rest of his activity was devoted to Latin Literature: an essay on the Comedia Togata, a charming book on Horace, others on Tacitus and the De Oratore of Cicero, which he edited. His premature death leaves the memory of an excellent mind, a conscientious worker, a good and honest writer. (S. R., R. Arch., xxvi, 1927, p. 178.)

Camille Enlart.—Camille Enlart was born at Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1862 and died in Paris, February 14, 1927. He was a member of the Institute (1925) and director of the museum of sculpture in the Trocadéro (1903). He was educated at the École des Beaux Arts, the École des Chartes, and the École de Rome, and became, with Lefèvre-Pontalis, the best representative of those studies which have as their object mediaeval French architecture. His first work (1894) was on the influence of Cistercian architecture in Italy; then he pursued his researches in the countries of the North and the East, notably in Syria and Cyprus. His chief work, the Manuel d'archéologie française (1902 and following years) is unfinished, but is the best work of its kind in any language. (S. R., R. Arch., xxv, 1927, p. 389.)

Henri Hubert.—The École des Hautes Études and the Musée de Saint Germain met with a severe loss through the death of Henri Hubert, director at the École and adjunct conservator at the Musée, on May 25, 1927, at the age of fifty-five years. In spite of feeble health, he was a hard worker and rendered valuable service to the École du Louvre, then to the École des Hautes Études and to the Musée de Saint Germain. His published writings, though not very numerous, are of exceptionally high quality. (S. R., R. Arch., xxvi, 1927, pp. 176–178,

portroit )

Walter Leaf.—The death of Walter Leaf, at Torquay, in March, 1927, at the age of seventy-five years, deprives England of one of her greatest bankers and greatest Homeric scholars. He was president of the Westminster Bank and a former president of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge bestowed upon him the title of doctor. He was a man of varied tastes, and wrote excellent verses in English and in Greek. Among his published works are an edition of the Iliad (1886–1888), a translation of the Iliad (with Lang and Myers, 1898), Homer and History (1915), Troy, Homeric Geography (1912), and Strabo, the Troad (1923). (S. R., R. Arch., xxv, 1927, p. 393; cf. London Times, March 9, 1927.)

The Duc de Loubat.-Joseph Florimond Loubat, made duke by Leo XIII, was

born in New York in January, 1831, and died in Paris, February 28, 1927. He had been corresponding member of the Institute since 1891, associate member of the Académie des Inscriptions since 1907. His secondary studies were completed at Paris, then he studied law at Heidelberg. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was given him in 1869 by the University of Jena. In 1878 he published his Medallic History of the United States in two volumes (New York, 1878), but his chief interest was American archaeology. He financed expeditions in Mexico and Central America, encouraged and aided the publications of others, and himself published (1896–1904) admirable reproductions of Mexican pictographic writings. He founded chairs of American archaeology in Paris, Berlin, Stockholm, Madrid, and New York, and gave richly of funds to the French Academy. (S. R., R. Arch., xxv, 1927, p. 389 f.)

Eusèbe Vassel.—Marie-Joseph Eusèbe Vassel, auxiliary of the Académie des Inscriptions, died at Monaco, February 21, 1927, at the age of eighty-three years. He had lived many years in Tunisia, where he edited the Dépèche tunisienne and the Revue tunisienne and was president of the Institut de Carthage. His numerous articles are concerned with Tunisian folklore and archaeology; in the latter field he rendered real service and attached his name to the new results. (S. R., R. Arch., xxv, 1927, p. 393.)

# PREHISTORIC, ORIENTAL, AND CLASSICAL BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

An Archaeological Survey of Southern Babylonia.—In B.A.S.O.R., xxv, 1927, pp. 5–13. (7 figs.), R. P. Dougherty continues the report of his archaeological survey begun in No. xxiii of the Bulletin. He finds that at Nippur, Bismâyah, Tello, Fara, Abu Hatab, and Warka, sites already scientifically excavated, the work is very incomplete, as is shown by the number of antiquities that the Arabs are constantly unearthing and offering for sale. This is particularly true of Warka, the ruins of which rank with those of Nippur in extent and impressiveness. Other prominent mounds, such as Larsa, Tell Medfnah, Ishan Bahriyat, Ishan al-Hibah, Zurgal, and Jokha, present great opportunities for excavation. In addition there are scores of smaller mounds that cover sites of great antiquity.

Neolithic Remains in Babylonia.—In B.A.S.O.R., xxv, 1927, E. A. Speiser reports the results of his archaeological survey near Kirkuk. In the desert west of Taza Hurmatu and Tang he came upon two immense mounds and six smaller mounds, also a series of neolithic mounds strewn over the whole area. These show that there was a large neolithic community in the valley between the foothills of the Zagros and the Jebel Hamrin. The pottery is of exactly the same type as that of the earliest civilization at Susa, and of the "prehistoric site at Tell el-Obeid near Ur, a fine ware with geometrical designs in black on a light ground." This same pottery has been found in Anatolia, and these new discoveries serve as a link to connect the pre-Sumerian and pre-Semitic civilizations of the Persian Gulf and of Asia Minor.

Sumerian Diorite Head.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 149 (June, 1927), pp. 30–34 (3 figs.), C. H. Hawes writes about a head of Gudea recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Report says that the head was found at Tello, ancient Lagash, in the lower Euphrates valley, where also was found a diorite head of the same ruler which is now in the Louvre. Gudea was patesi, priest-governor, of Lagash ca. 2500 B.C. The Boston head of the ruler is described as marking the highest development in sculpture in the round attained by the Sumerians. The head is of greenish-black diorite, represents Gudea with face and head clean

shaven and wearing a turban. The face has a square effect. Apparently he was represented as a stocky individual. The eyes are wide open, the eyebrows herring-boned, characteristics of the Sumerians. The head is as fine as any piece of Sumerian sculpture ever found.

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#### EGYPT

GIZA.—Tomb of Meresankh, Great-granddaughter of Queen Hetep-heres I.-In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 151 (Oct., 1927), pp. 64-79 (21 figs.), Geo. A. Reisner writes about the discovery in April and May, 1927, of the tomb of Queen Meresankh, in connection with the excavation of the Cheops family cemetery at Giza. The inner room to the north contains 10 statues of women cut in a wide niche. These rock-cut statues are part of the original decoration. In the main room the reliefs were worked in a coating of white plaster vividly painted. In the western inner room the unfinished condition of the walls sheds light upon the processes followed out in preparing reliefs. The surface of the wall is smoothed and covered with a thin coating of pinkish plaster. Upon this plaster the design is drawn in thin black lines. The details are modelled in white plaster and finally on the white plaster the design was redrawn in red lines. Inscriptions giving the date of the Queen's death and that of her funeral indicate that 272 days elapsed, showing thus that perhaps the tomb was being prepared in this long interval. On the south wall of the main chamber is depicted the Queen's funerary equipment. There were found a canopy supported by tent-poles, covering a bed, an arm-chair, a carrying-chair, head-rest, boxes for ointment jars, clothing, and other objects. When the burial chamber was opened in June, 1927 it was found plundered. The lid of the sarcophagus lay raised upon rough stones and the skeleton of the Queen lay disjointed. Only small pieces of equipment remained.

Old Kingdom Sarcophagus.—An unusually fine Old Kingdom sarcophagus has been acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is of Assuan granite and was found by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition in the Royal Cemetery of the Cheops Family at Giza. The name of Meresankh, "Daughter of the King, of his body; King's Wife; Great Favorite," is inscribed on it. The sides of the sarcophagus bear conventionalized representations of a house façade in relief, and on the ends, below the name of the Queen and her titles are lists of offerings. The lid is also inscribed and bears a representation of the jackal of Anubis. A considerable part of the original coloring yet remains.

The Museum's collection of Old Kingdom sculptures, to which this has been added, is unequalled outside of Egypt. The sculptures have survived from the great creative period of early Egypt and are significant not only for their beauty but for the part they have played in determining the date of the royal statues of Chephren, and in identifying the Sphinx as a portrait of Chephren.

The rarity of royal sarcophagi of the Old Kingdom and the fine workmanship of this example make its acquisition of especial importance. Meresankh, to whom the sarcophagus belonged, was the aunt of Meresankh III, whose tomb was excavated last summer and which was recently reported by Dr. George A. Reisner in charge of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition. This sarcophagus has been appropriately installed in the First Egyptian Room at the Museum of Fine Arts, where it is surrounded by fine portraits of royal personages, several of whom are closely related to Meresankh-Chephren, her brother or half-brother and probably her husband as well; Mycerinus, her nephew, and his Queen represented in the Museum's 'magnificent slate pair'; and Shepseskaf and Khuwenra great-nephews of Meresankh.

Report on French Excavations.—In C.R.A.B.L., Nov.-Dec., 1926, pp. 277-285,

PIERRE LACAU notes the principal results of the work of the (French) Service of Egyptian Antiquities in 1925–1926. At Saqqarah in the southern part of the necropolis, excavation of the structures about the Step-Pyramid has been continued. At the base of the ramp on the north face of the pyramid was found a life-size statue of the king entirely surrounded by a stone cabinet through which were pierced two holes at the level of the statue's eyes, communicating for his "vision" to the outer world and serving as passages for the entrance of prayers and incense. To the southeast was found, in the great circuit wall about the pyramid, a very narrow entrance giving access to a gallery with columns of an entirely new type. The walls of this construction are bare—no texts or figures appear on them. The entire area brings to light continual peculiarities, in technique, ground plan, type of masonry, etc. Two mummies of horses were found; these were not cult animals; they must have been their master's pets.

The pyramid of Pepi I (VIth dyn.) and the remains of the Queen's pyramid have been brought to light. In the latter, five diorite vessels of admirable technique were found. The Queen's funerary chamber is provided with the same texts as are those of the pyramids of the five kings of the same dynasty.

At Karnak have been found eight perfectly preserved osiriac statues of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten). They had been thrown to earth so that the square engaged pillars behind them might be quarried off. The figures, falling into soft earth were undamaged, even to the noses. The destruction of the monument saved the statues! The latter are invaluable for revivifying the personality of the prince, "whose striking ugliness must have possessed something sacred."

The Sphinx at Gizeh has been completely exhumed. Only a small débris of texts, without historic importance, was found. The whole figure, moreover, proves to be ugly enough. Under Thothmes IV (ca. 1430 n.c.) erosion had already been sufficient to demand a covering of masonry restoring the modeling of the body; this is recorded in the stele between the paws. This careful coating can be seen today. But again in Roman times re-covering was needed. This time, however, the masonry of small calcareous blocks was overlaid in such a fashion as to puff certain parts—the paws and flanks especially—out of proportion, accentuated the more by the thinness of the back which had lost its original coating. To date no trace of a pedestal has been found beneath the figure.

SAKKARA.—In the Illustrated London News, Nov. 12, 1927, p. 861 (4 figs.), is given a brief report of recent discoveries at Sakkara fifteen miles south of Cairo, where Mr. Cecil Firth has been continuing his excavations for the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. After considerable dangerous work a stairway was located leading to extraordinary funeral apartments. The rooms are lined with blue tiles broken by false doors, and beautiful low relief work of King Soser. One room is tiled with panels representing mat-work. The ceiling is in an arched design. The artistic work in the reliefs is especially good; the anatomy of the figures is exquisite. Openings leading to huge pits filled with débris have been found. The plan of the excavation is to investigate these next. Already these discoveries have changed some of the traditional beliefs about early Egyptian architecture and sculpture.

TELL EL-AMARNA.—In the Illustrated London News, July 9, 1927, pp. 46–47 (7 figs.), announcement is made of further excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society working under the direction of Dr. H. Frankfort. Public and private buildings were excavated. A hall where Akhenaten dedicated to his god tribute which he received from Asia and Nubia was found. A portrait head of one of the daughters of Akhenaten, a pottery figure of the hippopotamus goddess, and a

pottery plaything were found.

Tomb of Queen Hetep-heres.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 150 (Aug., 1927), p. 54, is a note giving a report from Dr. Reisner that upon finally clearing the tomb of Queen Hetep-heres the alabaster sarcophagus was found empty; that on May 23 the recess in the west wall of the chamber blocked with masonry and sealed with plaster was opened and in it was found an alabaster Canopic box still containing the entrails of the Queen, but not the rest of her body. The discovery of this box shows that the body had been mummified.

#### SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Alphabetic Sinai Inscriptions.—In B.A.S.O.R., xxvii, 1927, pp. 12–13, R. Butin reports that last March Professors Lake and Blake and the Rev. A. W. Johnson went to the traditional Sinai to copy manuscripts. Before leaving Cairo they were urged by Dr. A. H. Gardiner to stop at Serabit and bring back the famous alphabetic inscriptions to Cairo. The group were able to carry out this suggestion. They photographed the inscriptions afresh from many angles, loaded them on camels, and carried them safely to Cairo. They also found three new inscriptions. The publication of the corrected readings and of the new inscriptions has been entrusted to Prof. R. Butin, Acting Director of the American School at Jerusalem during the past winter. He reported on them at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, and his results are to be published in a forthcoming number of the Harvard Theological Review.

BEISAN.—New Discoveries.—In the Illustrated London News, Nov. 12, 1927, pp. 856–859, 882 (39 figs.), Alan Rowe reports on new discoveries at Beisan made since August, 1927. The work, which has been confined to Tell el-Hosn, or "Mound of the Fortress," has led to the identification of at least eight main levels ranging from before the time of Amenophis III to early Arabic times, or more than thirty-three centuries. Two new temples, respectively the fifth and sixth Canaanite temples discovered on the Tell, have been found. A door-jamb has been discovered on which is shown the portrait of the builder of the temple of Dagon (I Chron. x, 10).

From the lower Pre-Amenophis III level some very interesting objects have come, among them much pottery with beautiful decoration, for the most part Eastern Mediterranean in origin. The trunk of a date-palm discovered in this same level is significant as an indication that there were palm-trees in Beisan as early as 1500 s.c., whereas at present there are practically none. The flaring mouth of a bronze trumpet similar to the silver trumpet found in the tomb of Tutankhamen was discovered. Within one of the recently found temples three important objects have been uncovered: a bronze figurine covered with gold foil showing a god in a sitting position, his left arm on his lap and the right uplifted; a lapis lazuli scarab inscribed with the cartouche of Sesostris I (1970–1935 s.c.) and mentioned as being of great significance; an ivory plaque measuring 1¾ in. in height and showing a squatting man. The head is elongated and the features are slightly prognathic.

In the Amenophis III level an Egyptian faïence finger-ring bearing the sacred eye was found, as was also a pottery filter of unusual type.

In the Post-Amenophis III level were discovered 40 bowls and dishes, a broken figurine of Ashtoreth, and a six-inch antler of a deer.

In the Early Seti level 30 rooms were cleared, one of which contained a large quantity of small grain, close to which was found a hollowed-out stone in which the grain was pounded into flour. Nearby are the remains of the baking room. Among the pottery finds is an interesting pot with a strainer-spout and a movable

disc-like strainer fitting in its mouth. Among the other important finds is a pottery model of a human leg with a hole for hanging it up, evidently a votive offering made out of gratitude for a cure. Also a serpentine mould for small articles of jewelry was found.

In the Late Seti level two interesting objects were uncovered, a beautiful bronze axe-head, and a steatite conical seal showing two gazelle-like animals. An animal head, in pottery, perhaps that of a horse, was found nearby.

Of considerable human interest are the foot prints left on bricks found in the Rameses II level. Apparently these marks were made on the soft bricks while they were in the process of drying, by a child of about four or five years of age who was playing about the brick-maker's field accompanied by her two pets, a dog and a gazelle.

In Mus. Journ. (Univ. of Pa.), xviii, No. 1 (March, 1927), pp. 9–45 (15 plates; 10 figs.; 1 plan), Alan Rowe notes the discoveries at Beisan during the 1926 season. Eight main superposed city levels have been excavated running back through Arabic, Byzantine, Hellenistic, Philistine, Israelite, Assyrian, etc., to the Egyptian probably as early as 1412 n.c. Beneath the level of the great temple of Amenophis III (cleared in 1925), in the VIIth city level, were found many artifacts. Of particular interest are a Syrian dagger with inlaid wood handle, a Hittite axe head—the only example of its kind known—and a chair like the Cretan thrones but with Egyptian emblems, while nearby was a table identical in shape with those found in Cretan seals associated with sacred trees. Various models of animals, cult objects, came to light. Objects of interest in their historical sequence are described for the upper levels, in which also clearing is still going on.

The great cemetery of Beisan, one of the largest in Palestine contains graves from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine. So-called "anthropoid" burials are described. The context makes it clear that the regular, biological, sense of the word is being disregarded, and that the author is not telling of simian sepulture! In the Greco-Roman and Byzantine tombs were found large quantities, of excellent character, of the typical and well known Realien of those periods.

DAMASCUS.—The French Institute of Archaeology.—In Syria, vi, 1925, pp. 367–372 (2 pls.), Eustache de Lorey gives an account of the condition of the Azem Palace, the seat of the French Institute of Archaeology in Damascus and its collections, after the disturbances of October, 1924. This beautiful building was terribly injured by fire, and in the pillage of the palace valuable objects of art were lost. The collection of sculptures remains, and the collections of drawings and prints were not dispersed. Some of the stolen objects have been recovered, and it is hoped that with the assistance of other institutions the library of the Institute can be re-constituted.

Greek Inscriptions.—Seventeen Greek inscriptions collected at Damascus, and now in the collection of the French Institute there, are published by R. MOUTERDE, S. J., in Syria, vi, 1925, pp. 351–264 (pl.). Most are votive inscriptions or epitaphs. The  $\theta\epsilon\delta i$  objection mentioned in one is identified as Zeus Hadad. In a mosaic inscription on the south façade of the church of St. John the word sero's seems to mean the pediment and recalls, it has been suggested, a time when Greek was spoken at Damascus. One inscription includes the name of Abgar of Edessa, the first Christian king of the Hauran.

DJEBEL DRUZE.—An Archaeological Mission.—In Syria, vii, 1926, pp. 326—335 (8 pls.; 3 figs.), MAURICE DUNAND reports a recent journey of archaeological investigation in the Djebel Druze. Some of the inscriptions collected throw light on the identity of the contingents of Roman troops which occupied this region.

An inscription found at Chohba recalls the Jewish colony established in Batanea by Herod the Great. A number of local sculptures of Graeco-Roman date have been assembled by M. Dunand at the museum at Souweida. A Roman house and a church were excavated at Souweida. At Qanawât, remains of two churches built within the ruins of a temple were uncovered. The Odeum has been completely excavated. At Chohba the theatre has been excavated; also the building known as the great temple. Excavations in the baths did not produce the mosaics expected. But in a Roman house some important mosaics were found, including one which pictures the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. M. Dunand calls attention to the famous temple at Si'a as a desirable site for excavation. Many small objects which appear in neighboring villages are from this temple. M. Dunand, in summarizing the results of his expedition, notes that 437 Greek inscriptions were collected. 283 Safaite graffiti. 36 Nabataean inscriptions. 5 Latin.

EL-MISHRIFÉ.—A Hittite Stronghold.—In Suria, vii, 1926, pp. 289-325 (12) pls.; 42 figs.; map), Count DU MESNIL DU BUISSON gives a detailed account of investigations at the Hittite fortified post at El-Mishrifé, about eight kilometres north of Homs, and about half-way on a direct line between Damascus and Aleppo, on a tributary of the Orontes. The site has been visited and described by earlier travelers, notably by Père Sébastien Ronzevalle (Mélanges de la Faculté orientale, vii, pp. 127-135); but no thorough excavation had been made hitherto. The camp is approximately square, and of imposing dimensions, about a kilometre in each direction, and hence larger than the similar Hittite works at Karchemish and at Zindjerli. The ramparts, consisting of tufa and of earth excavated from the fossa, rise to a height of about thirteen to fifteen meters, and have an outer slope of about 60 degrees. They were presumably originally crowned with a wall or palisade. The construction presents analogies with a Hyksos camp at Tell-el-Yehudiyeh, north of Cairo, which has been described by Flinders Petrie (Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 1906). Of the four gates, the one at the west shows the most interesting remains. It is constructed of carefully shaped rectangular and polygonal blocks of limestone, and its plan recalls in some respects the gates of Zendjerli and Karchemish. Some 200 meters east of this gate were found fragments of a structure of carefully shaped rectangular blocks, presenting a façade some 18 meters in length facing east. Little pottery was discovered at this site. At a point not far from the south gate is a sort of basin about 70 by 60 meters in dimensions, rectangular except at the south end, where its boundary is curved. A knoll of hemispherical form in the southeast part of the enclosure has an elaborate stratification. Within it were found a pit and a tomb chamber filled with earth. This yielded a number of fragments of pottery, most of them bases of large jars. A jug decorated with a pattern of vertical zigzags was a unique specimen. An investigation of the hill on which the Greek church stands, in the northwestern part of the area, showed that the natural rock is covered with a cap of sun-dried brick and earth construction, in which are deep corridors with carefully laid walls of crude brick. Southeast of the church were discovered fragments of a huge basalt vase, 1.50 m. in diameter, ornamented with horizontal waved lines in relief. Excavation in the cliff to the north of the church led to the discovery of stairways, basins in the rock, and tombs. Among the small objects found here were a fragment of a female figure in terra-cotta, and a part of an ivory plaque of proto-Assyrian style, representing a sphinx.

Fortification System.—In C.R.A.B.L., Nov.-Dec., 1926, pp. 294-295, A. Gabriel notes the discovery in 1925, between Palmyra and the Euphrates, of an immense fortification system—two forts, twenty-four towers, and extensive walls, dating from about 729 A.D. or earlier. The region was supplied with water from

an artificial lake seven kilometres long by six hundred metres in mean width, lying about five and one-half kilometres south of the castles.

Gerar Relics.—In the Illustrated London News, July 2, 1927, pp. 10-11 (17 figs.), Sir Flinders Petrie writes about the excavations conducted last winter at Gerar. Six successive towns were cleared covering a range of history from 1500 b.c. to 400 b.c. Iron knives dating back to 1350 b.c. were found. Other objects of iron are a seven-pound pick, hoes, plough irons. Gold objects dating at about 1200 b.c. were found. Influences of the further East are shown at the time of Shishak; pottery models of chariots and arrow-heads were derived from Central Asia. In a rubbish collection was found a great quantity of table pottery of a type hitherto unknown in Palestine. The investigation of Gerar has shed light upon the importance of the site as a manufacturing and trading centre, in addition to furnishing information on the beginning of iron-working, Assyrian connections, the richness of Midianite gold, etc.

HAZOR.—In the *Illustrated London News*, July 9, 1927, pp. 54-55, 72 (3 figs.), John Garstang reports on the discovery of an ancient fortified camp by him in December, 1926, in Palestine, near Lake Huleh. The site is identified with Hazor.

JERUSALEM.—Excavations in the Tyropœon Valley.—The Palestine Exploration Fund has begun new excavations in the Tyropœon Valley on the west side of the ancient City of David directly opposite the Virgin's Fountain, in the hope of finding some trace of the west wall of earliest Jerusalem. The first two reports are given in Pal. Ex. Fund, lix, 1927, pp. 143–147, 178–183 (9 pl.). Near the surface a paved street and a house of the Byzantine period have been discovered. Beneath these were remains of foundation walls of houses dating from the second to the fourth century A.D. The lowest level that has been discovered thus far discloses a massive gateway flanked by a bastion. The masonry of the gateway is Maccabean, but it is probable that it masks a building of much greater antiquity. It seems unlikely that these immense walls, more than 24 ft. thick, should have been designed in the Hellenistic period merely to protect the Greek citadel. It is more likely that the kernel of these walls is to be carried back through Nehemiah to the Hebrew monarchy and even earlier.

New Discoveries on the Line of the Third Wall.—In B.A.S.O.R., xxv, 1927, pp. 2–3 (3 figs.), R. Butin reports that E. Sukenik, working for the Jewish Exploration Society of Jerusalem, has succeeded in tracing the wall for a distance of 300 metres from the Russian Compound to a point just east of the Náblus road opposite the north side of the École Biblique. Recently, while repairs were being made on the road in front of the American School, some large blocks of stone were discovered. This fact was reported at once to Dr. Garstang, the Director of Archaeology; and he began excavations on the spot, which resulted in the discovery of still another section of the wall and the foundation of a tower. The course of the road is now to be changed so that these discoveries may be included in the grounds of the American School.

These discoveries make it practically certain that Agrippa's wall, built in A.D. 70, followed the line laid down by Edward Robinson, so that the second wall of Josephus must have followed the line of the present north wall, and the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre cannot be genuine. In R. Bib., xxxvi, 1927, pp. 516–548 (8 plates), L. H. Vincent attempts to invalidate this evidence.

MIZPAH.—Excavations of the Pacific School of Religion.—A second season of excavation at Tell en-Nasbeh, probably the Biblical Mizpah, has been carried on by W. F. Badè during the past year. The massive wall of the Bronze Age (ca. 1800 B.C.) has been uncovered for an additional 200 feet. The present height is 25 feet, and it must have risen originally at least 20 feet above this. The thickness

averages 16 feet, and in some portions is as much as 25 feet. The lower half of the south side was plastered, apparently to protect it from the weather. Between this great wall and a smaller older inner wall was a line of shops, grain-bins, and silos. The foundations of a sanctuary of the Hebrew Period, dating from about 700 B.C., were also discovered. On a jar-handle some Hebrew letters were discovered which seem to read "Mizpah." A provisional report was made by Dean Badè at the last meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. See also, Pal. Ex. Fund, lix, 1927, pp. 159–161.

PALMYRA.—A New Survey of the Ruins.—In Syria, vii, 1926, pp. 71-92 (6 pls.; 7 figs.), Albert Gabriel reports a new survey of the remains of Palmyra, the result of an archaeological mission undertaken in 1925 with the collaboration of Dr. Ingholt of Copenhagen. The article is accompanied by a new plan of the site. Attention was given to the history of the fortifications of the city. To the north a long talus mound of elevation so gentle that it is hardly perceptible except in the light of late afternoon still preserves indications of the rampart and fossa which defended the city in this direction in the time of Zenobia. At the south is another similar talus; but this has remains of a wall which extended to the west to join fortifications on the ridge of the hill west of the city. Considerably within these limits are the walls of the period of Diocletian; while the fortified area of Justinian is still more restricted. In the height of its importance and power the city occupied an area some three kilometres in diameter. The main artery of the city's business and public life was the Great Colonnade, a street which extended 1100 meters westward from the Temple of Bel, changing its direction slightly at the Monumental Arch and again at the Tetrapylon. The road was 11 meters wide and was bordered on both sides by colonnades six meters wide. These had roofs which formed terraces with a parapet. North of the Colonnade were regular blocks of private houses, separated by narrower streets. To the south the insulae were somewhat larger. Between the Monumental Arch and the Tetrapylon the space south of the Colonnade was occupied by important public buildings, the agora, the theatre, and the temple excavated by Wiegand in 1915. At the west end of the colonnade a wider intersecting street extends to the south, ending in a circular area which was surrounded by a colonnade. The general plan of the city recalls other Hellenistic cities of Asia, showing the regularity of design which was introduced in city-planning by Hippodamus of Miletus. A large exedra was discovered to the east of the Monumental Arch. M. Gabriel describes the Tetrapylon, which consists of a base on the corners of which stand four pylons, each consisting of four Corinthian columns. He rejects the theory that these pylons supported arches or a vault. West of the Arch is a building the portico of which consisted of four Corinthian columns of granite, and of somewhat varying height, corrected by alterations of the bases in order to bring their capitals to the same level. The building to which this portico gave access contained a peristyle; its arrangement is not wholly clear. The private houses of Palmyra show the common type of Hellenistic plan: usually the rooms are grouped around three or four sides of a peristyle, and especial prominence is given to the oikos. One house has in addition to the peristyle a separate portico of four columns leading to the oikos. Such modifications are perhaps due to Mesopotamian or Persian influence. Two churches were investigated and plans of them are presented. In the larger not only the nave but the south aisle ended in an apse, both separated however from the body of the church by partitions with doors, perhaps serving the usual purpose of the eikonostasis. The church has a porch whose roof is supported by rectangular pillars at the corners and by eight Corinthian columns. This church is to be dated in the fourth century, and is perhaps to be associated with a bishop of

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Palmyra who took part in the Council of Nicaea. The second church is somewhat similarly arranged, but there is no evidence of more than one apse. The apse is buttressed outside. Three principal types of tombs are found at Palmyra: funerary towers, funerary temples, and subterranean tombs. M. Albert describes a unique place of burial which was excavated by Captain Duvaux in 1923. It has the form of a house with a peristyle, around which are grouped six blocks of masonry containing niches for burials. It may be an actual house which has been adapted for sepulchral use. In the characteristic style of its architecture, Palmyra exemplifies the influence of the Orient on Hellenic art. The forms of ornament are of Hellenic origin but they are applied with the controlling purpose of producing a pattern of black and white covering the area of decoration; the particular motive is of less importance than this effect.

Palmyrene Grave Monument.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 150 (Aug., 1927), pp. 56 (fig.), L. D. Caskey writes about the acquisition of a beautiful piece of funerary sculpture by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a tombstone of Attai, or "Aththaia, daughter of Malchos." The relief is dated early in the third century and is an excellent piece of work from the fact that the details are so well brought out.

SHECHEM.—The Recent German Excavations.—In Z.D.P.V., l, 1927, pp. 205–211 (11 pl.) E. Sellin gives a provisional report of the second season of the German excavations at Shechem. These have disclosed a palace, temple, temple-court, and city wall of the Late Bronze Age. At a depth of 1.35 m. below the floor of this temple an older temple floor was discovered. This was coated with a layer of red earth that showed that the early temple was destroyed by fire. The base for the image of the god in the second temple, and a pit beneath this for receiving offerings, were also uncovered. A house of the Middle Bronze Period was found containing a rich collection of pottery. This house is at exactly the same level as the house in which the cuneiform tablets were found last season, and indicates that these tablets are earlier than the Amarna letters, and not later, as was at first supposed. One of the most important finds is a stone mould for casting bronze implements.

SHILOH.—Results of the Danish Excavations.—In Pal. Ex. Fund, lix, 1927, pp. 202–213 (pl. 4), H. Kjaer reports the results of the recent Danish excavation of Seilun, which is believed to be the site of Shiloh. The first stratum represents the transition from Late Bronze to Early Iron, and comes down to the period when hand-burnishing was beginning to be replaced by wheel-burnishing. The pottery of this first stratum corresponds with that of the first stratum at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah), but begins earlier and continues longer. It belongs to the period between the thirteenth and the eleventh centuries B.C. It seems probable that there was no town on the site before the Hebrew conquest. This may have been the reason why it was chosen as the ancient sanctuary of the ark. The site continued to be occupied down to the thirteenth century A.D. See also W. F. Albright, Pal. Ex. Fund, lix, 1927, pp. 157 f.

SIDON.—The Second Archaeological Mission.—In Syria, v, 1924, pp. 9–23 (2 pls.; 5 figs.); pp. 123–134 (5 pls.), G. Contenau continues his report on the results of the second archaeological mission at Sidon in 1920. He describes briefly the remains of the precinct wall of the temple of Eschmoun, on a terrace above the river Asklepios, first excavated by Macridi Bey (1901, 1903) and publishes three inscriptions recording the dedication of the temple by king Bodashtarta and his heir apparent, Yatanmilik, king of Sidon. Some architectural fragments were found on the site, and a curious terra-cotta, of which the front is moulded to represent a figure resembling the Egyptian Bes, while on the back a nude winged goddess is represented in relief. This seems to show a mixture of Phoenician and

Egyptian elements in the cult of Sidon. At the village of Eulmän the expedition examined the débris of Roman walls in which Phoenician materials had been utilized. In this village, in a tomb already known, was found another inscription recording the name of the man who built it, Alaphatha. At Kafer Djarra M. Contenau investigated a tomb of a type recalling the tomb of Gezer, of the Middle Canaanitish period. At Hara he found a large sarcophagus of Roman date, on the front of which is a large shell, heraldically supported by two Tritons, on the back of each of which is a cupid. A sarcophagus lid adorned with bulls' heads was also found in this village. At Bramieh a painted tomb was examined: the wall was decorated with representations of garlands of fruit, birds, and animals. At Mogharet-Abloun excavations were made in a necropolis. In one sarcophagus were found objects of bronze, ivory, glass, and gold, including a bronze statuette of Venus (for the type, see Reinach, Répertoire de la statuaire, IV, pp. 216–219).

Tentative Excavations.—In Syria, vii, 1926, pp. 1–8 (4 pls.), MAURICE DUNAND reports discoveries made in a number of experimental trenches sunk in ground adjoining the temple of Eschmoun. Among the objects found were: (1) a mosaic floor of elaborate geometric patterns, executed in cubes of white, blue, red, and yellow stone, the most unusual part showing a pattern of hexagons in yellow, white, and red, separated by interlacing bands in blue, these bands being adorned with a guilloche in yellow; (2) two marble statuettes of chubby children, holding birds, of Hellenistic type; (3) fragments of marble capitals in the form of the protomes of bulls, attributed to the Achaemenid period; (4) a terra-cotta figurine representing

Asklepios in the guise of a youthful Herakles.

Syrian Discoveries of 1922-1923.-Miscellaneous archaeological discoveries of 1922-1923 are reported in Syria, v, 1924, pp. 44-52 (5 pls.; 3 figs.) and pp. 113-122 (7 pls.) by C. Virolleaud. At Hanaoué, near the so-called mausoleum of Hiram, was found a tomb, the front of which was faced with slabs on which three religious symbols were inscribed: a caduceus, the sign of Tanit, and a circle. This is the first clear instance in Phoenicia of the sign of Tanit, so familiar at Carthage. North of Tyre, at Maḥalib, a lead sarcophagus was discovered, ornamented with Dionysiac motives, which according to M. Dussaud have reference to the fate of the soul. It is to be dated in the early part of the fourth century of our era. At Sidon two marble statuettes of children, votive offerings of the Hellenistic period were discovered, and a magic statuette, also from the temple of Eshmoun, inscribed with 26 pseudo-hieroglyphic characters. Among monuments of sculpture collected from the Hauran are: (1) the lion of Cheik-Sa'd, already noticed by Dussaud (Mission dans les regions desert, de la Syrie moyenne, p. 444); (2) a Victory carved in basalt; (3) a statue of Ghariyé-Shoubeih, a deity of abundance, in basalt; (4) the funeral stele of Marcia Flavia Mareathe. At the village of Heit, northeast of Deraa, was found a Byzantine mosaic with an inscription naming two donors; the church to which it belonged is not named. At Baalbek a number of antiquities were installed in the local museum, including a statue of Hermes as protector of the flocks. Ruins of a temple of Roman date were found at Serain in the region of Baalbek; also a necropolis of rock-cut tombs. At Hermel, near the sources of the Orontes, was discovered an altar to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. On the front the god himself is represented between two bulls; on the right end, a goddess with a calathos; at her feet, two lions; on the left end, the Tyche of the city, seated on a throne. In the citadel of Aleppo has been found a long ancient stair leading to a great cistern consisting of three vaulted halls forming three branches of a cross; the fourth branch is the canal which fed the cistern. The ancient cities of Khaloupou and Berea occupied this site, and the temple of Baal was on this hill. From

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the valley of the Khabour four small bas-reliefs of barbaric style, half-Assyrian, half-Hittite, have been recovered; these probably come from excavations made by Baron von Oppenheim at Ras-el-ain. A detailed plan of the mediaeval castle at Gibelet (Byblos) has been drawn. In the region north of Byblos four churches or chapels of mediaeval date, not remarked before, have been examined. In the church at Amioun the apse had considerable remains of a painting of the Resurrection. Near the Cistercian abbey of Belmont is a steep cliff in which a grotto, locally called Morina, has been cut, the interior of which is decorated with six paintings showing scenes from the Gospels. The paintings of Amioun and of Morina are so far unique in Syria. Objects from excavations at Kadesh, Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos have been assembled in the museum at Beyrouth. M. Virolleaud mentions and illustrates a number of miscellaneous objects from other sites, One, a relief representing a solar deity mounted on a horse, is of special interest as illustrating a local cult.

UR OF THE CHALDEES.—In Mus. Journ. (Univ. of Pa.), xviii, No. 2 (June, 1927), pp. 121-157 (20 plates; 8 figs. in text), L. Legrain notes, from the report of C. L. Woolley, Director of the Expedition, the work of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Ur of the Chaldees, for the period Oct. 28, 1926, to Feb. 19, 1927. House ruins of the twentieth century B.C. were laid bare, showing buildings almost an exact counterpart of the wealthier homes of modern Bagdad—central court, upper gallery, penthouse roof. A large building of that period near the Diqdiqqeh cemetery shows by its plan that it was roofed by means of arches and vaults. In the oldest Ur cemetery (3500-3200 B.C.) tombs were found (over four hundred were excavated by the end of January) very rich in their contents, with the usual pots and bowls, but most remarkable in their jewelry-gold, silver, lapis, carnelian, in very excellent and elaborate workmanship. The technique is described and the plates show the appearance of much of this material. Especially noteworthy is a splendid dagger whose "handle was a single piece of richly coloured lapis adorned with gold studs, the guard of gold filigree, the sheath was all of gold, . . . the front entirely covered with exquisite filigree of admirable design. It is in perfect condition, the finest object yet found in any Mesopotamian excavation; one of the earliest known examples of working in gold (3500 B.C.)." The Expedition has thus closed its fifth season. A surprising level of culture is shown for the period back as far as 3500 B.C.; in fact, the further back one goes the finer seems to be the art

Gold "Wig" of Mes-kalam-dug.—In the Illustrated London News, Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1091 (14 figs.), is contained an illustration and brief note announcing a discovery by C. Leonard Woolley as follows: ". . . a great wig of hammered and engraved gold. It is life-size, meant to be worn—the holes round the rim are for fixing the wadded lining, of which traces were found inside—perhaps a helmet, perhaps a eremonial headdress." The workmanship is admirable and reflects the greatest credit on the goldsmiths of the fourth millennium B.C. Among other discoveries made in a royal tomb are: fluted gold bowl, lamp, dagger with bright gold blade and silver hilt, tiny pin with head in the form of a monkey \$\sigma\_s\$ in. high, tall silver vase like the ones used for pouring libations, silver bowls, fluted copper vessels, many spears. "The grave contained a wealth of objects to enrich any museum and afford materials for rewriting ancient history."

Ur Dagger.—In the *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 26, 1927, p. 959 (1 pl.) is contained an illustration of the elegant dagger discovered at Ur, pictured in its actual colors.

### ASIA MINOR

Inscriptions from Samos.—Ten new inscriptions were found in Samos in 1925 and are published by G. Klaffenbach in Ath. Mitt., li, 1926, pp. 26-40. They include the following:

- 1. Parts of four distichs in honor of Maeandrius, doubtless leader of the Samian contingent, commemorating his exploits in the battle of the Eurymedon. The form of the letters belongs to the third century, B.C., and Wilamowitz, who restores the distichs, judges from the form of the epigram that it belongs to the same period, rather than to the century in which the battle was fought. Preuner thinks that the distichs form two distinct epigrams, the first referring to the bravery of Maeandrius and the second to the  $\pi \rho i \mu \nu a$  of the captured ships, which were represented with the statue of Maeandrius above the inscription. The lack of alignment of the beginnings of the distichs is explained by F. von Gaertringen (Ath. Mill., li, 1926, pp. 155f.) as due to the fact that the stone-cutter disregarded the metrical form and carved the distichs as prose.
- A decree of about 200 B.C. recounting the services of an unnamed municipal physician, especially in time of siege and earthquake. This points to the capture of Samos by Philip, 201 B.C., and to the earthquake of about 227 B.C. (Polyb. V. 88, 1, and Syll. 505).
  - 3. A short list of vaorosol, one of whom is dated 118 A.D.

 A decree in honor of the Athenians, expressing the thanks of a body of soldiers, dated during the Samian cleruchy (365-322 B.c.).

5. A decree of the tribe Pandionis with regard to unnamed delinquents in paying monies due the tribe. It belongs to the same period as No. 4, but the letters show ornamental forms which are not found in Attica until a century later.

New Discoveries at Ephesus.—At the February (1927) meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society, A. Deissmann gave an account of the renewed work of excavation at Ephesus in the autumn of 1926, under Turkish, German, and Austrian direction assisted by American funds. The long-disputed question of the site of the earliest Ionian city was settled by the discovery of a rich deposit of pottery on the hill north of the stadium. An interesting chapter in the early religious history of the place is revealed by the finding, on the northern slope of the promontory of Panajir Dagh, of a sacred precinct of Zeus and Cybele, with numerous pre-Christian inscriptions and no less than ten votive reliefs of the triad of Zeus, Cybele, and Attis, or of Cybele and Attis. On all of them the goddess is accompanied by her two lions. The lofty situation and a rock-cut inscription proclaiming Zeus as the ancestral deity suggest a sort of rivalry with the later cult of Artemis in the plain. An important step was the exploration of the ancient burial grounds on the rugged and broken eastern side of the same hill. The grotto of the Seven Sleepers and a rock-cut church close by it were uncovered and found to belong to an early Christian complex of buildings in which were the graves of renowned saints surrounded by large catacombs in which a great many Christian Ephesians were buried. These are the first catacombs of considerable size to be found in Asia Minor. All types of burial known to the Mediterranean area are represented here. The several hundred lamps, of one hundred and seventy types, show some beautifully modelled scenes of antique and early Christian art and many different forms of the cross and of the monogram of Christ. itself, which seems to have served for the combined worship of the Seven Youths and various Bible saints, is a noteworthy example of rock-cut architecture, having a length of forty-three meters and the ground plan of a basilica with eastern apse. Work here is to be continued. The collection of sculptures from the Cathedral of

Saint John Theologus, which the Athenian archaeologist Sotiriu had made during the brief period of Greek occupation of the region, had been scattered, but has now been largely recovered. It includes the priceless building inscription of the narthex of the church. A great part of this church remains to be excavated, and until the work is completed and properly guarded, the parts already uncovered are in danger of being completely destroyed by pillage. Arch. Anz., 1927, 1/2, cols. 170–174.

#### GREECE

Attic Inscription.—A squeeze which has recently come to light proves the genuineness of the Attic inscription, I.G., II, 221, first published by Lenormant, and suspected by Köhler of being a forgery. In Ath. Mitt., Ii, 1926, pp. 157 f., J. KIRCHNER offers a restoration and gives comments on the date, probably 339–338 B.C., and the form of the decree.

Boundary Stone from Irakli.—A new Attic boundary stone, marking the limits of a Herakleion, was found, apparently in situ, in 1924 near the village of Irakli, 3 km. southwest of Cephisia. It confirms Leake's location of the deme Iphistiadae and of the 'Ηράκλειον τὸ ἐν 'Ηφαιστιαδῶν, mentioned in Plato's will (Diog. Laert. III, 41) at the village of Irakli, which preserves the name. Hence the location proposed by Loeper (Ath. Mitt., xvii, 1892, 394 f.), which places this deme near the Academy—a view which has since been accepted as against Leake's—must now be abandoned.

A second boundary stone, hitherto unpublished, is now in the museum at Koropi. It is an exact duplicate of the stone published in *I. G.* II, 1098, which was found near Marcopolo, not far from Koropi. It confirms Loeper's conclusion that a cult of Apollo Parnassius existed near the site of the present village of Marcopolo in the Mesogeia (G. Klaffenbach, *Ath. Mitt.*, li, 1926, pp. 21–25; 1 fig.).

CRETE.—In the Illustrated London News, Oct. 1, 1927, p. 541 (3 figs.), a report is given that the repairs to the Museum of Candia, damaged by earthquake, June 26, 1926, are now almost completed. The broken pieces have for the most part been restored. Archaeological work has been resumed at Cnossos by Dr. Mackenzie of the British School of Athens, and at Gortyna by the Italian Mission. The palace of the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene has been found to have been one of the most palatial of all residences of Eastern provincial magistrates. A Roman statue of Justice in the form of a noble draped woman has been found. Also fragments of Hellenistic statues have come to light. The Italian Mission is planning to excavate the whole region forming the heart of the ancient city, from the Thermae to the smaller theatre and Isaeum.

**Delphic Architectural Inscription.**—In *Ath. Mitt.*, li, 1926, pp. 150–154, F. von Gaertringen contributes improved readings and suggested restorations of the Delphic architectural inscription of 279 B.C., published in *B.C.H.*, xxix (1905), 459.

Excavations in the Ceramicus.—The excavations in the Ceramicus carried on in 1914–1916 by the German Archaeological Institute, were resumed in January, 1927, through the contribution of funds by G. Oberlaender of Reading, Pa. In Ath. Mitt., Ii, 1926, pp. 128–141 (6 inserted pls.; 2 figs.), A. Brueckner gives a summary account of the results and a description of some of the more important finds made since his first report (Ath. Mitt., xl, 1915, pp. 1 ff.). These include: 1. two ostraka belonging to the same group as those described in the first report. One of these is noteworthy as the first known example on which the name is written rather than scratched. 2. a decree of the fifth century, with a list of women's names, apparently of those who worked on the peplos of Athena in the Ergasterion near the Agora. 3. a marble grave lecythus with two figures in relief, Sostra-

tos and his son Prokleides, of the deme Aigilea. It belongs to the same family as the later naïscos, Conze, 718, CXLI. The excavations began inside the city wall of Conon's time, between the Dipylon and the Eridanos. The Pompeion dated by Noack in the fourth century B.C. is found to belong to about the time of Hadrian. Thus far 35 graves have been found within the limits of the excavations. The earliest, which are late-Mycenaean, are 6 m. below the present surface level. In a grave of the geometric period was found a gold band, with a frieze of stags and beasts of prey in repoussé. Three porus blocks, found in the Themistoclean wall, and belonging to an archaic stele, are published by E. Buschor (Ath. Mitt., li, 1926, pp. 142–149 (2 inserted pls.; 2 figs.), with a proposed restoration. The monument is thought to have been a square pillar rather than a flat stele, more than 4 m. high, surmounted by a sphinx, or the like. It seems to belong to the first half of the sixth century B.C. and therefore to be the earliest known Attic grave stele.

Greek Grave Relief.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 4 (Apr., 1927), pp. 101-105 (2 figs.), GISELA M. A. RICHTER reports the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of a grave relief 31½ in. high showing a girl with two pigeons, one perched on her hand and the other clasped to her breast. The relief is in Parian marble and unusually well preserved. A date between 455 and 450 B.C. is assigned.

Greek Heads.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 5 (May, 1927), pp. 141-144 (4 figs.), GISELA M. A. RICHTER reports on the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of three marble heads, a head of Harmodios, 10 in. high, a female head, 10 in. high, a product of the Praxitelean school of the fourth to the third century B.C., perhaps the head of Aphrodite, the head of a Greek philosopher, 12¾ in. high, which is an example of realistic portraiture, ranking high with other Hellenistic work. This head is regarded as a fresh careful Roman copy of a Greek original.

Mycenean Tholos at Midea.—In L'Acropole, i, No. 4 (Oct.—Dec., 1926), pp. 333–334, Ch. Picard notes the discovery, in the summer of 1926, by a Swedish mission under Prof. A. W. Persson, of Upsala, of a Mycenean tholos at Midea in the Argolid, about midway between the Argive Heraeon and Tiryns. The tomb, apparently of a princely family, contained four trenches, two of which held offerings, while the other two held three skeletons, two in particular, a "prince" and a "princess," being adorned with splendid ornaments. Many precious objects were discovered near these bodies; of particular interest were two fine cups, one a rival of the Vaphio cups, but ornamented with interlaced polyps on a background imitating sea rocks. There were also found five bronze swords with gold hilts, one having a rock crystal pommel with gold incrustations. Many other objects, such as bronze vases, engraved gems, fine collars, etc., were brought to light.

"School Slate" of Minoan Child.—In R. Ét. Gr., xxxviii, No. 178 (Oct.—Dec., 1925), pp. 427-432, F. Chapouthier notes the discovery, in the Minoan ralace at Mallia, of an ostrakon with childish drawing of the human figure. The author believes that this object represents the "school slate" of a Minoan child.

Two Attic Painted Plaques.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 150 (Aug., 1927), p. 55 (3 figs.), L. D. Caskey reports on two terra cotta slabs containing funerary scenes, on one of which is shown the body of a woman lying on a high couch with two women standing one at either end of the bier. Across the field above fly three geese and beneath the bier stands a siren with out-spread wings, symbol of the soul of the deceased person. On the second slab are depicted three mourning women with both arms lifted so that the hands rest on top of the head, the gesture of grief. The plaques are earlier than Solon's reform (594 B.C.) and may be the work of the same artist that created an earlier Attic hydria of the so-called "Vourva" style also in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

# ITALY

ANCONA.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 378-379, G. Moretti reports the discovery of a Roman mosaic pavement with a geometric design, which he assigns to the first century of the Empire.

Another Signed Statue by Apollonius.—At the February (1927) meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society, F. Noack reported the discovery made by the American archaeologist Rhys Carpenter (now Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens) of a finely engraved name on the bandages of the left hand of the bronze statue of a seated boxer in the Museo delle Terme in Rome. It is the signature of Apollonius, son of Nestor, of Athens, the sculptor of the celebrated marble torso in the Belvedere of the Vatican, which so impressed Michelangelo. A close comparison of the two statues confirms the evidence of the inscription, showing a likeness in proportions and modelling and in the study of movement, with differences due to the difference of material, rhythm, and ethical content. Arch. Anz., 1927, 1/2, col. 169.

ARCEVIA.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 380–381, G. Moretti announces the discovery of a gold ring, on which are two hands clasped in such a way as to make a hollow for containing a stone or gem; also of sixty-five pieces of silver Papal coins, dated from 1644 to 1779.

CAGLIARI (SARDINIA).—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 446–456, A. TARAMELLI gives an account of explorations in the crypt known as il Carcere di S. Efisi?, made with a view to throwing further light on the origin of Christianity in Sardinia, which has been obscured by false inscriptions. The results were for the most part negative. The ancient entrance to the crypt was found, which is said to connect with another crypt under the church of S. Restituta, but no inscriptions, graffiti or paintings. Coins, one of which belonged to the time of Domitian, showed that the crypt was visited in Roman times and was perhaps used for Oriental cults other than Christianity. The worship of Isis was introduced into Sardinia in Punic times and continued to be practised under the Romans.

CANFANARO.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), p. 361, B. Tamaro reports the discovery of a small votive altar with an inscription of the first Christian century containing the cognomen Umbria, appearing for the first time in Istria, although common in central Italy.

COLLI AL VOLTURNO.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 434–437, A. Maiuri reports the discovery of additional parts of the aqueduct of Venafrum and of two new terminal cippi. He is able to trace the course of the aqueduct from the source of the Volturnus, at the foot of the Monte della Rochetta, to Roccaravindola.

Etruscan Statuettes.—In Rend. Acc. Lincei, Serie sesta, ii, pp. 282–300 (9 figs.), M. Guarducci writes about 15 bronze Etruscan statuettes of varying sizes found in the Apennines near Bologna at Monteguragazza. An inscription found with the bronzes cut in a native stone seems to indicate 4 names and a verb meaning devotes or dedicates. As read by Gozzadini it runs: lariza maturunke (ar) 10 feiane spur(is). Lariza should perhaps be read Larika and connected with the Etruscan word larce (larice). The statues are in several pairs as far as size and treatment go and are certainly ex-votos. They strongly resemble in many particulars the statues of Greek epheboi of the Tenea-Apollo type and those of the Acropolis "Tanten." The left foot is thrust slightly forward, the arms slightly bent at the elbow, the right sometimes holding a patera, or in the female statues a flower. The cheek-bones are high and the cheeks themselves flat, or hollowed. Hair and the folds in draperies are stifly archaic. The author compares for the spiritual treatment of these figures the famous Apollo of the Villa Giulia.

FUMANE.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 358-360, E. Ghislanzoni reports the discovery of a neolithic tomb in the bed of the torrente Progno di Fumane.

GUALDO TADINO (UMBRIA).—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 402-403, E. STEFANI reports the discovery at Campo Calvio, near the town, where objects belonging to tombs referable to the fourth century B.C. have previously been found (see Not. Scav., 1922, pp. 76 ff. and 1924, p. 33) of articles in bronze forming part of a woman's attire and of a large lance-head in iron. Also of funerary objects in copper and iron at the place known as Pomaiolo.

Hadrian's Villa.—In the Illustrated London News, Nov. 5, 1927, pp. 790-791 (4 figs.) is a note from Federico Halbherr announcing the recent discovery in the so-called heliocaminus of Hadrian's Villa of a much broken statue of a dancing maenad in Hellenistic style, a replica of the crouching Venus of the Greek artist Daedalses, from Bithynia, and a fine head of a girl, that of a peplophoros, belonging to the severe period of Peloponnesian art. Great hopes are entertained that the contemplated excavation of the part of the Villa believed to have been the Emperor's library will yield even richer finds.

IELSI (CAMPOBASSO).—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 440-442, M. Della Corte reports the discovery, in the district called Serre, of the contents of a Samnite tomb, consisting of the skeleton of a boy and various objects in terra cotta, bronze, iron, and lead; also of two sepulchral inscriptions with a correction

of C.I.L., IX, 946.

LANUVIO.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 408—413, A. Galieti reports a number of finds and of gifts to the local Museum. Besides a few inscriptions, there were found: between the vie Sforza, Teresa Dionigi and Marianna Dionigi, 3 m. below the level of the Campagna, the corner of a platform constructed of large blocks of peperino; to the northeast of this, 4.75 m. of a Roman road running from southeast to northwest; in the via Marcantonio Colonna, about .60 m. below the level of the modern street, a bit of Roman road running from northeast to southwest, which is thought to be a part of the cardo of the ancient city of Lanuvium; in the district called Conicella the remains of a quadriporticus in opus incertum of the second century.

New Oculist's Stamps.—In R. Arch., xxvi, 1927, pp. 158–169, Em. Esperandieu publishes as an addition to his chapter in C.I.L., XIII, part 2, eighteen new oculist's stamps, with six facsimiles, a list of addenda and corrigenda to the earlier publication, and indices. The chapter of the C.I.L. was published also under the title  $Signacula\ medicorum\ oculariorum$ , with 68 plates not contained in the C.I.L. (Leroux, Paris, 1905).

NOCERA SUPERIORE (SALERNO).—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), p. 439, G. Spano reports the uncarthing of the southwest corner of an ancient enclosure belonging to a building which was buried by the eruption of 79 a.d. and probably formed part of the ancient city of Nocera.

OSIMO.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 381-382, G. Moretti describes a fine Roman mosaic pavement, measuring 14.72 by 10 m., which was unearthed at Grugneto-Seminelli, about three km. from the town. It is in a style common to

the first century of the Empire.

**PADOVA.**—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 343–357, E. Ghislanzoni reports various discoveries at Padova, for the most part the result of building operations near the palazzo di Municipio, in a place which formerly was incorrectly supposed to be the site of the Forum of Patavium, and in the piazza Cavour. These included a female head of the early Empire, in marble, of accurate but lifeless workmanship, and a number of inscriptions. One inscription records the payment of a vow to an unnamed deity and contains the letter  $\tilde{N}$  followed by a numeral, a feature

found in other inscriptions of Padua, but not yet satisfactorily explained. Another, in letters of the first Christian century, refers to a college of carpentarii, meaning makers of carpenta and not "carpenters," as in later Latin. A third is part of a bronze plate, inscribed in good letters of the latter part of the Republic with what seems to belong to an ex voto offered to the Lares. Near the Cavour monument a fine bit of Roman road came to light, running from west to east. A tomb yielded a number of funerary vases, one of which was in bronze, while the others were of clay in imitation of the bronze technique; the vases are assigned to the third Atestine period.

PALESTRINA.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 422–423, R. Paribeni reports the discovery of a herm in Lunar marble, with the badly corroded portraits of two Greek tragic writers. One is Sophocles, in the idealized type represented by the statue in the Lateran Museum and probably derived from a bronze original in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. The other head is too much defaced to be identified with certainty, but is probably Euripides.

PIGNOLA DI BASILICATA.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 443-444, V. di Cicco announces the discovery in the district called Le Tegole, 4 km. from Pignola and about 300 m. from the Calabro-Lucana railway, of a pagus belonging to the ancient city of Potentia.

POMPEII.—In the Illustrated London News, Oct. 29, 1927, pp. 760-762 (8) figs.), Federico Halbherr reports on the excavations in Pompeii along the via dell'Abbondanza, where, in addition to a splendid bronze statuette of Apollo, a bronze girl, a chiselled silver cup, the chief new discoveries are numerous wallpaintings of the seventh insula in Region I of the city. Here stood some of the richest mansions of Pompeii. The house of Cornelius Tages consisted of more than twenty rooms on the ground floor and at least as many on the second floor. It had an entrance for the landlord and a separate one for the guests, two triclinia. In these triclinia chiefly, the wall-paintings were discovered. Some of the paintings show mythological scenes, others are purely ornamental in type. The most important part is a set of pictures of Egyptian and Nilotic landscape, next to the Barberini mosaic of Palestrina the most picturesque example of this type. In the adjoining house of a priest named Amandus no less than nine human skeletons were found. One of the bodies, believed to be that of the priest himself, has been copied in the form of a gypsum cast. In this man's house, a model of good taste, are excellent pictures, such as the scene of Hercules in the Garden of Hesperides, the meeting of Galatea and Polyphemus, the rescue of Andromeda, the flight of Daedalus and Icarus. The fresco originally showed three stages in the flight, of which, alas! the middle scene has almost wholly disappeared. Next to the house of the priest stood that of M. Fabius Amandio, probably a relative. It is also described as a very comfortable home, though the frescoes in it are not so well preserved. The plan is to keep all these frescoes in situ.

Cochlea (Water Pump).—In the *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1094 (fig.) is a picture of a newly discovered wall painting showing the first authentic representation of the *cochlea*, or water pump, invented by Archimedes.

POPULONIA.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 362-378, A. Minto continues the account of excavations in the district of S. Carbone (see Not. Scav., 1925, pp. 346 ff.). Tombs of various epochs were brought to light along with fragments of vases in paste with impressed figures, whorls for spindles, Attic black- and redfigured vases and Etruscan imitations of Greek vases, a silver scarab (.0014 m. in length) ornamented with the standing figure of a deity between two hippogriffs, and a fragment of an ear-spoon in bronze. One of the tombs had the form of a rectangular shrine (2.70 by 3.20 m.), near which was a rectangular pit 1.60

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by 2.20 m. and 2.35 m. in depth. The tomb rested on an earlier one and yielded various objects in gold, silver, amber, bronze and terracotta. In the region called La Falda della Guardiola, 10 m. north of the Roman road discovered in 1923 (see Not. Scav., 1924, p. 21, fig. 7), there were found extensive remains of a large structure built along the Poggio della Guardiola.

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POTENZA PICENA.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 386-391, G. Moretti reports the recovery of a hoard of consular coins, apparently from Potenza, consisting of

448 pieces and 128 varieties and dating from 217 to 64 B.C.

ROCCA DI PAPA.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 406–407 E. Gatti reports the discovery in building operations at Prato Fabio, on the southern slope of Monte Cavo, of remains of a Roman villa of the first century A.D., and of polygonal blocks of lava belonging to a deverticulum running from the villa to the via Triumphalis. The owner of the land found and gave to the National Museum at Rome three fragments of painted stucco of fine quality, evidently belonging to a room of the villa which was decorated with Egyptian designs.

ROME.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), p. 404, E. Stefani announces the discovery, about 10 km. from the Porta Pia, between the via Nomentana and the via della Buffalotta, of a thick rectangular bronze plaque with lateral projections on the short sides and eyelets on the long sides for fastening it to a wall or other object. It has the same inscription on both sides, a second having apparently been cut when the first became more or less illegible. It records a mother's offering of a

lamp to her son.

Sabine Inscription.—In Rend. Acc. Lincei, Serie sesta, ii, pp. 268–281 (4 figs.), Domenico Comparetti treats of an ancient Sabine inscription found in the Ager Tiburtinus. He sees in this stone new evidence that the Sabini were of Spartan origin. The letters, instead of being in the Chalcidian alphabet, as are those of Latin, Oscan, Umbrian, and Etruscan inscriptions, show the lambda with the angle upward and the rho without the cauda. The somewhat shadowy rhotacism of the Spartan or Tzaconian dialect appears in the word capillor for capillos. It reads: edmitat capillor vige Dei | Lib. | Kni Sfeti s(ponsale) d(onom), which he interprets as meaning that the woman shall place her (clipped) hair in the receptacle that her husband had given her as a bridal gift, dedicating it thus to the god Liber. Kni Sfeti is Gnaeus Sfetius.

S. MARIA CAPUA VETERE.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 429-434, G. de Bottis reports the discovery at 143 via Albana, northwest of the second court of the Caserma Perrella, of remains of Roman thermae, and at 39 via Perrella of part of a country house. He also publishes a few inscriptions, found in the garden of the Caserma and elsewhere, one of which, belonging to modern times, refers to the Campidoglio of the ancient city, while another seems to correct C.I.L., X, 4159

(=3733).

TERAMO.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 391-402, F. Savini gives an account of explorations in the Roman theatre, once erroneously supposed to be an amphi-

theatre, carried on in 1915 and from 1918 to 1920.

TIVOLI.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 413–421, E. Gatti reports the discovery, on the estate known as S. Antonio in the district of Colonnelle, of walls of reticulate work in the local limestone, surmounted by walls of a later period in brickwork. He assigns them to a Roman villa, situated near the source of the Aqua Albula. To the southward of this structure were found the remains of a circular building about 7 m. in diameter, which seems to have been surrounded by eight columns or pilasters. This Gatti believes to have been the temple of some deity associated with the Aqua Albula. The excavations brought to light reclining statues of a river deity and of a sleeping nymph, the fragment of a statue of a young

boy, and three female heads; also a base inscribed with a dedication to the Aqua Albula and another recording the presentation of a statue of Diana to Albula Isis, an interesting instance of syncretism. About 500 m. from Tivoli, on the right of the via Carciano, the *specus* of an ancient aqueduct was found, running from north to south about parallel to the road. Imbedded in it there was found a triental as, a coin antedating the year 264 B.C.

VALLE DI POMPEI.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 437–438, M. Della Corte reports the discovery of a piscina, 50 m. south of the southern wall of the Samnite-Roman necropolis reported in Not. Scav., 1916, pp. 287 ff.

VELLETRI.—In Not. Scav., ii (1926), pp. 424–428, O. Nardini reports the finding, near the cathedral church of S. Clemente, of a favissa, in the form of a cylindrical cavity .80 m. in diameter and .90 m. in depth. It was wholly filled with terra-cotta votive offerings of the third to the first century B.c., representing various parts and members of the human body. It confirms the existence at that point of a temple mentioned by the historians of Velletri, probably of Mars, on the site of which the cathedral was built.

# FRANCE

GLOZEL.—An Associated Press despatch in the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger, Dec. 24, 1927, declares that an international committee of scientists has found the bones, utensils, etc., uncovered at Glozel a few years ago a joke. The carvings were found to have been made with iron instruments. The report concedes the possibility that there are some ancient objects in the collection but rejects the authenticity of the group as a whole. The characters of the "alphabet" were cut with chisels sharpened with whetstones.

LIMOGES.—Roman Coins.—In Bull. Arch. C. T., December, 1926, pp. 2-3, Adrien Blanchet reports the discovery on May 7, 1926, during operations on a gas works near Limoges, of a terra-cotta vase 0.35 m. in height containing about twenty-eight kilos of oxidized Roman coins. About two hundred pieces were dispersed at the time of the discovery; the rest were collected, cleaned, and classified, and amounted to more than sixty-five hundred pieces, nearly all of them denarii. Very few antedate the family of Septimius Severus, which is represented by more than five thousand pieces. The latest are of the age of Valerian, under whose reign the hoard was probably deposited, no doubt at the time of the Frankish incursion, ca. 256 A.D.

NîMES.—In Bull. Arch. C. T., November, 1926 (pp. VI-IX, 2 ills.), Major Esperandieu reports the discovery at Nîmes during the excavation for a building near the Porta Augusta, of a Roman tomb of a woman dating probably from the beginning of the first century. A stone coffer contained the funerary urn and some important tomb objects, most notable of which a Venus-Conch (cypraea) and a mutilated statuette of Priapus in terra-cotta of a type hitherto unknown in Gaul; only two others are known for the Greco-Roman world. Other objects found were mirrors and bird-shaped glass vessels. All were smashed with picks by workmen in their haste to get the treasure supposed to be in the coffer.

PARIS.—A Statue of Osorkon and its Inscription.—The Museum of the Louvre has recently acquired a fragmentary statue of Osorkon I, son of Sheshonq I, the founder of the twenty-second Egyptian Dynasty. What gives this accession a unique value is the fact that the front of the statue has an inscription in old Phoenician letters. M. René Dussaud, who publishes and comments on the inscription in Syria, vi, 1925, pp. 101-117 (pl.; fig.) is certain that the statue, which has passed through the hands of dealers, came from Byblos. Fragments of

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a similar stone, probably from another statue of the same subject, have been found at Byblos. The alphabet exemplifies a stage transitional between that of the sarcophagus of Ahiram and that of the stele of Mesa. Incidentally, M. Dussaud presents a revised interpretation of the Ahiram inscription. The alphabet of the Osorkon statue is of special interest because it belongs to the period at which the Greeks borrowed letters from the Phoenicians. The inscription records the dedication of the statue by Eliba'al, king of Gebal, who is made known for the first time by this document. The implication of the statue with reference to the relations of Egypt to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah is of great importance. It appears that the list of conquered towns inscribed on the wall of the temple of Amon at Karnak by Sheshong I is not a mere boast: Sheshong invaded the towns of Israel as well as Judah. The discovery therefore confirms Champollion's conjecture that the Zerah of II Chronicles, xiv, 9-15 and xvi, 8 who invades Judah in the time of Asa is none other than the Osorkon I of the inscription; and M. Dussaud gives a plausible explanation of the transformation of the name Osorkon (Wsrk'n) into Zerah. Further light on the religious history of Byblos is to be derived from the name of the dedicator, Eliba'al, which means 'El is master,' that is, Baal, of Byblos, and confirms the assertion of Philo of Byblos, who says El, whom he identifies with Kronos, was founder of Byblos. Astarte was his consort; Plutarch calls the pair Malcander and Astarte (De. Is. et Os., 15). The dedication of a statue to an Egyptian king shows the continued prestige which the Pharaoh enjoyed in Syria even at a time when the power of Egypt was considerably diminished. The Pharaoh is regarded as divine and the statue is dedicated in the hope that he will intercede for the Syrian king with the goddess.

# **SWITZERLAND**

Remains of Roman Worship.—In the Illustrated London News, Dec. 31, 1927, p. 1187 (7 figs.) is reported the recent discovery by a farmer, while he was plowing near Almendingen, on the Lake of Thun, of an ancient Roman altar which have been completely buried underground. The altar bears the inscription: ALPIBVS EX STIPE REG[IONIS] LIND[ENSIS]. Fragments of Carrara marble also found, when fitted together, proved to belong to a statuette of a Roman goddess of Plenty. The goddess leans upon an object, apparently a rudder, and holds an ear of grain in her right hand. Upon examining the finds, Professor O. Tschumi discovered also various votive offerings made by the Romans out of gratitude for having passed the Alps in safety, also paving stones, a miniature clay bathtub, a figure of a dog, that of a lion's head, a bronze head of Venus, and a bas-relief of a Celtic family. Professor Tschumi is reported as being of the belief that at the site of these discoveries once stood a large temple in which were statues of Asiatic and Roman gods, to whom thank offerings were made. tiny clay bathtub is symbolic of the ablutions in the worship of Cybele, which was apparently one of several forms of worship centered in this timple. The foundations of the temple have not been located as yet, and, very unfortunately, the lack of funds has caused further investigation of the site to be suspended.

#### POLAND

A Niobe Head in Poland.—In addition to the three generally known copies of the head of the Niobe belonging to the famous Niobid group (two in England and one with the group as a whole in Florence) a fourth marble head with bust, hitherto unpublished, is in the collection of Prince Radziwill at Nieborow. It is described by K. MICHALOVSKI and pictured in three views in Arch. Anz., 1927,

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pts. 1/2 (cols. 58–70; 3 figs.). The history of the head is obscure, some accounts saying that it was found in Rome and passed from there to England, others that it was found in southern Russia and once belonged to the Empress Catherine. The work resembles the Florentine copy more closely than the two in England, but it appears to be superior to all three in artistic quality and especially in the lifelike rendering of certain details, such as the lines on the throat and the hair. In the treatment of the hair it is comparable to the unquestioned original fourtheentury "head from the South Slope of the Acropolis" at Athens. It may indeed be itself a Greek original work, but in any case it is a valuable addition to the sources for the study of the group itself.

#### RUSSIA

A New Vase by Polygnotus in Moscow.—Recent removal of the modern overpainting from an amphora from Nola that has been in museums in Moscow since 1896 has revealed a somewhat defaced signature of the painter Polygnotus,  $\Pi OVV[YVO]TO > EAP_{\parallel}Y > V]$  and much of his admirable drawing. The two scenes depicted are: (a) Eos riding over the sea in a chariot drawn by winged horses, and (b) Achilles mourning for Briseis, with Patroclus and Phoenix standing by. The vase belongs at the end of the series of known Polygnotan vases, after 450, and shows the influence of the Cleophon painter. W. Blavatski. Arch. Anz., 1927, pt. 1/2, cols. 75–77; 7 figs.

### BULGARIA

An Old Bulgarian Gold Ornament from Madara.—In Bull. de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, iv, pp. 14–26, Kr. Miatev describes some gold ornaments which were found in 1926 in a grave at Madara. There are seven gold plaques and also he metal parts of a belt. The general style seems to agree with the gold ornaments of the find of Nagy-Szent-Miklos in Hungary and also some finds from Albania. The plaques were of a known shape, but no explanation has been advanced as to their purpose. This seems to be explained by a miniature in the Menologion of Basil II where a warrior of Omortag is represented as having similar adornments on a belt. The workmanship seems to be barbarian but the maker knew the Iranian and Byzantine polychrome ornamentation. He uses glass inlay, but he also knows enamel. Apparently the work must be assigned to the eighth and ninth centuries and to the original Bulgarians who were dwelling in these regions.

New Finds from an Ancient Cemetery at Duvanlii.—In Bull. de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, iv, pp. 27-60, B. Filov reports that on January 15, 1925, there was discovered at Duvanlii, about 30 km. from Plovdiv, what appears to be a cemetery of some local ruler. It has been partially excavated and most of the objects found were placed in the Museum at Plovdiv. Those which had disappeared were located, bought, and placed in the Museum at Sofia. The objects seem to date from the early fifth century B.C. and some of them are of striking character. Among other objects were found a golden diadem decorated with ornaments, two golden fish of a type common in South Russian finds, gold earrings and arm-rings. The most important object, however, is a silver amphora, 0.27 m. high with a double row of lotus blossoms running around the neck, with a channeled base, with an opening for a side nozzle, and especially two handles representing the horned, lion-griffin with the body ending in a tail. This is of Persian style, but it seems that the amphora is of Ionian workmanship, and it is very likely that this and other finds of Greek origin come from the commercial

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relations of Thrace and Cyzicus. The finds here, as elsewhere in Bulgaria, show the co-existence of two styles of workmanship, Greek importations and native

barbarian productions which seem to be of local workmanship.

New Military Diploma of Domitian.—In Bull. de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, iv, pp. 69-80, Iw. Welkow reports that in 1923 there was discovered near the village of Muhovo, district of Ichtiman, a military diploma sent up by Domitian in honor of Bithus, Seuthi filius, of the cohors Musulamiorum. The decree shows us that several of the units had formerly been with the troops in Syria before being transferred to the Balkans.

New Replica of the Statue of the Resting Satyr.—In Bull. de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, iv, pp. 61-68, Iw. Welkow reports that in 1923 there was found at the old camp at Putea, the present Riben, near Plevna, a replica of the statue of the resting Satyr of Praxiteles. The statue is 0.75 m. high. The head, which has been broken off and damaged, was found near by, and also a fragment of the right leg, 0.18 m. high. The back of the statue is worked carelessly, so that it is obvious that the statue was intended to be seen from the front. The statue is apparently of Roman manufacture and dates from the second century A.D., when Roman rule and culture were established throughout the Danube region.

Prehistoric Mound at Balbunar.—In Bull. de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, iv, pp. 251–284, V. Mikov reports that in 1924 peasants excavated a large section of a mound near the village of Balbunar, district of Ruse, in which were found some twenty-five skeletons which had been buried in a crouching position. Among the objects found in the lower strata were many fragments of clay vessels, especially with incised decoration, arrowheads, flints, and some idols in clay and bone, often of very poor workmanship. The mound apparently dates from the end of the neolithic period and is similar to other finds of the same character in Bulgaria. The upper layers show some remains of the Roman period, but the most significant remains are in the lower strata.

#### **GERMANY**

Campana Reliefs at Tübingen.—In Arch. Anz., 1927, 1/2, (eols. 23-49; 15 figs.) K. Kübler publishes a collection of about thirty fragmentary colored terracotta reliefs belonging to the Archaeological Institute of Tübingen, which include some unusual types of Caeretan manufacture and examples from all periods of the reign of Augustus and even earlier. The subjects can all be referred to types given in von Rohden's Architektonischen Römischen Tonreliefs, but they show some variation of treatment and considerable difference in execution. Many of the fragments are so small as to need interpretation from the more complete specimens in other places. Among the noteworthy subjects are a battle between Germans and Romans and an Omphale with crotes bringing her the equipment of Herakles. Battle scenes are so uncommon in Roman art before the time of Trajan that this one suggests the deep impression made by the German wars of Augustus. Omphale shown without Herakles is rare. Other subjects here illustrated are: trophy (Spanish armor), sphinx in acanthus spirals, head of Artemis, head of Harpocrates, masks of satyrs, wedding scene, mule carrying an amphora and standing by a palmtree, heads of goats belonging to a chariot driven by erotes, Niké and a sacrificial bull, and Perseus with the head of Medusa.

The German Archaeological Institute.—The brief annual report of the Institute for the year 1926–1927, with lists of the members, is given in Arch. Anz., 1927, pt. 1/2, pp. i-v. It is preceded by an appreciation of the life and work of Walther Amelung, long active in the Roman branch of the Institute, who died at Bad

Nauheim on Sept. 12, 1927. The names of holders of the travelling scholarships for the current year and mention of the courses of lectures to be delivered in Athens and Rome are found *ibid.*, col. 196. Dr. Dörpfeld was to resume his expositions of the ruins of Athens in the middle of November.

# HUNGARY

Bronze-Age Village in Hungary.—In the Illustrated London News, Sept. 24, 1927, p. 498 (7 figs.) a report is given on the excavations at Toszeg on the Tisza (Theiss) where the work of examining Bronze Age villages has recently been brought to a close. Toszeg is on the road by which metallurgists, induced by Transylvanian gold, were led to Bohemian tin. To this community came gold from Transylvania, paste beads from the Aegean, amber beads from the Baltic, and probably also Bohemian tin. During the recent investigation a bone cheekbone of a horse's bit was found.

BUDAPEST.—Hellenistic Statue of Girl.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 1-31, Gerhard Krahmer writes about a statue of a girl formerly in the Arndt Collection and now in the Museum at Budapest. It is a figure of a girl walking, with her right hand upon her mantle towards the left side of the body and bending over so that the upper part of the body both bends and turns. It is an example of what might be called the centrifugal style of composition and it is interesting to note also the sharpness of the angles and the clearness with which the different planes are contrasted. In all this the statue shows similarities with the Maiden of Antium, the Satyr dancing and holding his tail (as in the Musee Archeologico in Florence). The statue represents the attitude of the third century towards life, when the world had come again to look for the human qualities of humanity. An analysis of style with other statues, as those of the Pergamon school and the undisputed works of the fourth century, shows that this statue combines some elements of both and must come from the third century.

Roman Glass.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 196-197, Dr. Istvan Paulovics writes about several new Roman glasses received by the Museum in Budapest and also some remains found in a Roman camp in Kisarpas.

Coins Celebrating the Founding of the Colony at Sarmizegetusa.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 133–137, Dr. Elemer Jonas writes that certain coins from the fifth consulship of Trajan show a man dressed in a cinctus Gabinus plowing. The author interprets this to be a memorial of the ceremonial founding of Sarmizegetusa at which the emperor was represented by his delegate D. Terentius Scaurus.

Copper Culture of Bodrogkeresztur.—In Archeologiai Értesitō, xli (1927), pp. 50–57, Dr. Jeno Hillebrand reviews the copper finds at Bodrogkeresztur, where a number of graves of the copper period, as distinct from the Bronze Age, were excavated. These graves were remarkable because the male bodies were all buried with a flint knife of a special form placed under the head. The men usually lay on the right side in a cramped position. Many details seem to be similar to some of the South Russian finds and there was probably some relationship between the peoples. The rules of orientation of the bodies are not preserved as accurately as at Pusztaistvanhaza, but we do not know which of the two sites is the earlier. The sequence of cultures seems to be: (I) Full Neolithic (Bukki); (II) Late Neolithic and Aneolithic (Tiszapolgár and Lengyel); (III) Copper, (a) Early Bodrogkeresztur and (b) Full Copper Period (Lucska?). Individual finds of copper axes with holes in the handles).

Gold Stag of Tápiószentmárton.—In Archaeologiai Értesitő, xli (1927), pp. 138-

145, Nandor Fettich illustrates a gold stag which was discovered in 1923 at Tápiószentmárton and which had apparently been stolen in ancient times from the grave of some nomad chief. The stag is of the style which is associated with Russia and the Altai region and is heavily conventionalized. It is larger than most of the Russian specimens and, like in them, design, and not realism, is the basis of the purpose of the work. The stag motif was very common in the nomad culture of Europe and Asia but seems to have vanished. The gold stag is a survival of a totem animal in the family of some barbarian prince.

The Legati pro Praetore of Pannonia Inferior after the Time of Trajan.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 58–88, E. RITTERLING brings together the material concerning the officials who served in this capacity in the province of Pannonia Inferior. The list is far from complete, but it is significant that there are already known not less than six cases where former legates of Pannonia Inferior were sent later as consular legates to Pannonia Superior. Most of the legates of the 60's and 70's of the second century seem to have belonged to the second and not the first senatorial class. The legate in Pannonia Inferior is also legate of the legion, the leg. II adiutrix at Aquincum. His substitute was the tribunus laticlavius of the legion.

Neolithic Culture in Bodrogkeresztur.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 32–49, Dr. Ferenc v. Tompa writes about some finds at Bodrogkeresztur in Hungary which throw considerable light on the sequence of cultures in this period. The most interesting pottery is that from the period before the Copper Age when the basis is the Bükkerkultur, with a bomb shape to the ceramics and line design. This new culture is apparently older than the Lengyel culture as found along the Tisza, and it seems as if this culture were somewhat older than is the oldest neolithic culture of Moravia.

New Syncretic Bronze Statuettes in the Hungarian National Museum.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 89-95, Dr. Istvan Paulovics reports that the Hungarian National Museum has recently secured some syncretic statuettes, one of Apis, another of Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates or Horus, and also one of Jupiter-Serapis seated on a throne, which may be a reflection of the statue made by Bryaxis in Alexandria.

Pannonian-Roman Decorative Stucco Friezes.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 114–132, Ludwig Nagy divides the friezes into two groups, those from Western Pannonia and those from the Danube region. The former follow the style of Pompeii and have the appropriate motifs. The latter, the more interesting, show variations of Hellenistic and Oriental motifs and are obviously under the influence of those conceptions which came up the Danube from the East. They developed independently in Pannonia and became a special provincial art, the influence of which is still known.

Unpublished Pannonian Stone Monuments from the Hungarian National Museum.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 96–113, Zoltan Oroszlan writes about some stone monuments which have been rendered accessible by the reorganization of the National Museum. The most important of these are the remains of an aedicula, a relatively rare form of grave monument in Pannonia. On these slabs are figures in relief. On one of the reliefs is a gladius. The human figures are worked out carefully and still show signs of color. It is probably the monument of some army officer but the identity of the man for whom it was made cannot de determined. The author also publishes a plaque of Asklepios and Hygeia from Obuda. The scenes of sacrifice on the aedicula seem to be of a local Pannonian character.

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#### SPAIN

CARTEIA .- In the Illustrated London News, Oct. 22, 1927, p. 720 (fig.), is shown a Roman or Phoenician marble sarcophagus found at Carteia near Gibraltar. The dimensions are 61/2 ft. long, 2 ft. wide, nearly 3 ft. high.

Roman Sculptures in Spain.-Two remarkable bronze heads, apparently portraits of a man and his wife, have been found in the ruins of a Celtiberian town near Azaila, in the valley of the Ebro. The place was probably destroyed in the War of Sertorius, 75 B.C., but the advanced style of the male head, not earlier than 30 B.C., makes the history doubtful. The head of the woman, with a simple and unusual arrangement of the hair, suggests an earlier date. Both heads, together with other smaller portions of a male and a female statue and of a horse, all of bronze, were found near the platform on which the statues had stood, in the cella of a building called by the Spanish archaeologists "templo Romano" because of its more regular construction and proportions, compared with other buildings. The Doric architecture of the facade and the "masonry" of the inner walls was carried out in stucco after the first Pompeian style. The prodomos and the front half of the cella had mosaic floors and in the latter was an altar. A marble fragment from Cartagena is the upper part of a sleeping nymph, a not especially noteworthy example of a type which was common in Roman times. G. LIPPOLD. Arch. Anz., 1927, 1/2, cols. 77-83; 6 figs.

Tartessus Again.—The fourth campaign in the search for the site of Tartessus in the Coto de Dona Ana, on the estates of the Duke of Tarifa (see A.J.A., 1925, 1, 100) occupied five weeks in the early autumn of 1926, under very trying conditions of heat and malaria. As it had been ascertained in the earlier campaigns that the seventh-century city lay below the present level of the sea, boring machines were used, both on the site of the late Roman fishing village and in some of the valleys of the sand dunes, but nothing unquestionably pre-Roman was found. Some fragments of blue glass are possibly but not certainly such. Further apparatus of the fishing industry was found on the site of the Roman village and fragments of sculptured marble that were evidently brought here from some much more ambitious Roman settlement, perhaps on the site of Ebora, 8 km. distant. A marble slab was found having Latin epitaphs of two different periods on the two sides. A new reading suggested for the obscure archaic Greek inscription on a copper ring found in 1923 is: δ Flv έχων έχε εδ, "May he who possesses it (the ring) fare well"; ξχων repeated three times on the inner surface of the ring seems to have a magic purport. Although, with the two possibilities of the fishing village and the dune valleys eliminated, the prospect of finding the actual site of Tartessus becomes very remote, it is still not unlikely that a thorough search of Andalusia, the district once subject to that city. may reveal traces of her cultural and artistic influence, confirming the tradition of her splendor. Indeed, the beautiful "Lady of Elche," though itself to be dated after the destruction of Tartessus, may be a reflection of that influence. As the Iberians did not anywhere show a native artistic gift, the development of the art of sculpture in Tartessus must be due to the presence of Ionians on the south and southwest coast of the peninsula from the seventh century on. A second important task awaiting Spanish archaeologists is the thorough study of the connection between Tartessian and Ionian art. (A. Schulten. Arch. Anz., 1927, pt. 1/2, cols. 1-11; 4 figs.)

## PORTUGAL

Proof of a Carthaginian Visit to the Azores.—A vague tradition, very generally disbelieved, because apparently unauthenticated, has now been proved true

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through the discovery in Sweden of the original publication of nine Carthaginian and Cyrenaic coins, part of a hoard that was found, in a clay pot, on the island of Corvo, in 1749. They were given by a learned Spanish numismatist, Father Florez, in Madrid, to a Swedish scholar, Johan Podolyn, who published them in 1778 with plates and an account of the finding and partial dispersal of the hoard. The coins themselves may sometime be discovered in some collection in Sweden, but meanwhile they are easily identified from the plates as two Carthaginian gold pieces and five Carthaginian and two Cyrenaic copper coins, the seven copper coins being of fairly common types. They indicate a visit of at least one Carthaginian vessel to the Azores toward the close of the fourth century B.C., but the circumstances of the visit can only be conjectured. As Corvo is the smallest, the most distant from Europe, and the least habitable of the islands, it is more likely that a vessel was driven there by a long-continued east wind than that it was taken there intentionally. Such involuntary voyages are known to have taken place since the discovery of the islands by the Portugese in the fifteenth century. R. Henning. Arch. Anz., 1927, 1/2, cols. 12-19; fig.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

ESSEX.—Roman Temple.—In the *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 31, 1927, p. 1189 (1 fig.) is reported the recent discovery at Harlow, Essex, by Miller Christy and Mortimer Wheeler, of the foundations of one of the earliest Roman temples ever found in England. Among the objects found on this site are: bones of animals used for sacrifice, a human jaw-bone, British and Roman coins, sickles, weapons, brooches, fragments of Roman tessellated paving, and bricks. The temple is assigned to the third and fourth centuries A.D. According to the foundation walls, the cella was 19 ft. square, the walls 3 ft. thick, surrounded by a peristyle 13 ft. wide. In front of the temple was a large platform upon which stood the altar.

## NORTHERN AFRICA

CYRENE.—In the Illustrated London News, Dec. 3, 1927, pp. 992-994 and 1034 (12 figs.), Professor Carlo Anti, who together with Professor Pernier and Professor Oliverio is in charge of the Italian excavations at Cyrene, reports briefly on the work at this important site. For the last three years all the energy of the expedition has been concentrated upon the sanctuary of Apollo, of which a great part has now been exposed. Among the buildings discovered the most important are the temple and altar of Apollo, one of the most ancient and interesting of Greek temples. In its original form the temple was constructed of brick between wooden beams like the Minoan palaces of Crete. The altar is 70 ft. long. In the fourth century it was covered with marble. The triumph of Christianity was the death blow to the worship of Apollo and these marble slabs were used as pavingstones in Byzantine baths. One block, however, through an oversight had been allowed to remain in situ on the altar and by means of it the other pieces have been brought back to their original places and the altar thus bit by bit reconstructed. Although Cyrene has not so far revealed any new school of art independent of Greece, it has nevertheless greatly enriched and filled out our knowledge of ancient sculpture. A charming statue of Venus maliziosa of Cyrene has recently been found in the ruins of the Roman baths. Professor Anti speaks of her as being almost the opposite of the Venus in the Museo delle Terme. Her delicate and sinewy back, muscular and free from fat, he calls attention to as being very much in the modern taste. Even though badly damaged, the head is very beautiful. MOROCCO.—In Bull. Arch. C. T., November, 1926 (pp. 22-25, under meetings

of the Commission of Northern Africa), Louis Chaletain announces from Morocco the clearing of five Roman streets and the discovery of two blocks of houses and stores with well-shaped silos often hewn in the rock. In clearing these two blocks, there were discovered several statuettes and a bronze Hermes of Greek work much like another exhumed in 1924; also an acrobat walking on his hands, probably the handle of a vase; a diademed bust (Juno or an imperial princess?);

two intaglios and one cameo.

THUBURBO MAIUS.—Mosaics.—In Bull. Arch. C. T., December, 1926, pp. 22-25, R. Lantier and L. Poinssot note the discovery of two splendid mosaics at Thuburbo Maius; the discovery of the site was reported by the same ibid., 1925, p. 71 f. The treatment of the first mosaic, which is T-shaped, having formed the floor of a triclinium, consists of a handsome border of foliage and fruit, masks of satyrs and bacchantes, and in the central field medallions containing various birds and animals; in the intervals there are marine animals and fishes of remarkably life-like and energetic presentation, the effect being heightened by the conventional character of the other decorations. The second mosaic, which is less well preserved, has a similar border but a central decoration representing Bacchus and Ariadne reclining on a panther-skin and surrounded by satyrs and menads.

SLONTA.—In the Illustrated London News, Dec. 10, 1927, p. 1045 (4 figs.), Professor Luigi Pernier gives photographs and a brief description of the remarkable caverns in the interior of Cyrenaica containing ancient Libyan rock-sculptures. The caverns served as habitations anciently and in fact are so used today. The sculptures are compared with work on the anthropoid vessels of Troy or with the most ancient Etruscan "canopi." The human figures placed between a serpentine monster Professor Pernier explains as shades of the dead guarded by the monster. The artistic work is not of high antiquity; there are plainly present

Hellenic elements which in the hands of barbarians degenerated.

Stone-Age Art in Northern Africa. - In the Illustrated London News, Aug. 13, 1927, pp. 277-279 (13 figs.), J. C. B. Statham reports on ancient rock drawings and paintings in northern Africa. The drawings are prehistoric, Libyco-Berber, Arab, and European. In the prehistoric period animals were drawn very realistically. The men of this period used stone weapons, chipped and polished, like stone axes, wooden boomerangs, bows, and arrows. The ram was a sacred animal.

# EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, AND MEDIAEVAL SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Christian Archaeology in Palestine.—In B.A.S.O.R., xxvii, 1927, pp. 1-11 (6 figs.), R. Butin describes some of the latest discoveries in regard to early Christian churches in Palestine. At Amwâs, the traditional Emmaus, excavation has disclosed remains of a pre-Constantine basilica with three naves divided by two colonnades and a baptistry, for which a reservoir had been erected on the north. The church was probably erected under Alexander Severus, and destroyed under

The Eleona, erected on the Mount of Olives by the Empress Helena, and destroyed by Chosroes in 614, was rebuilt under Charlemagne and again destroyed. This has been rediscovered, and the whole area is now being cleared. The basilica is to be reërected on the ancient lines.

The Church of Gethsemane mentioned by Etheria in 385 has also been discovered on the Mount of Olives, and has been rebuilt in accordance with the original plan with retention of the original mosaic floor.

On the West Hill of Jerusalem the ancient church has been discovered which was

built over the supposed dungeon in the Palace of Caiaphas, into which Jesus was thrown after his arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane. A series of Jewish weights and measures found here shows that this was the house of an official, and gives some support to the tradition that this was the site of the Palace of Caiaphas. In a work entitled Le véritable emplacement du palais de Caïphe, P. Xavier Marchet reviews all the evidence in the case.

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Crusader's Fortress in Palestine.-In B. Metr. Mus. (Pt. II), Sept., 1927, pp. 1-46 (59 figs.), Bashford Dean reports on explorations made by the Metropolitan Museum at Montfort in Palestine during March and April, 1926. The Crusader's Fortress at Montfort which had remained relatively unchanged since the thirteenth century, formed a mass of masonry 90 ft. high in parts, in width 80 ft., and in length 450 ft. including the tower, retaining wall of the residence, and its garden. Surrounding the castle, the curtain with its tower extended 1,500 ft., and the probable second outer wall increased its circumference to 4,500 ft. remoteness of the fortress has protected it from being used as a source of building material, the buildings being situated on an abrupt shoulder of a hill jutting upward 600 ft. between the arms of a stream. The collection of remains, though sparing, pictures the material surroundings and belongings of the European hosts of the thirteenth century. The ground plan of the castle indicates that Montfort was similar in the disposition of its parts to a typical castle in France, as for example, Coucy, near Laon. In the rooms were found various fragments which enabled the excavators to identify the rooms as to their uses. In one room, which was probably a kitchen, was found a great array of glassware and earthen vessels including bottles, flasks, cups, pots, dishes, pitchers-most of them stout brown pottery, glazed in single colors, green being a common type, or not glazed at all. Several interesting lamps were found, a notable one having an Arabic inscription. The most important lamp is a hanging one of transparent and blue glass with an Arabic inscription in gold. In a room, probably the armorer's workshop, bits of armor were found which show that the body armor was made of rings 34 in. in diameter, of wire, round or nearly round in section. Part of a ventail of a pothelmet and parts of a basinet with a brim were discovered. Arrowheads and shafts, spearheads, fragments of swords and daggers, crossbow nuts of bone for holding and releasing the spanned cord, buckles of 5 types, and fragments of horse trappings, huge stone missiles 10 to 17 in. in diameter, were among the finds. There were unearthed various objects of metal and wood including lamphangers of bronze, thimbles, needles, chisels, carpenter's hammer, iron nails, two sheets of lead, a razor, wooden spoons, a carved tent peg, a wooden panel covered with canvas and gesso, and painted in tempera-indicating that pictures were not lacking in the decoration of the residence. The architectural ornaments found yield valuable notes to thirteenth-century sculptured stone work. Most interesting were the ornamented capitals, corbels, and finely decorated keystones, crockets, finely chiseled moulds for decorating softer materials, e.g., leather for belts. A more carefully designed heraldic eagle or fleur-de-lis than the ones discovered on these moulds can scarcely be found. The author concludes that the knights of Montfort lived on much the same material level as did the knights of Péronne or of Carcassonne.

KARAH.—A Silver Treasure.—An important collection of ecclesiastical silver, reported to have been found at the deserted village of Karah in the vicinity of Hama, has been acquired by M. Aboucasem of the Ottoman Bank at Port Said. The famous chalice of Antioch, together with five other pieces now in New York, belonged originally to the same treasure. The pieces now at Port Said are de-

scribed and discussed in Syria, vii, 1926, pp. 105-122 (13 pls.; fig.) by Charles DIEHL. They include three chalices, three plates (probably patens), a pitcher, a vial for holy oil, a bowl with rings for suspension (perhaps a lamp), two small crosses, two large crosses, two candelabra, four Eucharistic spoons, a ladle, a strainer, a small cup, a small box. Most of these objects have votive inscriptions; they are dedicated "for the prayer" or "for the prayer and salvation" of the persons named, or, in one instance "for the remission of sins." The repeated mention of St. Sergius shows that the silver was offered at one of the churches of this saint, the influence of whose cult in Syria extended even to non-Christians. There is no clear evidence in what church these offerings were made; it may have been the church of St. Sergius at Antioch. None of the dedicators is otherwise known. One, an archbishop named Amphilochios, dedicated a paten, probably in the fifth century. The form of the letters on many of the objects shows that they are not earlier than the latter part of the sixth century. Punch marks on some pieces, identical with marks on other pieces already known, are also evidence for assigning them to the sixth century. The style of the figures in relief on one of the chalices is to be associated with the same date. On this cup are four draped figures, standing under arches between columns. It is conjectured that they represent S. Peter, S. Paul, S. John the Evangelist, and an unidentified saint. Upon the vial for holy oil are also four figures in relief. Diehl suggests that these represent the Virgin, S. Sergius, S. Bacchus (closely associated with S. Sergius), and possibly the figure of Christ, though this figure is beardless. The figures on both these objects are in strong repoussé relief, and show a sort of realism which is characteristic of Syrian work. They are to be compared with a vase from Emesa, a censer in the British Museum, a paten from Riha, and the Bible of Rabula. M. Diehl also compares them with some Syrian bindings in the Couchakji collection.

#### TURKEY

CONSTANTINOPLE.—Byzantine Paintings.—In Rev. Ét. Gr., xxxix, No. 182, July-Sept., 1926, pp. 301-322, under Report on a trip to Constantinople (continued) Mich. Alpatoff discusses Byzantine paintings, the article being a report in résumé of his studies at Constantinople in 1924, which he intends to publish. Mr. Alpatoff pays particular attention to the treatment of perspective and group compositions, which he calls Hellenistic, in the early works, and contrasts the loss of these qualities in later paintings. Special comparisons are made of the technique in the Vatican Roll (of Joshua) Nos. 746 and 747 and that of the Octateuch of the Seraglio at Constantinople and Byzantine miniatures. The mosaics, e.g., at Kahrié-Djami (of Isaac Commenus) and of the Metochite, show for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the tendency away from the Hellenistic types, in the fourteenth century (e.g., Kahrié-Djami) there is a return to the Hellenistic principles of composition, perspective, etc. (cf. the "Roll," etc.), and a tendency to the development of story-telling. There appears to be isolation from the Occident in this period. "In the period preceding Duccio and Giotto we find, in purely Byzantine monuments, the first steps toward the principles of the art of the Palaiologoi, . . . In the Italian ducento we distinguish different influences of the Christian Orient; most of the images of Byzantine style go back to the Oriental tradition of Asia Minor-crude but often naturalistic; another current goes to Constantinople. . . . Duccio must have borrowed from this tradition." The appearance of the full treatment in the author's projected publication will be awaited with interest.

#### BULGARIA

Various Finds.—In Bull. de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, iv, pp. 285-288, Ya. Todorov summarizes the latest publications on the dating of the gold treasure of Volchi-Tron.

IV. ENCHEV-VILVU(pp. 288-291) lists the frescoes as far as identified in the Monastery of Khalino, one of the smallest churches in Bulgaria, being only 3.85 m. wide, 4.30 m. high and 7.50 m. in length. They can be dated in 1626.

At. Ignetiev (pp. 291-295) discusses briefly some of the sites along the old road to Karabatsko.

Dr. A. Pyeev (pp. 295–296) describes a tomb excavated in 1926 at Byelozem, Plovdiv. The most important find is an iron sword with a decorated silver hilt.

G. I. KAZAROV (pp. 296–298) describes a rude clay idol of a mounted figure found at T. Pazardjik.

The plan is given of an old fortress at Karlievo (pp. 298).

Two Christian graves have been found at Sofia (pp. 298-299).

A small church has been discovered at Dolni Bogorov (299-300).

Arkhit J. Kiselkov (pp. 307-308) discusses remains of the Roman road near Lovech.

Various other finds are listed, but none are of special importance either in the way of monuments or coins.

#### JUGO-SLAVIA

A Macedonian Bishop's Church.—At the March (1927) meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society, R. Egger (Vienna) described the excavations carried on since 1924 by the Belgrade government, on the site of ancient Stobi (Paeonia), in which he took part. Beside the Roman theatre, with well-preserved stage buildings and with the names of individual citizens and of the city tribes inscribed on the seats, the chief interest is in an early Christian church, which was part of the buildings belonging to a bishop's seat. It has three aisles, separated by high stylobates, on which were columns of red and white marble alternately, with finely carved foliage capitals of white marble and limestone, a raised presbytery, and an apse in which a confessional is built at a lower level. The ambo, placed close to the presbytery, was entered by flights of steps on two sides. It resembles an ambo in the church of St. Titus at Gortyna, but the cathedral as a whole is most like the Eski Djouma at Salonika. The sculptured ornaments, of which there are considerable remains, and an inscription on the lintel of the main entrance stating that the church was built by a Bishop Emmanuel, indicate a date about 500 and a stage of architectural development immediately preceding the "grand style" which Justinian established, though the variety of materials used and the unevenness of the workmanship suggest that more than one patron sponsored the undertaking. The church was destroyed by fire, probably at the time of the destruction of the town, not later than the twelfth century, but before this it had suffered severely from some catastrophe and Leen partially restored. Arch. Anz., 1927, 1/2, cols. 174-178; 3 figs.

#### FRANCE

The Tomb of Henimar and Carolingian Sculptures in France.—In Burl. Mag., 1, 1927, pp. 75–91 (13 pls., 3 figs.), A. K. Porter describes the Tomb of Henimar, a sculptured sarcophagus, destroyed in the Revolution, and gives the date as not later than the ninth century. Sculptured sarcophagi were in use in France in the early Christian period but dropped out of use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Henimar died in 822 and was buried in the Church of St.-Remi. Marble sculpture

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was known in Carolingian times, stone culpture at Reims in the ninth century. Details of costume, sceptre, and mitre are all Carolingian.

#### SWEDEN

Contributions to the Knowledge of Mediaeval Sigtuna.—In Fornvännen, 1926, pp. 171-195, Holger Arbman reports on the excavations which were undertaken in 1925 in connection with the laying of water conduits at Sigtuna, which resulted in the discoveries which shed much light upon the early mediaeval history of the town. The objects made of horn (a spoon, a comb, and ornaments) belong to the eleventh century. The ornamentation is closely akin to what has been found previously in Sweden, particularly in Birka and Söderala. The ceramics are of a Slavic type, of a rough, dark material often adorned with wave lines.

Thanks to the excavations for the laying of water conduits through the town, it has been possible to determine the extent of the culture layers which have been built up in the course of centuries. The town is today of about the same size as it was 800 years ago. In an open lot in the town, the remains of a dwelling of the eleventh century were uncovered. It is the only one of its kind. The walls were constructed of twigs and brush wood and covered with clay, all resting upon oaken ground joists. In the center of the house was the round fireplace. The house had been allowed to decay and fall into ruins. Later another house was built in the same place. Of it some of the foundation stones are present. The fireplace of the new house was rectangular and situated in a corner. A path constructed of tree trunks led past the house. Individual finds were here plentiful in all layers. A signet ring of glass and of a form hitherto unknown was found here. Ceramic objects are partly of Slavic, partly of west-European origin. The manufacture of articles of horn seems to have been an industry in Sigtuna during the early mediaeval era.

As already stated, this house is the only one of its kind in Sweden that has been thoroughly investigated. During excavations in 1923, not far from the site discussed, remains of another house were discovered. The form of this house differs

slightly from the first. Its construction has not yet been determined.

Northern Angermanland Necropolis from the End of the Viking Period.—In Fornvännen, 1926, pp. 85-103, T. J. Arne writes about a series of burial mounds from the Viking period at the south-west side of the island Langon situated in the river Hoting, Tåsjö parish, Ångermanland, about 5 km. northwest of Hoting. This necropolis consists of 13 to 15 round sand barrows covered with woods. The diameter of the mounds is 5 m., height 1/2 m. Six of these hillocks have been examined. Four of them contained objects, two were empty. It was found that the dead had been buried in rectangular coffins, dug out of tree trunks and ornamented. After the coffins had been covered with sand to the level of the ground, wood piles had been lit. This is evident because of the charcoal scattered all around and the color of the sand. The bodies had been placed in the coffins intact, i.e., without being burned. Here and there a dog had been placed beside the corpse in the coffin. In grave 1 were found different weapons of iron, a few arrow heads and bones, knives, steel and flint for striking fire, one buckle of bronze and iron and a comb. In grave 3 were found beside the remains of the dead man, a buckle, bronze fragments, five pearls and fragments of a silver coin. In grave 4 there was a bronze ring with a leather strap, also an iron knife, fragments of woollen fabrics and five silver coins. Grave 6 contained an incomplete skeleton and the following objects: one grindstone, one iron axe, one bronze bracteate, a ring with three bronze mountings on leather, one belt buckle, textile fragments, a hollow object of birch wood with bronze mountings, steel and flint for striking fire.

The graves in Långön show many similarities to those in Härjedalen and Jämtland. Some of the objects found—particularly those of iron—are like those discovered in northern Norway and the Swedish Norrland. The bronze objects on the contrary resemble those dug up in the island of Gotland and Birka, i.e., they have the earmarks of east Swedish and east Baltic culture. Of special interest is the presence of a small fragment of hide, taken from an Indian lizzard (varanus bengalensis) and which served as a case or covering for a fire steel. The skin has probably come to Sweden by way of Basra, Erzerum, Trapezunt and Chersones. On the basis of comparison, the graves have been dated to the eleventh century.

Preliminary Report on the Warrior Graves at Korsbetningen.-In Fornvännen, 1926, pp. 27-53, Bengt Thordeman presents a preliminary report on the warrior graves at Korsbetningen outside of Visby. No event in the history of Gotland could probably have made so deep an impression upon the popular phantasy as Valdemar Atterdag's raid upon the island and his levy on Visby. The circumstances connected therewith are still enveloped in such a dense texture of details, embellished and worked over in popular tales that it is difficult to distinguish between genuine facts or at least probabilities, on the one hand, and purposive or unconscious invention on the other. Mediaeval sources are meagre and contradictory. The course of events seem to have been as follows: At a time of great tension between King Magnus of Sweden and Valdemar of Denmark-the latter had won back Skåne and Blekinge in 1360-Valdemar prepares for an attack on the rich island of the Baltic. In July, 1361, Valdemar lands on the coast of Oland and thereupon in Gotland. On the 27th of July, the invaders defeated a peasant army at Solberga kloster just outside of the city walls. The place is now called Korsbetningen after the cross raised over the fallen Gutar. The Latin inscription reads: "In the year of our Lord 1361, the 27th of July, fell before the gates of Visby at the hands of the Danes the Gutar here buried; pray for them.'

The inhabitants of Visby now gave up the defense of the city, and after having exacted heavy tributes, King Valdemar gave the people the old privileges and the same rights in Denmark as the citizens of the realm enjoyed. Thereupon the king appointed bailiffs and left. The chronicles would have it that the ship bearing the tribute perished on the homeward voyage at Tjusta skār on the coast of Småland.

According to the author, much might be added to the above scanty account. While advancing on Visby, the Danes seem to have been checked at  $Fjäle\ myr$ . The Danes were victorious, and 600 Gutar fell. Then followed the decisive battle at Visby. Here 1,800 Gutar are said to have perished. No burghers took part in the battle. After the city had capitulated, King Valdemar refused to march in through the city gates and had the walls broken through as a sign that the city had been taken by force of arms.

Then followed the exacting of tribute. Three of the largest ale casks were set up in the square in order to be filled with precious objects within three days. To the king's astonishment they were filled at nightfall of the first day.

Later, according to popular tales, the king made a plundering expedition to the south of the island. This raid is related on the wall of the Fide Church. It reads: "The temple is burned, the people slain, and fall complaining before the sword." The aforementioned burial place of the fallen was protected by law for centuries. But at the beginning of the twentieth century real estate developments crept closer and closer to the protected area. In May, 1905, during excavations, parts of skeletons and armor were found. Reports were sent to the Antiquarian of the Realm, and investigations were immediately begun. The result was one of the most noteworthy archaeological discoveries brought about by systematic excavation in Sweden.

Twenty meters from the memorial cross, a huge grave was found which contained a large number of skeletons. In 1912 another grave was located, and in 1924, while water conduits were laid, the same large repository of skeletons was cut through.

The materials brought out of these graves consist of parts of skeletons, armor and other objects pertaining to war equipment, such as spurs, buckles, etc. It is surprising that practically no weapons and no ornaments or other objects have been found. The greatest significance of the excavations at Korsbetningen is to be attached to the fragments of armor found. Similar original objects are exceedingly rare. The value of the finds is considerably enhanced because there can

be no speculation as to the period to which they belong.

A large percentage of the finds represents fragments of ring-mail (ringbrynjefragment) of iron. Best preserved are the hoods (huvor) of which twenty-three have been discovered, two of them practically intact (splendid photographic reproductions). They were designed to cover the entire head, except for an opening in front, and fell well down over neck and shoulders. They were pulled over the head without being opened. One hood contains the cranium, the other is empty. Then there are sleeves with and without bones in them. Furthermore there are iron plates for the protection of arms, legs, and the body.

The skeletal remains have been very fully studied by experts. The bones bear witness of three kinds of wounds: cuts, thrusts, and crushing blows. This indicates three kinds of weapons: weapons with sharp cutting edge, piercing weapons, and clubs. Noteworthy also is the fact that women were among the defending

host. Nine skeletons of females have been found.

It was at first assumed that the graves contained only peasant warriors. This has been proved through the age statistics worked out by Professor Clason. He finds that 30 per cent of the skeletons examined were individuals under 20 years of age or thereabout, or over 50, i.e., below or above the age requisite for military service. We have thus the picture of an army which in no small degree was composed of boys, old men, women, and invalids-a typical emergency army.

"Viking-Ship" Grave.—In the Illustrated London News, July 23, 1927, p. 143 (7 figs.), is a brief report on the recent discovery of a grave mound in the province of Halland, on the west coast of Sweden, dated at about 1000 A.D. A grave in the shape of a Viking ship outlined by means of large stones was evidently that of a man of high birth. The ship was placed in a nine-sided space symbolizing the

harbor.

#### RENAISSANCE

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Three Attributions.—A. L. MAYER in Burl. Mag., 1, 1927, pp. 115-116 (3 figs.), makes three attributions. First-the newly discovered St. Cecilia, clearly related to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum St. Cecilia, is undoubtedly a Rubens. Both are portraits of Helene Fourment, Ruben's second wife. The new St. Cecilia, in a private collection in Germany, is the more intimate of the two portraits. Second -a Crucifixion has been recently acquired by the Marlay Collection at Cambridge. It is in certain respects closely related to the Entombment at Budapest, signed by Pedro Sanchez. It exhibits the same mingling of Gothic and Flemish influences, the same lavish use of gold and silver. Third-among the still-life paintings erroneously attributed to Velasquez there is one in the Najera collection, at Madrid, signed "Alexandro de Loarte," and dated 1623, which is typical of the haphazard genre.

### ITALY

Colantonio at Sorrento.—In L'Arte, xxx, 1927, pp. 224–226 (1 pl.), A. VENTURI publishes an Annunciation in the recently opened Museum at Sorrento. He considers it to be by that Maestro Colantonio to whom, in his Storia dell'arte italiana, he ascribes the St. Vincent altarpiece in S. Pietro Martire in Naples.

A Great Madonna.—In Burl. Mag., l, 1927, pp. 91–106 (1 pl.), R. Offner publishes an unknown, but unrivaled in its turn only by Giotto's greater Madonna in Uffizi, full-sized altar-piece, Madonna with Two Angels, in Church of S. Giorgio della Costa, in Florence, and ascribes it to Buffalmacco.

Italian Ceramics.—In Burl. Mag., li, 1927, pp. 259–261 (2 figs.), B. RACKHAM publishes two recent accessions to the Victoria and Albert Museum: a Faenza panel of the early sixteenth century with three reliefs drawn from the Biblia Pauperum and a sixteenth-century Sienese plate representing the Virgin and Child Enthroned on Clouds, probably reversed and modified from Raphael's Madonna di Foligno.

Titian's Pharaoh in the Red Sea.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 9 (Sept., 1927), pp. 227–231 (fig.), W. M. Jones, Jr., writes that recently the Metropolitan Museum has acquired an additional set of the great woodcut of Pharaoh's Crossing of the Red Sea. It is one of the most important prints ever made in Italy, a product of collaboration between Titian and Domenico dalle Greche. The date of the Pharaoh is 1549. The work is the most important Venetian woodcut of the sixteenth century. German woodcutters of the sixteenth century developed a fairly definite tradition of rules and principles; the Venetian woodcutters did not follow any such accepted manners. The Pharaoh has never been adequately praised.

Two Portraits by Giovanni Bellini.—In Burl. Mag., li, 1927, pp. 4–7 (2 pl.), D. V. Hadeln publishes two portraits which Mr. Berenson attributes to A. Vivarini; but close study and comparison show these to be by G. Bellini. Only during the last few years are we gaining a clearer conception of Bellini as a portrait painter.

### SPAIN

Three Portraits in the Prado Museum.—In Art Españot, 1927, pp. 203–208 (2 pl.), E. Lozano states that the Museum has wrongly attributed three royal portraits as being essentially by Velasquez. He proves that these portraits are most probably by B. Gonzalez and that they were later retouched by Velasquez.

# GERMANY

Conrad Witz.—W. Burger in Burl: Mag., li, 1927, pp. 144–149 (2 figs.), challenges the recent assertion that the St. Christopher at the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is by Conrad Witz. A comparison of the stiffness and dullness of the Berlin version with the vitality and independent spirit of the St. Christopher at Basle by Witz substantiates his challenge.

## FRANCE

An Avignonese Mater Dolorosa.—In Burl. Mag., l, 1927, pp. 73-75, P. Jamot discusses and ascribes to Enguerrand Charenton the Mater Dolorosa recently acquired by the Institut de France for the Jacquemart André Museum. The theme suggests the Flemings, but the conception, sentiment, and technique are French.

École des Beaux Arts.—Masson Collection.—In Révue de l'art ancien et moderne, lii, 1927, pp. 163-171 (5 figs.), P. Lavalte describes a collection of old books,

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manuscripts, and drawings recently given to the École des Beaux Arts by Jean Masson. The eleventh to eighteenth centuries are represented. Such prominent names as Poussin, Quesnel, Bellange, Caypel, make this collection a valuable acquisition.

Emerald Goddess from the Hermitage.—In the *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 24, 1927, p. 1157 (colored fig.), is given a reproduction of the figure of Kwan-yin, Goddess of Mercy, in the largest-known piece of emerald, weighing about 4,700 karats, which has recently been acquired from the royal treasures of Imperial Russia and brought to Paris. The age of the work is given as between 100 and 150 years. The report is that the emerald was mined in the Urals.

#### BELGIUM

Sienese Works in the Petrucci Collection.—E. GAILLARD in Révue de l'art ancien et moderne, lii, 1927, pp. 107–112 (4 figs.), makes a study of four hitherto unidentified pictures of the Sienese school of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Petrucci collection in Brussels. One is a Virgin, here definitely attributed to Benvenuto di Giovanni, another a Christ on the Cross by Pietro Lorenzetti, a Pieta by Taddeo di Bartolo, and a Madonna and Child by L'Alunno di Sano.

#### POLAND

Dürer's Drawings.—H. S. Rettlinger describes twenty-five excellent drawings, undoubtedly by Dürer, recently discovered in the cellar of the Lubomirski Museum in Poland. The most interesting of these is a self-portrait. This discovery has given a new impetus to Professor Winker, who is continuing Dr. Lippmann's work of publishing reproductions of Dürer's drawings. (Burl. Mag., 1, 1927, pp. 154–159; 11 figs.)

#### **AUSTRIA**

Remarks on the Sculpture of the Late Baroque Classicism in Austria-Hungary.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 170–182, Andreas Pigler writes that the discovery of a statue that has been called the Venus of Penzing in Vienna has led to a new study of the sources of the late baroque classicism which has been strangely enough confounded with the name of Michael Angelo. A study, however, of the works of Joh. Christian Wilhelm Beyers shows that in many of these he used motifs derived from porcelain figures or modelled his works after those of other sculptors, instead of drawing directly upon classical and ancient models. The same is true in other cases also of the same period.

#### RUSSIA

Virgin and Child by Roberto Oderisi.—In Burl. Mag., li, 1927, pp. 128–133 (3 figs.), V. Sarsareff maintains that the Virgin acquired by the Fine Arts Museum of Moscow in 1925 is a Roberto Oderisi. He compares the types, the coloring, and the "tulip-like" angels in this with those in Roberto Oderisi's Crucifixion and St. Catherine, and comes to the conclusion that this Madonna and Child is a late work by Roberto Oderisi.

### SWEDEN

A Paper Relief by Albert von Soest and Another by an Unknown Master.—In Forwännen, 1926, pp. 377–394, Efraim Lundmark reports that in the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, are found a few reliefs made of pulp (carta pasta, papier maché). One of them, which is from Munktorp Church, Västmanland, represents Christ as king. The signature indicates that it is from the hand of Albert von Soest.

A second copy, now in the Dresdener Museum, is mentioned by Behnke (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, xxviii, 1901). The time at which v. Soest executed these and other paper reliefs, is not known. It is thought that he died in 1589.

The second paper relief in the Statens Historiska Museum once belonged in the Cathedral in Västerås. It is a fragment and represents Golgotha (Mount Calvary). To judge by wearing apparel and military equipment of the figures, the relief belongs to the fifteenth century. The work was probably done in northwestern Germany, Westphalia, or Hanover. In the Dansk Folkemuseum, Copenhagen, there is a paper relief representing the Fall of Man, probably from the workshop of Albert von Soest. Originally it bore upon the frame the year 1603. From this the author concludes that von Soest's workshop was possibly in existence fourteen years after the artist's death.

## GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON.—A Lost Picture by Ercole de'Roberti.—In Burl. Mag., l., 1927, pp. 171–172 (1 fig.), C. Holmes identifies a painting of the Death of the Virgin in the Church of St. Patrick, Green Bank, Wapping, as the work of Ercole de'Roberti or as a copy of a painting done by him for the Garganelli Chapel at Bologna.

Recent Acquisitions at the National Gallery.—In Burl. Mag., li, 1927, pp. 106–113 (4 figs.), C. Holmes writes of recent notable additions at the National Gallery. The portrait of Lord De La Warr, a gift from the Holford Collection, has the technical inequalities to be expected in the work of a successor to the unknown Englishman who painted Lord Brandon, also at the National Gallery. Sir Joseph Duveen, who bought en bloc the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, has offered the famous Christ Taking Leave of His Mother by Correggio to the Museum. Lotto's unusual Lucrezia was purchased from the Holford sale, and Koninck's landscape in Gelderland, from Lord Northbrook by the trustees of the National Gallery. The Barons d'Erlanger, by their gift of the portrait of Joseph de Rigaud by Drouais, have made a valuable addition to eighteenth-century French painting in the National Gallery.

Recent National Gallery Purchases.—An editorial in Burl. Mag., 1, 1927, pp. 155–156, attacks the buying policy of the National Gallery for the past few years. Purchases have been well below the possible standard. An example of imprudence was shown at the recent sale of the Holford Collection at Christie's, when the National Gallery bidders ignored Pesellino's Virgin and Child, which was commonly considered the gem of the collection, and forced the price of Lotto's Lucrezia up to £20,000. The Pesellino sold for less.

Old Arms and Armor.—In the *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 20, 1927, p. 303 (6 figs.) is an announcement that the Victoria and Albert Museum has lately acquired a fine collection of arms and armor. In the collection are guns and pistols, showing the development of the art of the gunsmith from the time of the matchlock until the nineteenth century. Among the armor is a rare English sallet, complete with visor, of about 1460. Spurs and saddle-pieces are included in the collection.

# FAR EASTERN

# PERSIA

Discovery of Prehistoric Remains.—In the Illustrated London News, Nov. 19, 1927, pp. 905 and 926 (7 figs.), Professor Herzfeld reports briefly on the results of his archaeological explorations in Persia, Irak, and Afghanistan, conducted from 1923 to 1925, and resumed in May, 1926. The present article covers the prehistoric period and ends at 550 B.C. The oldest rock sculpture

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ever discovered not only in Iran, but in western Asia, has been located at Kerangûn in the Mamaseni region of Fars. It represents a king with a large suite worshipping before a pair of seated gods. Comparison with early Sumerian monuments leads to the suggesting of a date shortly after 3000 B.C. The art of the sculpture is almost identical with that of another piece at Sarpul, on the road from Babylon to Agbatana. Of three tablets containing inscriptions, one had not been previously examined, but the present investigations led to the deciphering of a considerable portion of it. The second millenium B.C. was a period of depression in this region, and Asia Minor and northern Mesopotamia rather than Babylonia and Iran were the centres of civilization. The plain of Persepolis, the subsequent capital of Iran, was during this period a part of the Susian empire, as is indicated by a rock sculpture and inscribed bricks in Elamite cuneiform. A rock-cut tomb called Dukkan-i-Daud, near Sarpul, shows a figure in an attitude of adoration, dressed in Median style, and holding the barsom-wand in the right hand, evidences of Aryan origin. A number of these tombs can be identified as belonging to the years from about 750 to 550 B.C. Very important is the tomb called Da-u-dukhtar, the Nurse and the Princess, located between Elam and Fars. This tomb is assigned to the period preceding that of Cyrus the Great, when the kings of Anzan ruled over Elam and Fars, about 600 B.C. Four columns of proto-Ionic shape are felt to be so significant as to revolutionize the orthodox view about the origin of Ionic architecture on the shores of Asia Minor. Beautiful specimens of ceramic art were discovered in central Persia, dating around 3000 B.C.

Near Eastern Ceramics and Metalwork.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, (Mar., 1927), pp. 79-84 (9 figs.), M. S. DIMAND reports the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of a group of Near Eastern ceramics and metalworks. A glazed earthenware bowl of the ninth-tenth century from Persia is worthy of note as belonging to the group of pottery excavated at Hamadan and Zendjan. The body of the bowl is of red brick clay coated with a white engobe with incised decoration consisting of intersecting double circles containing half palmettes, and double half palmettes in the intervening spaces on a background of dark olive-green. The decoration is Sassanian in origin. A Persian jar cover, also of the ninth or tenth century, with a design of a conventionalized eagle in low relief has a dark olive-green background and a green glaze. Another bowl of brick-red clay, decorated with a conventionalized composition of Cubic letters and rosettes in low relief under creamy yellow glaze with streaks of green radiating from the center of the bowl, is an example of tenth-century pottery. A thin Persian bowl of white clay with an incised design consisting of four fishes and pierced dots covered with a translucent glaze which Pézard attributes to the ninth century, the author believes belongs to the eleventh century. In the collection is a bowl of the so-called "rice grain" type with an elaborate pierced decoration—a Persian imitation of Chinese white porcelain. It belongs to the thirteenth century. A turquoise blue Rhages pottery bowl with polychrome overglaze is another interesting article. Another important acquisition is the top of a richly decorated unglazed earthen jar of a very rare type. This pottery was found near Mosul, in Mesopotamia, and was used probably for storing water and wine. It belongs to the twelfth century. Among the metalwork acquisitions is notable a bronze engraved mortar belonging either to Persia or to Egypt and assigned to the twelfth century. A bronze incense bowl, the surface of which is covered with a layer of silver alloy, a technique which is Iranian in origin, is entirely Persian in character, and is dated to the twelfth century. Several other accessions of Persian and Mohammedan art ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century are mentioned.

Persepolis.—In the Illustrated London News, Dec. 24, 1927, pp. 1146-1148 (12 figs.), Ernest Herzfeld continues an earlier report (ibid., Nov. 19, 1927), on the ruins of ancient Persepolis. The city, begun by Darius in 518 s.c. and finished by Xerxes in 485 s.c., was destroyed by an enormous conflagration, of which traces are everywhere in evidence. Both sculpture and architecture reached great heights in ancient Persepolis.

Persian Velvets of the Sixteenth Century.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 4 (Apr., 1927), pp. 108–111 (2 figs.), M. S. Dimand reports that the Metropolitan Museum has received a gift of two important and rare sixteenth-century silk and gold Persian velvets, one of which has a figure subject and the other a floral design. The velvet illustrates the story of Iskander (Alexander) killing a dragon with a stone. Iskander is surrounded by a realistic rural scene. Velvets such as these were worn as garments at the Persian courts and also given as gifts to European and Asiatic rulers. The velvet with the floral design contains peony palmettes, large rosettes, and conventionalized tulips. The velvets are alike in their technique and color scheme.

Rug from Herat.—In B. A. I. Chicago, xxi, 6 (Sept., 1927), p. 76 (fig.), J. M. writes about a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Persian rug acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago. The rug (a fragment of the original) is 9 by 10 ft. The field is decorated with curving stems on a red ground, together with palmette blossoms. The border also shows good planning and careful details.

#### INDIA

Buddhist Painting from Tun-huang.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 152 (Dec., 1927), pp. 88-89, Kojiro Tomita describes a painting from Tun-huang lately acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The painting is dated 975 a.d. Originally a votive hanging dedicated to Bodhisattva Avalokitésvara, the painting shows Avalokitésvara with six arms, within a circle, seated on the lotus throne. The picture's importance lies in the fact that in it are embodied the traditions of a pictorial art.

Early Indian Terra-cottas.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 152 (Dec., 1927), pp. 90-96 (19 figs.), Ananda Coomaraswamy reports on a unique collection of terra-cottas acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, ranging over three thousand years. The pieces in the collection are all said to have come from the region of Mathurā. The collection can be divided into the following groups: Indo-Sumerian, howing the figure nude except in so far as jewelry is used for ornamentation, with parts separately modelled and affixed to the statue; ware ranging from 1000 to 300 B.C., in which parts of the body are, in general, not separately made, and showing two types of faces, oval and round; terra-cottas of the S'unga period (ca. 175-73 B.C.), in which the rounded face survives but which otherwise show quite another aspect, and in which the predominating clothed female type has not much in common with the earlier nude goddess; terra-cottas of the Scytho-Parthian and Kusana periods, in which is reflected the closer political connection with Persia and Central Asia. The nude goddess is the most important type and also is more interesting for the history of human culture. She shows that the conception of a Great Mother, which from paleolithic times forward existed in Europe, the region of the Aegean, and Mesopotamia, extended also into the valley of the Ganges. Early Indian terra-cottas are valuable documents in the history of art. Racial and social ideals are reflected to a great extent in them. They illustrate how the conception of fruitfulness and beauty as inseparable qualities has continued throughout later Indian art. Great value is attached to the concept of the family, the begetting of descendants.

Recent Acquisitions of Indian Art .- The remarkable collection of Indian art in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, hitherto inadequately shown, has recently been re-installed in two large galleries. For the first time the entire collection, including some important recent accessions, is on view. The collection is one of the richest in the Museum, ranking first in America and occupying a very high place among the leading collections of the world. Its foundation goes back some fifteen years when the Museum's splendid collections of Chinese and Japanese art were attracting world-wide interest. Largely through the vision and persistence of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Keeper of Indian Art at the Museum, and through the generosity of Dr. Denman W. Ross, the collection is today unique in having every phase of Indian art adequately represented by fine examples. It includes not only the art of India proper, but that of Farther India and Indonesia, through Siam, French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indian islands. It consists largely of stone sculptures, bronzes, terra-cottas, and paintings, including a fresco from Ajanta, probably the only example to be found outside of India. The collection is especially rich in Rajput and Mughal paintings, illustrated Jaina manuscripts, Nepalese paintings, Nepalese and Sinhalese bronzes, Indian colonial sculptures, textiles and jewelry and a large number of rare Gupta coins which are superior in design to any other phase of Indian art.

The corridor leading to the galleries contains textiles and bronzes, among them several dancing Sivas from Southern India and an eighth-century Avalokitésvara from Ceylon, probably the most important single object in the collection. In a recess at the entrance of the galleries there has been installed a seventh-century

stone figure of Durgā from Southern India in its most glorious period.

The sculptures fall into two classes—votive figures and architectural fragments. From the Gupta period, the Golden Age of India, the Museum possesses many fine examples of this strong, virile, phase of art, notably a torso of Vishnu and an exceptional standing figure of Buddha. Among objects antedating these are numerous examples of the school of Mathurā, including an important sculptured pediment. An almost perfectly preserved head of Buddha, from Gandhara, shows the transient Hellenistic influence in the first to the fourth century.

Fine examples of the northern and southern as well as the colonial schools from the fourth to the eighteenth century are included. Although various temporary influences and local conditions affected the art of India in succeeding periods and in different localities, there unfailingly emerge, as this collection so admirably illustrates, the persistent characteristics indigenous to Indian art in all its

phases.

Such a collection as that in the Boston Museum is not the assembled work of various masters in different periods, after the manner of many collections of Western art, but it is a record in stone, bronze, and other materials, of the development and changes of a whole people. It is a veritable reference gallery for the

comprehensive study of Indian culture.

Sculptures from Mathurā.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 150 (Aug., 1927), pp. 50-54 (5 figs.), Ananda Coomaraswamy writes about a very fine relief from Mathurā, which has been acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The relief is on a thin slab of red sandstone which is carved on both sides. Apparently the relief was used over a doorway, probably that of a temple. The figures show scenes from the life of Buddha. The relief is very valuable in connection with the study of temple structure. Other acquisitions are: the cult image of a seated Buddha, 28½ in. high; a standing image from the middle or latter part of the second century a.d., measuring 7 in. in height; a square panel in countersunk relief, about 10 by 11 in., apparently representing a Bodhisattva seated on a throne with high side

panels; a panel about 7 in. square, showing a toilet or genre scene, a man binding a fillet on his hair.

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Stone Figure of Brahma.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 5 (May, 1927), pp. 136-137, M. S. Dimand reports the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of a specimen of early mediaeval South Indian sculpture showing Brahma on a lotus seat. The piece is a good example of the combination of four faces and four arms of Brahma into a plastic unit. The composition makes the figure rank high with South Indian bronze masterpieces.

# CHINA

Bronze Jars of the Han Dynasty.—In B. A. I. Chicago, xxi, 6 (Sept., 1927), pp. 70–72 (6 figs.), C. F. Kelly reports that the Art Institute of Chicago has lately acquired and added to the Buckingham Collection a gilt bronze jar of the Han dynasty (206 b.c.-220 a.d.), which is studied comparatively with another jar acquired some years ago. One of the jars is decorated, the other plain. A novel feature of the decorated jar is the use of metals of two colors not inlaid; the pattern is covered with heavy gold overlay, the reserve is silver-colored metal, probably mercury and tin. Jars of this type, it has been conjectured, were used to contain wine or water. The valuable character of these gilt jars leads to the suggestion that they could be found in none but an imperial tomb.

Chinese Bronzes.—In B. A. I. Chicago, xxi, 9 (Dec., 1927), pp. 114-115 (5 figs.), C. F. Kelly and D. K. Wilson write about bronzes recently acquired for the Buckingham Collection in the Art Institute of Chicago. There are two sacrificial cups, yi, one of which is upon a high square base which is hollowed and beneath which a bell may have been attached which rang when the cup was moved. The four faces of the square base contain all similar elaborate winged creatures, perhaps phoenixes. The cylindrical foot of the cup is ornamented by means of lively animal forms, part bird, part dragon. The other cup is much the same as the one described, except that it does not sit upon a square base.

Chinese Ceramics.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 4 (Apr., 1927), pp. 105–106 (2 figs.), S. C. Bosch Reitz reports that the Metropolitan Museum has acquired a designed bowl of the T'ang period in the shape of an open lotus flower which is upheld by four lions standing on the seed-pod of another lotus. The beauty of the piece results from good proportions and construction. There has also been acquired a porcelain vase with blue decoration which, it is suggested, should probably be attributed to the Yüan period. The vase is a good example of its kind of early ware.

Chinese-Hunnish Connections; New Remarks.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, xli (1927), pp. 146–155, Zoltan v. Takacz continues his analysis of relations between Chinese and Hunnish art-forms and points out similarities in textile designs found in China, Perm, and Hungary. In Szentes we find cases of the dragon and the phoenix together, and many swords show similarities in Hungary, China, and Japan.

Early Republican Decorations on Chinese Lowestoft.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 7 (July, 1927), pp. 190–191, Ruth Ralston reports on the collection of unusually perfect examples of almost all the types of Chinese porcelain, so-called Chinese Lowestoft, recently lent to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Among the designs of greatest interest to collectors of this table-ware so popular at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, are the different versions of the so-called New York State Lowestoft on each piece of which is enameled the coat of arms of the State of New York supported by the figures of Justice and Liberty draped in the Chinese interpretation of the eighteenth-century representa-

tions on the arms. The rising sun, mountains, and the eagle are featured in the cartouche. The colorings of the decorations are uniform in all the sets, indicating that they were inspired by a common original. Perhaps the nearest design to these Chinese versions are the arms as they appear on the New York copper cents of 1786 and 1787, which may have inspired the Canton enamelers. However, the conventionality of the coloring and the appearance of details not found on the coins would indicate a more probable source in a drawing made and painted in America and used as a model by the Oriental designers.

#### **IAPAN**

Japanese Prints.—In Bull. Roy. Ont. Mus. Arch., July, 1927, pp. 5-22 (27 figs.), DOROTHY HAINES reports a gift to the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology consisting of more than 1,070 Japanese prints covering the whole range of color-print from its rise in the seventeenth century to its decline in the nineteenth. The theatre fostered the growth of this form of Japanese art.

# UNITED STATES

NEW YORK.—Early Silks.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 4 (Apr., 1927), pp. 118–120 (1 fig.), Frances Morris writes about the recent acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of several early silks. One piece is a medallion of the sixth or seventh century A.D. It shows two mounted Amazons and is compared with other equestrian silks in Berlin and London. Such silks may have come from workshops at Alexandria; they may also show Syrian influence, in addition to Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Persian characteristics. Another piece is a fragment belonging to the twelfth century. This shows a pattern of roundels and heraldic beasts and the six-pointed star-motif, suggesting Spanish origin. Two other Spanish pieces illustrate thirteenth-century work.

Elizabethan Wall Papers.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 6 (June, 1927), pp. 168–170 (4 figs.), Preston Reminston reports on the three examples of Elizabethan wall paper recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. The paper was used to line an old Bible-box. The first design, containing royal arms, in the form superseded at the accession of James I, surrounded by the motto of the Order of the Garter, is well known and widely published. The second design, divided into compartments by a guilloche border, contains, as a central motif, two Herculean figures supporting a horizontal bar from which hangs the orb of sovereignty. Arabesques, leaves, and masks complete the central motif. Elsewhere occur foliate cuirasses, hounds, the Tudor rose, and the badge of the Beaufort family. The third design is divided into octagonal compartments each of which contains some one of the favorite fruits and flowers of England conventionally treated.

Embroideries.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 7 (July, 1927), pp. 186–189 (3 figs.), Frances Morris reports the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of three rare and valuable embroideries: an English band or valance of the Tudor period and two fourteenth-century French pouches or forels. The valance has an areaded pattern with which are combined grape-vine motives. Pouches were introduced for ecclesiastical purposes, probably to hold prayer books or papers. These two, however, are plainly secular in so far as the character of their designs goes. On one side of one of the bags is a tree motif with two figures, on the other side a stag, a unicorn, and bird forms with human heads. One of these figures shows a coy little lady with bewitching hands suggesting the lady falconer of an embroidered panel in the Lyons Museum. Another figure shows a jester. The second bag contains delightful and quaint figure motives. Bags of the type of

these two usually contain subjects derived from contemporary literature; perhaps characters from Boccaccio's *Decameron* can be discerned here.

English Oak-panelled Rooms Transported to New York.—In the Illustrated London News, Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1119 (4 figs.), are given illustrations of a beautiful oak-panelled room from the Grange, Broadhembury, Devon, England, recently shipped to New York. The Grange, begun in Elizabeth's time, was finished in 1625. The exquisite carvings of the oak drawing room include the signs of the zodiac, the legend of Romulus and Remus, Ajax and Achilles, scenes from Ovid, etc., some of which are said to have come from other ancient rooms.

Ephèbe by Louis Lejeune.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 3 (Mar., 1927), pp. 74–76 (1 fig.), Preston Remington tells of the Metropolitan Museum's recent acquisition of Louis Lejeune's terra-cotta statue of Ephèbe exhibited in 1920 at the Salon des Artistes Français.

Exhibition of Guns.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 4 (Apr., 1927), pp. 113–115 (1 fig.), Thomes T. Hoopes writes about a collection of guns brought together by the Metropolitan Museum which is helpful for the study of armor from the technical as well as the aesthetic point of view. Early hunting guns of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, of great accuracy and fine artistic merit make up one group. The evolution of certain features of guns is well illustrated by this group. "Kentucky" rifles make another group. American rifles of pioneer times show the very best features of Old World weapons. There is also a group of breech-loading guns belonging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Among others, arms of the Revolution, the Mexican War, the Civil War are shown.

Kane Bequest.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 3 (Mar., 1927), pp. 69-72 (5 figs.), Joseph Breck writes about some of the articles left to the Metropolitan Museum by the late Mrs. John Innes Kane. Among the articles are: a Venetian table of the sixteenth century; a Tuscan cabinet of the sixteenth century; two Italian chairs of the type called sgabelli, dating about 1500; a carved walnut cassone, Venetian of the late Renaissance; an eighteenth-century Venetian armchair and settee under the modern painting of which can be seen the original polychrome; a large black-lacquer English secretary of about 1700 to 1710; a Queen Anne period marquetry cabinet; a Chippendale armchair; embroidered chair seats in Queen Anne style; a Brussels tapestry; a bronze inkstand by Riccio; several pieces of bronze and marble statuary including Venus Chastising Cupid, by Francesco Susini, a marble bust of Philip II of Spain, in the manner of Leone Leoni, a marble bust of Voltaire, by Rosset: a decorative painting of Maria Amelia of Saxony, by Raphael Mengs; a white marble wall fountain, which is a delightful example of Italian decorative sculpture of the eighteenth century; some English and Irish glassware of the early nineteenth century; some English silver, and French silver of the eighteenth century.

Ibid., pp. 72–74 (1 fig.), Eleanor B. Saxe describes the sixteenth-century Brussels tapestry in the Kane collection at the Metropolitan Museum representing Minerva surrounded by elaborate arabesque designs. Above Minerva is Wisdom instructing the Sciences. Each border is interrupted in the centre by a cartouche (probably intended for an inscription) and at the corners by the coat of arms of the Doria family of Genoa. The tapestry belongs to the class called grotesques and the motives were inspired by the arabesque ornaments of the Italian Renaissance. The identity of the designer cannot be established as yet. This is one tapestry out of a group of five, one of which, representing Flora, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, another, depicting Venus is in the Kunstgewerbe Museum in Berlin, and another, formerly in the Kane collection, was destroyed by fire.

Portrait by Sargent.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 4 (Apr., 1927), pp. 106-108, is

reported the purchase by the Metropolitan Museum of Sargent's Portrait of Wyndham Sisters, Lady Elcho, Mrs. Tennant, and Mrs. Adeane, which has been

described as the greatest of Sargent's portrait groups.

Renaissance Maiolica.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 6 (June, 1927), pp. 161-168 (9 figs.), C. Louise Avery announces that a collection of 40 pieces of Renaissance maiolica have been given to the Metropolitan Museum. Renaissance maiolica is a lustred pottery of Near East origin which was developed in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The pottery at its height as a fine art was bold in design, strong and pure in color, and sumptuous in effect. The collection which the author discusses includes a rare type of vase, made in Florence while the art was in its earlier stage—the first half of the fifteenth century. A single plate representing Sienese work is resplendent with Renaissance motives in rich colors and jewels. A large, pretentious, two-handled jar appears in the collection from Faenza and Caffagiolo. The pottery from Caffagiolo is abundant in Renaissance elements, many of them derived from classical art. Of the fourteen examples of Gubbio ware, four are signed with the name of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli and bear dates ranging from 1522 to 1526. The ruby lustre in these pieces is marvelous and unique. Three of the Urbino dishes bear the name of Fra Xanto and the dates 1533, 1536, 1538. Typical of this group of wares are a plate illustrating the Rape of the Sabines and a large plateau showing Aeneas carrying Anchises from burning Troy. A large platter in the style of Orazio representing the Children of Israel gathering manna, is representative of the later period of Renaissance maiolica.

Washstand by Biennais.—In B. Metr. Mus., xxii, 4 (Apr., 1927), pp. 122-126 (5 figs.), Preston Remington reports the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of a beautiful lavabo by Martin Guillaume Biennais, a famous goldsmith born in 1764. The washstand is in the form of a tripod made of amboyna wood and gilt bronze. Water leaves, swans, dolphins, sphinxes, urns, sea horses, palmettes, and laurel leaves form decorative features. A drawing in the Musée des Arts décoratifs shows the identical lavabo. The article contains a sketch of Biennais' life and work.

CHICAGO.—Costigan's "A Summer Day."—In B. A. I. Chicago, xxi, 9 (Dec., 1927), D. C. R. writes about John A. Costigan's painting "A Summer Day," which has been acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago. "A Summer Day" derived its inspiration from a rich New York state country district. Country women dressed in typical garb are shown against a background of rural scenery.

The successful use of gray is emphasized.

Cushionet Embroidery.—In B. A. I. Chicago, xxi, 9 (Dec., 1927), pp. 116-117 (fig.), Bessie Bennett writes about a cushionet acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago. Cushionets were used to cover and protect symbolic ornaments, such as crowns and coronets, from contact with baser objects. This cushionet has a white linen ground covered with a handsome pattern of flowering trees, blossoms, peaches, and pomegranates. The ornamentation contains also a pheasant, parrot, hare, lion, leaping stag, emblems of the Stuart period.

Late Gauguin.—In B. A. I. Chicago, xxi, 6 (Sept., 1927), pp. 74-75 (fig.), R. M. F. reports that the Art Institute of Chicago has acquired the portrait of a Tahitian woman with two children, showing a later phase of the work of Gauguin

(b. 1848).

Thirteenth-Century Limoges Reliquary.- In B. A. I. Chicago, xxi, 6 (Sept., 1927), pp. 73-74 (3 figs.), R. M. F. reports the acquisition by the Art Institute of Chicago of a reliquary in the form of a seated figure of the Virgin holding the infant Jesus upon her knee. The reliquary belongs to the early part of the thirteenth century and its provenience is Limoges. The height is 14½ in. The statue, nevertheless, is spoken of as possessing the dignity of the majestic madonnas of the Byzantine period. The infant wears the Greek himation. His head is abnormally small. The decoration is in keeping with the mediaeval fecundity.

BOSTON.—Landscape Etching from Altdorfer.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 152 (Dec., 1927), pp. 89-90 (fig.), H. P. Rossiter reports the acquisition by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts of Altdorfer's Landscape with Two Fir Trees. This artist's landscape scenes have been assigned to the years immediately after 1519. Altdorfer shows a quick eye for appreciating natural beauty and this he brings out with satisfaction and confidence. Human figures and most traces of human activity are kept out of his pictures.

"The Awakening," by Maurice Sterne.—In B. Mus. F. A., xxv, 149 (June, 1927), pp. 35-36 (fig.), is given a report of the acquisition by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts of the important statue "The Awakening" by Maurice Sterne. The figure, heroic in proportions, cut from Italian marble from Seravezza, represents a young woman supporting herself on her right arm while the left is thrown over her head. Possibly the artist wished to express the awakening of modern woman. Modern features are combined with a reflection of the Greek spirit, though Sterne

has remained independent.

TOLEDO.—The Osmar Flask.—At the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Cincinnati, Dec. 28, 1927, Director Blake-More Godwin of the Toledo Museum of Art announced the first purchase through the Edward Drummon Libbey Bequest, the so-called Osmar Flask. This Flask, authenticated by documentary evidence since the fourteenth century, for nearly six centuries had belonged to the Counts of Valentia. It represents the climax of Arabic glass and is an important addition to the Museum's collection of about 300 pieces of this ware. Fourteen inches high, the Flask is oval in shape and has a cylindrical neck with two handles. The decoration is in gold, flecked with red, yellow, green, blue, and white enamel. The neck and shoulders are decorated with banded areas of floral scroll and animal patterns. The lower half of the bottle has a wide band of Arabic inscription divided into four parts by four circular medallions. The lower two inches is clear, undecorated glass showing the beautiful quality of the honey-colored glass of which the bottle is made.

# NEWS ITEMS FROM ATHENS

Within the last year and a half many additions have been made to the number of Mycenaean tholos tombs excavated in various regions of Greece-by Mr. Kourouniotis at Pylos in Messenia, by Mr. Bertos and the Swedish excavators at Dendra in the Argolid, by Mr. Kyparissis near Kalavryta on the Gulf of Corinth between Aegion and Corinth, and by a young Swedish archaeologist, Mr. Natan Svensson at Bodia in eastern Triphylia.1 Because of their type of construction the tholos tombs were conspicuous and easily found by marauders of later ages and therefore, with the exception of Dendra, the archaeologist finds very little of the original contents remaining intact. For this reason their chief interest lies in their method of construction and their relative dating by means of this and by the pottery, or potsherds found in them, and secondly, in their distribution in widely separated parts of Greece showing the extent of the Mycenaean civilization in regions as far from the Argolid as northwestern Messenia and northwestern Achaia. Mr. Svensson has published his report on the two tholos tombs he excavated in a valley in eastern Triphylia (Messenia) about two and a half kilometres west of the railway station Vasiliko, on the Kalamata-Kyparissia line. The first tomb was architecturally intact, but had been so thoroughly plundered that only a few potsherds remained, but these showed that the tomb belonged to the L. H. III period. The tomb had been entered through a hole under the coverslab at the top of the "beehive" so the dromos still showed the crosswall built as a barrier near the outer end and the original fill of clay and fine gravel. The dromos measured 13.50 m. in length and 2.35 m. in width and was faced with slabs of limestone from the Malthi Mountain near by. The slabs are only roughly squared and are not closely joined, but filled in between with small chips and clay. The doorway at the end of the dromos is better built than the dromos, but the same limestone is used. This doorway is 3 m. deep and 3 m. high and shows an unusual arrangement, since its outer opening is 1.60 m. wide, while at the inner end it measures only one metre. No traces of a door were found, no door frame was cut in the walls, and no pivot holes in the lintel block, nor was there any threshold. The tomb had been closed with a wall of stones placed at the outer edge of the doorway. The doorway was roofed with one enormous slab of limestone, 3 m. deep, 2.50 m. wide and 0.40-0.35 m. thick. Above this lintel there was a relieving triangle which had apparently not been filled with a sculptured slab but closed by a thin layer of stones. The dimensions of the tholos prove it to be one of the smallest known, as it measures 6.85 m. in diameter and 5.80 m. in height. The tholos walls are built of slabs of limestone of varying sizes and shapes, the lower rows of heavier and better fitted blocks than the upper ones. Half way up, and level with the lintel block, there are two layers of larger stones forming a sort of simple frieze marking the beginning of the vault proper, as was the case in the "Tomb of Clytemnestra" at Mycenae. The last course is formed by three larger blocks, the inner sides of which form a circle. Above them is a big quadrangular stone measuring 2.40 m. 1.80 m. x 0.30 m. The second tholos had collapsed and had to be dug out from above as well as through the dromos. The dromos measured 12.50 m. in length and was 2.20 m. wide at the bottom, but narrowed a little towards the top. The doorway was badly damaged, but appeared to be 2.80 m. high and 2.60 m. in depth and 1.60 m, wide at the outer end and did not show the excessive narrowing of the doorway of the first tomb. The lintel had been formed of one single block and its dimensions were 2.90 m. in depth, 2.50 m. in width, and 0.30 m. in thickness, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>A tholos tomb was also found at Palaiokhori in Kynouria above Leonidhi.

it is now broken into many fragments. The doorway had been closed with several rows of stones. Traces of fire in the doorway and skeletal remains indicate that earlier burials were burned and then swept out to make room for later ones, and then the door was blocked with stones. The potsherds would date this last burial in Late Mycenaean times. The inner end of a drain appeared in the doorway, built of stones whose inner sides were flat, and covered by flat slabs—a drain of the same type was found in the "Tomb of Clytemnestra" at Mycenae. The upper part of the tholos had collapsed, but its dimensions appear to be a little smaller than those of the first tomb, but its style of building is similar. This second tomb, however, had two grave-pits, one containing human bones, potsherds (forming three vases), some fragments of jewelry of gold and glass paste, but everything was in great disorder, caused by the tomb robbers, apparently. The other cavity was much shallower and contained nothing but earth and stones. These two tombs, dated by the pottery, belong to the end of the fourteenth century, in the L. H. III period. From their architecture or type of construction they belong in the second group of Mr. Wace's classification for the tholos tombs at Mycenae, and although not so well built as the Dendra tholos are similar in type and produced the same L. H. III pottery. In the surrounding region Mr. Svensson found traces of walls and Late Mycenaean potsherds indicating the existence, in at least three different locations, of prehistoric settlements. One, near the village of Aëtos, had a cyclopean wall several hundred metres long and other architectural remains and potsherds dating from Mycenaean down to Byzantine times. Mr. Svensson considers that this may prove to have been the site of ancient Dorion mentioned by Pausanias (IV. 33, 7). Indications of other tholos tombs were found near the railway southeast of the two tombs excavated. All this evidence leads Mr. Syensson to believe that this whole region was occupied during the L. H. III period, but only for a short time and then abandoned, since no sherds of any true Geometric vases were found. The tholos tombs excavated by Mr. Kourouniotis at Pylos in Messenia and by Dr. Dörpfeld at Pylos-Kakovatos are very similar in type to these at Bodia, but must be dated much earlier because of their pottery. It may be that the Mycenaean inhabitants were forced to flee from the more exposed sites near the sea and took refuge here in this better hidden and more easily defended valley, but were eventually driven out by invaders who, however, did not settle in this part of the country.

The British School at Athens carried on excavations at Sparta from March 29 to May 21, 1927. The excavations were in charge of the Director of the School, Mr. Woodward, assisted by Mrs. Woodward, Mr. De Jong as architect and Professor J. P. Droop, who spent most of his time on the Geometric and Laconian pottery found in the three previous campaigns on the Acropolis. The work was divided again this year between the Acropolis and the Theatre. At the latter, the full length of the two retaining-walls was cleared. The exploration of the western retaining-wall showed that there was no external staircase to correspond to that on the east, nor does it seem likely that this wall was faced with marble for its whole length as the eastern was. In front of the bastion, which is only about two-thirds of the depth of that carrying the eastern staircase, a massive brick structure was cleared which proved to be a great fountain-basin with a semicircular internal apse at each end, measuring 13.35 m. in length with a width of 2.36 m. and a maximum depth of one metre. In removing the fallen brick and rubble from the basin some marble sculpture was found, including a seated lion, in the attitude of the one at Chaeronea, which was perhaps of late Hellenic workmanship, a charging boar, in bluish Laconian marble, the lower half of a poor figure of a tritoness, and a small headless statuette of Herakles, in a cloak. On the ledge above

the basin were two marble seats, without backs; one was decorated on the front with a relief of an eagle with a snake in its beak, the other had a palmette ornament on the front and each side. A similar seat had fallen into the basin, and another was found to the south. In front of the south wall were two marble troughs, in situ, differing in size and pattern and there was evidence for believing that there had been originally five in all. One of those extant bore an inscription giving the name of the donor in letters not later than the first century A.D. This basin rested on an inverted architrave-block, and the other on a statue-base inscribed with a dedication which cannot be earlier than the reign of Caracalla; it is a duplicate of an inscription already known (I.G., V. 1, 547). The style of construction supports these indications of late Roman date. East and south of the stage-area extensive remains of buildings, probably Roman, were found even more deeply buried than was the stage itself. In the Theatre, more of the front row seats were uncovered together with the gangway behind them and the water-channel in front. The seats were damaged, but still in their original position, and the foot of another staircase was revealed. Seven more inscribed blocks appeared in the west side of the water-channel similar to those previously found, and give more names of Ephors and Nomophylakes of the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Other inscriptions found in this region include a fragmentary list of Spartan names (ca. 400 B.C.) and a statue-base with "a Greek inscription in typical Constantinian lettering, in honour of a certain Poplilius Optatianus, Proconsul of Achaia. He is known hitherto from literary sources only, as a versifier whose flattering effusions won the heart of the Emperor Constantine and secured his own recall from exile and advancement to high office." 1

On the Acropolis the building found last year which partly underlies the back wall of the cavea was cleared and proved to be smaller and more ruinous than had been expected. The building must have been a small sanctuary, with a superstructure of mud brick on a cobble foundation, and from the scanty remains of the original votive deposit it must be dated no earlier than the seventh century and appears to be a subsidiary shrine of Athena, less ancient and famous than the Brazen House further up the hill. The small objects found include archaic terracotta heads and protomai, a fine bronze female statuette, probably Laconian work of the late sixth century, in an excellent state of preservation and of an unusual type, with the right hand held forward and slightly raised, but holding no object, and the left hand held out level from the elbow, its palm downwards. Special mention must be made of an archaic inscription, on a badly damaged stele, which was found high up in the clay layer just inside the cavea wall. This contains the remains of a hymn to Athena, written boustrophedon, in an alphabet probably earlier than 500 B.C., on three sides of the stele (the fourth is missing). No complete phrase has survived after the opening invocation, but enough is preserved to show that it was metrical throughout. "It would be rash to suggest a definite attribution of authorship for such a fragmentary poem, but we must not overlook the possibility that it may be either from an otherwise unknown hymn to Athena by Alcman, or conceivably from the hymn which (as we know from Pausanias) Gitiadas, architect of the Brazen House, composed in her honour." 2

At Boubousta in Western Macedonia, Mr. Heurtley, the Assistant Director of the British School, carried out a prehistoric excavation. The site was a small one (ca. 32 m. x 8 m. in area), lying on the right bank of the Haliakmon halfway between Hrupsista and Lapsista in a sharp dip in the hillside. The settlement stood on a fairly steep slope, and its lower side coincided with a line of rough

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Woodward's report in B.S.A., XXVI, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

terrace-walls and a cistern, built in Hellenistic times. Apart from two well-preserved hearths, the remains consisted almost entirely of pottery, which, to judge by analogy with finds elsewhere and from a few imported sherds, should be assigned to the period ca. 1500–1000 в.с. This local pottery is all hand-made (with the exception of two pieces), painted ware being far more common than plain. "The affinities of this pottery are with that class of pottery, matt-painted and plain, which flourished in Central Macedonia in the Third Period (ca. 1650–1150 в.с.), where the shapes and decorative motives can be traced back through their earlier stages to a remote past, the matt-painted technique replacing an earlier incised technique. This pottery, it now seems, spread gradually from Central Macedonia westwards along the whole length of Pindus (Pateli, Boubousta, Thermon), southwards as far as Mt. Oeta (Lianokladhi III), and about the same time into Thessaly (hand-made jugs with cut-away necks, painted and plain, and painted from the Volo district), and perhaps, as Frankfort has recently suggested, eastwards into Anatolia." <sup>1</sup>

Mr. Forsdyke excavated, for the British School, the cemetery of Mavro Spelio, at Knossos, in May and June. The cemetery lies on the hill across the river from the Palace of Knossos and was discovered by Sir Arthur Evans the previous year and partly explored with Mr. Forsdyke's help. Six chamber-tombs containing scanty remains of Middle and Late Minoan burials were found. Sixteen more tombs were found in the campaign of 1927. They are all chambers cut in the soft rock, but many have two or more compartments and none of the burials were found intact and there was very little pottery or other furniture, but the fragments found show that some of the tombs were in constant use from M. M. II b to L. M. III b. The most important finds are three crystal magnifying lenses of modern form: small discs with one convex side; a clay idol of a goddess holding up a child; three gold earrings and a gold finger-ring, another gold finger-ring with bezel inscribed with nineteen letters of the Minoan linear script arranged along a spiral line, in the manner of the Phaistos disc; a steatite gem of L. M. III b with a design of two soldiers carrying double shields. Mr. Forsdyke also excavated in the Mavro Spelio itself and found it to have been a water-sanctuary consisting of an inner spring-chamber and an outer compartment hewn in the rock with a shallow reservoir in its floor bordered with seats. Rough stairways lead to the entrance of the cave, which probably had a built facade. Mr. H. G. G. Payne excavated at Knossos four tombs of the Early Greek period and one of the fifth century. The first and most important of these was a chamber tomb on the west side of the Zafer Papoura hill, about three-quarters of a mile from the Palace, close to the site of a Geometric tomb excavated some years ago by Sir Arthur Evans. The roof of the tomb had collapsed breaking the majority of the vases which were very numerous and showed new varieties of the Proto-Geometric style as well as Geometric and early Orientalizing styles. Another tomb in the immediate neighborhood yielded nothing of interest, but two tombs at Fortezza, a village a short distance north of Knossos, provided a great quantity of early pottery similar to that mentioned above. The fifth-century tomb near by yielded some fragments of Attic pottery and a limestone palmette from a stele.

A reconstruction of the first stele of the Athenian Tribute Lists in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens has been made as a result of the studies of Professor Allen B. West and Mr. B. D. Meritt. The stele was reconstructed under Mr. Meritt's supervision last summer and now contains all the known fragments except those which have been lost since their first publication and one small piece in the British

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Woodward's report in B.S.A., XXVI, p. 10.

Museum which belongs with I.G., I <sup>2</sup> 196 and 205. Mr. Meritt reports that the actual test of rebuilding the stele confirms their measurements to the effect that the height of the stone was at least 3.663 m., the width 1.109 m. and the thickness 0.385 m. Numerous new joins were found behind the surface of the marble, confirming the disposition of the text as published by Mr. West and Mr. Meritt, with only a few minor changes. Dr. Johannes Kirchner has been in Athens since September preparing for publication the catalogues and boundary stones from Attica for the Editio Minor of the Corpus.

E. P. B.

# LETTER FROM THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

Each year since the war has seen a steady increase in archaeological activity in this field, so long neglected. When we remember that it was only in 1890 that scientific excavation began in Palestine, and that progress was seriously hampered by lack of continuity and want of coöperation before the war, it is surprising that we are as far ahead as we are. Our knowledge of Palestinian archaeology is now fairly adequate back to the twentieth century B.C., but before that date all is still hazy. There has been practically no excavation in occupied strata of the Chalcolithic or the Early Bronze, and we cannot date pottery with any approach to precision during these periods. It is in the highest degree important that the somewhat slipshod methods which often prevailed in the past be replaced by the methods employed by Reisner, Fisher, and others in the last twenty years.

The most elaborate excavation now under way is the great work of the University of Chicago, under the general supervision of Professor Breasted, and the field direction of Mr. P. L. O. Guy, at Tell el-Mutesellim, ancient Megiddo. This excavation was begun three years ago, under the direction of Dr. C. S. Fisher, but malaria has proved a serious obstacle to the progress of the work, which is magnificently equipped and financed. Some important discoveries have been made, but little has so far been published. Work here closed this year at the end of September; it is understood that interesting Bronze Age tomb groups have been excavated, and that the excavation of the mound has continued, but no further details have been publicly announced. We may safely expect the most important results as this undertaking develops, since Megiddo was one of the most strategic points in Palestine, and played a leading rôle in its history, both in the Bronze and the Early Iron Ages.

Another elaborate American undertaking is the University of Pennsylvania Museum expedition to Beisân, the biblical Beth-shan, which has just completed its sixth campaign, under the able direction of Mr. Alan Rowe. Photographs and descriptions have appeared from time to time in the Illustrated London News, as well as in the daily and weekly press, so it is possible to give some idea of the discoveries made in this important site. It is probably within the truth to assert that the six campaigns at Beth-shan have added more to our knowledge of early Palestinian history and civilization than all the other post-war excavations together. Recent seasons of digging have brought to light the ruins of a great Egyptian citadel of the New Empire, occupied from at least 1475 B.C. until the eleventh century B.C., if not the tenth. In this fortress have been found the remains of temples superimposed on the ruins of older temples, with royal stelae, temple appurtenances, votive offerings, etc. Large sections of five early building levels have been examined, belonging respectively to the period of the later Ramessides (twelfth-eleventh centuries), of Ramesses II (thirteenth century), of Sethos I (end of fourteenth), of Amenophis III (fourteenth), and finally of Tuthmosis III (fifteenth century). The principal finds of the season just completed were made in the Amenophis III and Tuthmosis III levels, though the later levels also produced interesting discoveries.

In the Tuthmosis III level, two temples were discovered, making a total number of six Canaanite temples so far excavated on the site. When we remember that no Canaanite temples had been excavated anywhere in Palestine before the year 1925, some idea of the importance of this work will be gained. The Tuthmosis level is about 11.5 metres below the top of the mound, and represents the eighth stratum from the top. When we recall that there are still between twenty and thirty metres to be excavated before virgin soil is reached, the magnitude of the excavators' task becomes clear, and it is easy to form an idea of the antiquity of the site, which probably goes back into the Chalcolithic Age, over 3000 B.C. The most important single find in this stratum was the small limestone stela bearing the names of Amenemôpe and his son Pera'emheb, represented as worshipping the god Mkl-Btshl, that is, Mekel of Beth-shan. Since Reshep was the principal Canaanite god worshipped at Beth-shan, there can be no reasonable doubt that this Mekel is the same as the Reshep-Mekel mentioned a thousand years later in Phoenician inscriptions found in Cyprus. Cypriote bilinguals identify Reshep Mekel with Greek Apollo of Amyclae, a very interesting case of an identification based both upon similarity of functions and likeness of name. It was long thought by Semitic scholars that the Phoenician Reshep-Mekel was simply an adaptation of the Amyclaean Apollo, but it is now clear that the two figures were entirely distinct. On our stela Mekel is shown as Sûtekh, that is, as the Egyptian deity with whom Canaanite gods of war were generally identified.

A vast mass of smaller objects of interest has been discovered during the past campaign, which is fully as important as its predecessors. Among them are a number of inscriptions in various languages, all brief, a remarkable series of scarabs and cylinders, a fine Hathor standard, a mould for making jewelry, whole series of cult objects, altars, etc., bronze weapons, a trumpet mouthpiece, etc. The collections of pottery are epoch-making for our knowledge of Bronze Age ceramics, since practically all the vases found can be dated to within fifty years.

In 1913 Professor Ernst Sellin of the University of Berlin began excavations at Balâtah, two miles west of Nâblus (Neapolis), where he believed that the site of biblical Shechem would be found. In two short campaigns before the war he proved the correctness of his view. Since the war excavations have been renewed, beginning in the spring of 1926, and the fourth post-war campaign was brought to a close at the end of September, 1927. The third and fourth campaigns, in the spring and summer of the past year, have apparently not been productive of any very startling results, like the Late Canaanite temple of the previous campaigns, or the two clay tablets, but some very interesting minor discoveries have been chronicled. The main phases of the history of the site are now fairly clear. There was a small mound on the site in the Early Bronze Age, and when the great city wall was built, before the middle of the second millennium, the mound in question became the acropolis, in the north-central part of the city. The area of the city during the Late Bronze Age was probably nearly twice as great as that of Megiddo. It is to be hoped that the excavations will be continued, since there is every reason to expect discoveries of value to the historian, like the Israelite horned house altars, or the Canaanite cuneiform documents, to say nothing of the evidence of skill in bronze work and of active commercial life.

The British School of Archaeology in Egypt, under the direction of Sir William Flinders Petrie, began the excavation of Tell Djemmeh, south of Gaza, in the winter. The reason for this departure is primarily that the present methods of the Egyptian Government in the division of antiquities are regarded by many ar-

chaeologists as so unsatisfactory that they are turning their attention to Palestine and Syria, where Egyptian remains of great importance are being found, as at Byblos and Beth-shan. Tell Djemmeh is the site of ancient Gerar, mentioned frequently in the Old Testament, beginning in the Patriarchal Age, and continuing down into recent times. The excavations at Tell Djemmeh produced results of importance even in the first campaign; the second campaign was opened in December, 1927, under the direction of Mr. Starkey. Preliminary reports have appeared in Ancient Egypt and in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The first season has carried the history of the site back to the reign of Tuthmosis III, with results of particular importance for the periods of Psammetichus and of Shishak. Numerous large granaries of the Persian Age were found on the summit of the mound, illustrating the importance of Gerar as a military base. Excavations here are certain to be of great value for our knowledge of the relations between Egypt and Palestine, especially in the early period.

The work on Ophel, under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, was resumed this summer, after several years of interruption. Thanks to the direction of Mr. Crowfoot, Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, now cooperating with the Fund, the scientific character of this campaign has been altogether satisfactory. Preliminary reports have been published in the Quarterly Statement. This past season's work concentrated on the western edge of the Ophel hill and the Tyropoeon Valley. The excavations were unexpectedly successful in uncovering an important section of Jewish city wall eight metres thick, with a new city gate. This discovery is the most important one in years for our knowledge of the Jewish city of the Old Testament period. A section was also cleared across the Tyropoeon, thus establishing the exact contours of the ancient valley at a most important point. Well preserved Byzantine house remains were also uncovered in this phase of the work. No light was thrown on Jebusite Jerusalem.

The work of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society on the line of the so-called Third Wall of Jerusalem continued with interruptions until the first months of 1927. The wall has been followed eastward as far as the western edge of the property of the American School of Archaeology, where it comes to a still unexplained stop. It is hoped that the work will be continued soon to the east of the American School, where the line will probably be found without difficulty. The keen criticism of Père Vincent has proved that these foundations do not date from the reign of Agrippa. His view that they belong to a previously unknown wall of Bar Cochba's time is, however, difficult to accept. In the present writer's opinion they actually belong to the third wall of Josephus, though not to the Agrippan Wall, which was not even commenced along this part of the north line, or, if commenced, was intended to follow a slightly different line, changed in 67-70 A.D. to the line now being traced. Besides this undertaking, the Jewish society, under the direction of Dr. E. L. Sukenik, Field Archaeologist of the Hebrew University, has also made soundings at Tell Djerfsheh, northeast of Jaffa. Here Dr. Sukenik has found important remains of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, together with less interesting ruins of the Early Iron Age.

In the spring and early summer Dean W. F. Badè of the Pacific School of Religion carried on his second campaign at Tell en-Nasbeh, north of Jerusalem, with the assistance of Dr. C. S. Fisher as Archaeological Adviser and of Professor Elihu Grant, of Haverford College. The second campaign was even more successful than the first one, in 1926. Another large and remarkably well preserved stretch of Bronze Age city wall was cleared, while an Israelite sanctuary of the latter pre-exilic period (Early Iron II) was an even more striking find. So far

there have been no detailed accounts published, so it is not possible to give any further information yet. The identity of this ancient site is still uncertain, and it is doubtful whether any of the suggestions hitherto made, such as Mizpah, Gibeon, Beeroth, is correct.

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem made some soundings at Bethel (modern Beitfn) during the month of October, after the return of its Director from America. The soundings proved extremely successful in their objective, which was to determine the antiquity of the site and the broad outlines of its history. The depth of débris varies from six metres to about nine metres, and represents the Middle and Late Bronze, Early Iron I, II, and III, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic periods. The history of the site, therefore, began before 1800 B.C., and its identification with the Canaanite Luz, as well as with Israelite Bethel, becomes certain. We also uncovered a section of the city wall, standing four metres high, and belonging partly to the Late Bronze and partly to the Early Iron. In the coming spring the American School expects to resume the excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim (Kiriath-sepher), in coöperation with President M. G. Kyle, of Xenia Theological Seminary.

During the early part of 1927 the German Catholic organization known as the Görres Gesellschaft undertook the clearance of the interesting ruins at Râmet el-Khalîl, two miles north of Hebron. Under the able direction of Dr. E. Mader very important results were secured, and the main lines of the architectural history of the háram here were determined. A Herodian structure like the "Mosque" of Machpelah in Hebron seems to have been the first building on the site, followed by an enclosure of massive stones from the early Roman period. This was changed into a Christian installation, with a basilica, later adapted to

the purposes of a mosque.

The archaeological service of the Transjordan Government is now quite independent of the Palestine Department of Antiquities, and is under the direction of Mr. Horsfield, who continues to devote most of his time to his great work at Djerash (Gerasa of the Decapolis). The clearance of the Roman city is steadily, though slowly, progressing and important discoveries continue to be made. Djerash will some day rival Timgad as a remarkably well preserved Roman city. The extent and diversity of its ruins make it far more interesting in many respects than either Baalbek or Palmyra. It is to be hoped that the opportunity offered here for excavation will be seized by more than one organization, since interesting finds are certain to be made, and there is much valuable material for the history of Transjordan in the first seven centuries A.D. awaiting the fortunate excavator of this site. An Italian expedition, under the direction of Dr. Ugo Monneret, has begun work on the citadel of 'Ammân (Philadelphia), but no reports have been published, though there have already been some interesting discoveries.

The outstanding archaeological event of the year in Palestine is the splendid gift of two million dollars, pledged by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., toward the cost of building, equipping and endowing a Palestine Museum in Jerusalem. Professor James H. Breasted of the University of Chicago is responsible for this generous gift, which does equal credit to the donor and to the originator of the conception. The site of the museum is to be in the property known as Karm esh-Sheikh, north of the northeastern corner of the Old City. The American School of Oriental Research is located only five minutes' walk from the proposed site, while the French School of Archaeology (the Dominican Biblical School) is about eight minutes from it. This section of the city is, therefore, destined to become the centre of archaeological activity in Jerusalem. It was a very happy prevision which led Professor R. F. Harper of the University of Chicago, who was

then Director of the American School, to select the site on which the American School now stands. Incidentally, the site would probably cost now four times what he paid for it, if available for purchase at all.

The future of Palestinian archaeology is thus bright, since the existence of the new museum will attract students and excavators. The lack of a suitable museum building has unquestionably been one of the chief handicaps in the way of the progress of our science. Most of the material already excavated is still unavailable for study because of the want of space in which to expose it. Moreover, with the liberal provisions of the Palestine Antiquities Ordinance for equal division of the finds there is every inducement to excavate in this country. The importance of Palestine as a connecting link between the two great civilizations of antiquity, the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian, is becoming steadily more evident. Mounds like Megiddo and Beth-shan will yield material of fundamental importance for all students of ancient oriental history.

Syria, too, is beginning to reveal its archaeological treasures. The excavations of the past year in Byblos (Djebeil) and Qatna (el-Mishrifeh) have thrown unexpected light on the early history of Syria. At Djebeil Dunand found a monument of Kha'sekhemwey of the Second Egyptian Dynasty, while at el-Mishrifeh Count du Mesnil du Buisson has made very important discoveries, including a series of cuneiform tablets with an inventory of the temple furniture of the goddess Belitekallim, found in the temple itself. This remarkable discovery proves that Early Babylonian influence on Central Syria was greater than had been suspected of late years, and promises us a harvest of inscriptions from periods which are

still enshrouded in dense obscurity.

From the standpoint of American archaeological interests in Palestine the chief desideratum now is better support of the American School in Jerusalem. The American School of Oriental Research was founded in 1900, under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America. It is still without any endowment, and is now without any fellowship, since the Thayer Fellowship, established by the Institute when the School was founded, was withdrawn in 1924, because of temporary lack of funds on the part of the Institute. Since this was the only assistance given to the American School in Jerusalem by the Institute, it is earnestly hoped that it will be made possible at an early date for the Institute to reestablish this Fellowship, and thus to show an active interest in the work of the School in Palestine.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

January 5, 1928

### NEWS LETTER OF THE BAGHDAD SCHOOL

The Baghdad School is, during the present season, carrying on three lines of research. Professor Edward Chiera, the Field Director of the School, is conducting a joint expedition of Harvard University and the Baghdad School for the excevation of the mounds of Nuzi near Kirkuk, where he made his important excavation in 1925. He reports the discovery of large quantities of pottery and some sixty tablets during the first month of the work. An archive of eight hundred tablets has since been found.

During the month of October Dr. E. A. Speiser, Honorary Fellow in the School, made a three weeks' "dig" in the mound of Teppe Gaura as the joint work of Dropsie College and the Baghdad School. Under date of October 18th he wrote:

"The dig is fully as interesting as I had anticipated. A trench 5 meters wide has been marked off on the E. slope running from the top of the mound down to 10

meters past its base. The trench has been divided into areas of 5 square meters each, and those are being removed layer by layer. Each stone is left in position until the architect who is with me has made the necessary plans. The same architect also takes care of the drawings of pots and objects.

"Two thirds of the mound are occupied by a neolithic culture several layers deep, with characteristic painted ware and, of course, no bronze. Apart from interesting designs on fragments of pottery (unfortunately no whole pot has as yet been found here) we got a headless terra-cotta figurine of a seated deity, a string of ivory beads, spindle whorls, etc.

"The upper third is occupied by a different culture. A powerful stone wall is a splendid boundary mark. Within that enclosure the painted ware ceases, bronze appears, as well as other marks of a different race from the preceding. These facts check our chronology admirably. But to make assurance doubly sure we found in area 'I' a splendid concave cylinder seal, perfectly preserved, representing a seated deity holding in his hands the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates with which he brings fertility to the world. A horned sub-deity and two priests approach in a worshipful attitude. The shape and motif are scarcely older than 2000 B.C. I feel now fairly certain that the people who occupied the top of the mound belonged to the first groups of invading Semites."

Under date of November 1st Dr. Speiser wrote further as follows:

"In the fifteen working days which I had at my disposal a trench was sent through the tell in terraces 5 meters long. The mound was occupied, as can be easily established, by three different groups of people. The earliest strata belong to a civilization which is characterized by exquisite painted ware. The race that followed specialized in incised pottery. To it also belonged a fine temple of baked bricks, much of which we succeeded in recovering. The temple, and every other bit of masonry, have been studied and recorded by an architect, who was also responsible for the pottery. All the plans and drawings are now ready for publication.

"To this temple period must be assigned a bit of ceramics which, as far as I know, is entirely unique. It represents an imitation fountain head. The water enters through a saucer which is attached like a superimposed spout. From there it spreads in the closed hollow rim until it emerges from the mouth of a finely shaped sheep's head on the other side of the rim. When the pot is full the water overflows into a special channel which surrounds the shoulders of the pot. Small ducks are attached to the shoulder, and they must have appeared bathing when the water filled the channel. The final surplus escapes through a small spout. The whole presupposes, of course, a constant stream of water. We have sufficient indications that this intricate bit of pottery once adorned the temple garden.

"The last period of the mound introduces us into the Bronze Age. Axe and pick-heads, chisels, needles, hooks, chain-links, and a fine pair of tweezers with the temper still in force, after a period of four to five thousand years, represent our better metal objects. Three perfect cylinder seals and an attractive string of beads made of lapis and carnelian are among the other interesting finds of this period. The beads contrast markedly with the ivory string which had been found a week earlier in the oldest layers. The Bronze Age invaders who supplanted the Temple people left us also very massive fortifications. It need not be emphasized that the information which the tell has yielded far exceeds in importance the intrinsic value of the objects mentioned above. It is the first time that a site in Northern Iraq has been opened which must have been completely abandoned as early as 2000 B.C."

The results of Dr. Speiser's sounding of Teppe Gaura are not only interesting for themselves, but also because they add further information concerning that new factor in the history of the Near East disclosed to us by the excavation made by Professor Chiera at Tar Khalan in 1925.

GEORGE A. BARTON

# CORRIGENDUM

In the article on the Alphabet in A.J.A. XXXI (1927), 312, Figure 1 has been printed upside down. The heading 'Primitive' belongs to column 3 as it now stands, 'Phoenician' to column 1.

## BOOK REVIEWS

ALCAMENES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CLASSICAL TYPE IN GREEK ART, by Sir Charles Walston (Waldstein), pp. xx, 254. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1926.

This book is the latest and last work of Sir Charles Walston, who recently died while on a voyage to the Mediterranean. It is a curious conglomeration of fact, theory, discussion and polemic. Scattered essays, previously published in part or whole, are linked together by means of new chapters and material in an attempt that is only partially successful to present the book as a logical unit.

The kernel of the work is a discussion of Alcamenes and his position in the development of sculpture in the fifth century from its immaturity to its perfection. But the first part of the book, with six chapters and 72 pages, deals with preliminary matter some of which is as irrelevant as the "persistence of Greek thought," the subject of Chapter II. This with Chapter III, the "persistence of Greek art," is largely composed from the author's earlier book, \*Harmonism\* and Conscious Evolution.\* And it should be remarked that there are constant references throughout the book to the author's numerous previous studies although important works by other archaeologists on phases of the subjects treated are frequently overlooked.

Equally irrelevant to the subject is the long appendix, pp. 229–247, with the author's defense of the conduct of his excavations at the Argive Heraeum, and with a restatement of his differences with Furtwängler. Such feuds between scholars are a disgrace to science and the sooner they are buried in the mould of oblivion the better for all concerned. The method and conduct of the excavation of an ancient site are matters of record and are obvious to all scientific observers. No explanation or defense should be necessary. Certainly no light of any kind is furnished by the publication of a purely amiable letter from Commendatori Boni, p. 247. Differences of opinion on the interpretation of the results of excavations should be expressed by fellow-scholars in a spirit of friendly coöperation.

The basis for a study of the style of Alcamenes is furnished by the sculptures in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Pausanias specifically states that they were made by Alcamenes, but as many modern scholars have disputed this statement a chapter is devoted to a discussion of the credibility of Pausanias. There is sound reasoning here and I am in entire accord with the effort to support the reliability of ancient testimony. The fashion is too prevalent today to alter and emend statements in ancient literature that do not agree with some particular theory, without regard to the fact that the writers of old had access to a vast amount of material that is unknown to modern theorists.

On the basis, then, of the style of the sculptures at Olympia attributed to Alcamenes our author works out the stylistic characteristics of that sculptor, and shows how this style was naturally developed from earlier sources. The development of the classical type is particularly traced in three phases of its expression. These are the treatment of the nude body, the treatment of the eyes and the facial angle of the head. The test of the facial angle differentiates two schools of artistic development, racially characterized as the Ionic and the Doric, stylistically contrasted as the Attic and the Argive-Attic types, of which the latter is represented by Phidias, the former by Alcamenes. The shape of the head is regarded as an absolute criterion of style for the identification of works by Alcamenes.

The contrasting types are the triangular shape with long, projecting nose found in the early art of Asia Minor and in archaic Greek works, and the square head

that is characteristic of Polykleitos and the Peloponnesian sculptors, which became predominant in the bloom of sculpture under Phidias, a pupil of Polykleitos. These two types are well illustrated in juxtaposed views shown in Figures 42 and 43 on pp. 42 and 43.

After the determination of the stylistic character of Alcamenes to his satisfaction on the evidence furnished by the sculptures of the west pediment at Olympia, the author uses his criteria of style for the attribution of other statues to Alcamenes. This phase of the subject forms Part III of the book, pp. 149-225. About the first work so listed, the Hermes Propylaios, there is no dispute because of the inscription found with the head at Pergamon. The attribution of the other works is entirely conjectural, but the study is interesting because it is based on the appreciation of stylistic expression, a branch of archaeology that is often sadly neglected by archaeological specialists.

For the identification of the gold and ivory Dionysos at Athens no material is available other than some representations on coins, but Walston believes that the bronze bust from Herculaneum is, at least, a reminiscence of the famous cult-statue. The shape of the head, however, is quite at variance with the type that he

has taken such pains to establish for Alcamenes.

A long chapter, IV, pp. 168–200, is devoted to the task of removing the so-called Lemnian Athena from the repertory of Phidias and of placing it in the catalogue of the works of Alcamenes. The question is by no means settled, but the statue will certainly continue to be known by the name so brilliantly assigned to it by Furtwängler. In this chapter the author has introduced by a free interpretation of the limits of his subject a fine statue of Athena of Praxitelean type that is in his own possession, illustrated on pl. XIII, figs. 164 and 165.

Other works of Alcamenes that are discussed are the Aphrodite, the Enkrinomenos, and the Herakles, but no further light is thrown on the identification of them with existing works, for the attributions suggested seem to me to be far from acceptable. In the last chapter, VIII, of this part of the book the bronze youth, recently found at Pompeii, is published, pl. XXII, and because of the shape of the head is directly associated with Alcamenes. Here, too, is published the new marble head of Zeus discovered at Cyrene, although in its case no claim is made of

any relation to the style of Alcamenes.

The book, thus, covers a wider range of study than its title would indicate, and it is of interest and distinct value because of its insistence on the importance of the appreciation of style for the proper interpretation of works of art. It is handsomely illustrated with 208 figures which include 24 plates, listed both as plates and figures. The press work is beautifully done by the Cambridge University Press, and the many errors that I have noticed are chiefly in the spelling of foreign words, technical terms and proper names, all of which are faults due to lack of careful verification by the author.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

### PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Die Griechischen Terrakotten, by August Köster, pp. 98, pls. 104. Hans-Schoetz & Co., Berlin, 1926.

Terracotta figurines have been found in large numbers on many Greek sites. The two chief purposes for which they were used were as dedications in temples, and as pious offerings to the dead. They are, therefore, commonly found in sacred precincts and in graves. In their dedicatory use they originally represented the deity or servants of the deity to which they were offered. As sepulchral gifts

they often were miniature suggestions of the deceased person shown in various attitudes and occupations. They are, thus, copies and imitations in cheap material of monumental works in marble and bronze, and occasionally actual copies have been found of famous masterpieces of sculpture. Because of their cheapness they were produced in great quantity and were freely used by poor and humble persons. They are important because they are copies and interpretations of larger works, because they mirror the habits, dress and daily occupations of their time, because they often have their bright colors preserved and thus inform us of the original appearance of marble sculpture, and because they are frequently themselves of great intrinsic beauty.

The great encyclopaedic work on terracottas is Franz Winter's Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten, and other studies cover limited groups of the material. The present book is a well written, readable survey of the entire field. It is not technical, but rather popular in form, and is free from learned apparatus in the shape of references and footnotes. The illustrations are carefully selected and admirably reproduced, but they are largely taken from a single collection, for with ten exceptions the 104 plates show objects in the Antiquarium in Berlin. The format and typography are pleasing and I have noticed only one typographical error.

The author gives a clear exposition of the subject beginning with a chapter on the importance of terracottas and continuing with a discussion of the material arranged chronologically within its various geographical groups. With some of the statements made I can not agree. The assumption (p. 17) that the clay of Corinth was not easily accessible is opposed to the fact that today this characteristic clay is visible on the slopes of many hillocks. On page 36 the author states that statuettes of columnar shape were not known to the Greek mainland, but I do not believe that the two archaic statuettes of this type found last season at Corinth in the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis are isolated examples. In the same area a stone chamber contained a deposit of objects that are dated by five coins among them in 300 to 250 s.c. Among them were several terracotta statuettes of a woman reclining on a couch. These are made of the characteristic Corinthian clay and, taken with other terracottas found elsewhere in the city, prove that the manufacture of terracottas at Corinth continued long after the middle of the fifth century, in spite of the statement to the contrary made on page 61.

Much still remains to be done in the study of this interesting group of antiquities but, in the meanwhile, a book of this sort gives the scholar a rapid review of characteristic types and provides for the general reader a fascinating glimpse of the history and character of a series of charming miniatures of art.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

### PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

L'Impérialisme Macédonien et l'Hellénisation de l'Orient, by P. Jouguet, pp. 502, 8 plates, 3 maps. La Renaissance du Livre, Paris. 30 francs.

Professor Jouguet has traced briefly but clearly the history of Alexander and the Diadochi. The vast amount of research in this period of history during recent years is thoroughly at the command of the author, but limitations of space have compelled him to present this involved story in less than three hundred pages, and the summary is occasionally too condensed to be entertaining reading.

While Alexander was inspired by a desire to avenge the wrongs of Greece and by his own passion for glary, the wars between his successors had no such motives. The author does not specify in detail the causes of the hostility but he indicates

briefly the importance of such factors as the desire to control trade routes, the need of the Ptolemies to secure ample supplies of material for the upkeep of their navy, and the necessity of a friendly foothold in Greek lands in order to secure sufficient recruits for the maintenance of the royal power in alien lands. The effect of the constant wars on the vitality of Hellenism and on the economic resources of the various kingdoms might have been discussed more fully. Since it was dangerous to draw heavily on the native population for the armies, Greek mercenaries were largely employed and it was almost obligatory to maintain these on the footing of a standing army. The necessity of supporting these forces in a long succession of wars compelled the kings to exploit their subjects to the uttermost. In the Nile valley this exploitation took the form of state regulation of agriculture and industry in minute detail, and it is probable that in Asia a similar

process of nationalization of industry was in process of development.

The second part of the book is devoted to the Hellenization of the Orient. Professor Jouguet regards Hellenism as an emanation of the Greek city in a state of political freedom. Since it was impossible to reconcile the old ideal of the Greek city-state with an Orientalized monarchy based on divine right, the choice of title for this part seems inconsistent. Egypt had very few cities because the Ptolemies feared to impair the unity of their country. In Asia cities were founded more freely, but in both countries the rulers imposed their will on the local administration of the towns through their personal representatives. The genius of the Greeks was diverted from political activity to industry and commerce, to service in the armies and in various government bureaus, and to the exploitation of the resources of the country. Greek language, literature, art, institutions, and law did penetrate the Orient although it is probable that, except for a few cities on or near the coast, the vast mass of the people were little influenced thereby. The ideal of fusing Greek and Oriental was abandoned by the successors of Alexander, and the former remained a dominant race. It was inevitable that they, a small minority, should eventually lose their identity in the native population. Even before the Roman conquest a decline in Hellenism may be observed. Though there was a revival under Roman patronage, Caracalla, five centuries after Alexander, realized his plan by conferring Roman citizenship on Greek and barbarian alike. As a result the remnants of Hellenism were speedily submerged under a rising tide of Orientalism.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON

# PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

ANCIENT RECORDS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, by Daniel David Luckenbill, Vol. I, Historical Records of Assyria from the Earliest times to Sargon, pp. XVI+ 297; Vol. II, Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the End, pp. XII+ 504. The University of Chicago Press, Vol. I, 1926, Vol. II, 1927. Both volumes sold only together, \$8.

These are the first two volumes of a new series planned by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. There will be seven volumes in all; six of translations, and an index covering the entire series. The translations have been made from the original monuments in the British Museum. The material constitutes for the historian new source material of the greatest importance, disclosing, as it does, so many revelations of new features that marked the social and economic evolution of the early Mesopotamian world.

Professor Luckenbill is peculiarly the proper person for Breasted to have put in charge of the compilation of an Assyrian-Babylonian Dictionary, and the transla-

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tion in connection therewith of the Assyrian documents into English "has made the resumption of the 'Ancient Records' project an obvious step."

The translator has grouped his material in quite satisfactory categories. Volumes I and II contain the Assyrian Historical Inscriptions; Volume III will have the Babylonian Historical Inscriptions; Volume IV, Ancient Law and Business (based on selected documents from all periods of both Assyria and Babylonia); Volume V, Literary and Religious Texts; and Volume VI, Letters, Official and Private. The translator is also well advised, where he has a succession of documents, in printing the final edition first, and then the rest in chronological order.

In the fourteen chapters in the first volume there are well over one hundred inscriptions, and in epigraphical style each translation is preceded by its description, provenience, and bibliography.

The second volume contains fifteen chapters. The inscriptions of Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal occupy approximately one hundred pages for each. At the end of the second volume is the list of Assyrian kings, a selected bibliography, and the index for both volumes.

The series will be invaluable. It must go into every library that makes any pretensions whatsoever, and will be on the shelves of every research historian.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN

### NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

The History and Civilization of Ancient Megara, Part One. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 2), by E. L. Highbarger, Ph.D., pp. xv, 220, plates 6. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1927.

This volume, the first of a two-part history of Megara, begins with a discussion of the topography and monuments of Megaris, continues with a long chapter on the local cults, and then takes up the narrative of Megarean history from the time of the early kings to 146 B.C. Each chapter is well documented, usually with an introductory note in which the chief modern sources are cited. There is a selected bibliography at the end. The six illustrations include a sketch map showing the probable location of the monuments of the city. One could wish for another map of Megaris.

Most of the chapters in the volume were used for a doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University, and it was published by the university as one of its series of Studies in Archaeology. This review will criticise the work as a dissertation. Although Dr. Highbarger's book is not free from mistakes, the reviewer considers it a model of its kind. Nevertheless, he may be permitted to state his belief that any project which requires a candidate for a doctor's degree to pronounce authoritative judgment on such widely separate fields as prehistoric archaeology, certain phases of the Homeric problem, the Megarean decrees, and the Macedonian policy towards Greece, to say nothing of geography and cult origins, is altogether too ambitious.

Certainly this book, ranging over most aspects of Greek civilization for two or three millennia, cannot be considered definitive, for many of the problems discussed are only to be settled by highly trained specialists, and some of them await evidence from further excavations.

Dr. Highbarger's own contributions to the history of Megara necessarily give the appearance of being incidental, scattered, as they are, through pages of material which is either a summary of conflicting views, of which the author chooses the one which seems most reasonable to him, or a mere presentation of facts well known and established. The collection of such material, to be sure, is

valuable for itself, as is an article in Pauly-Wissowa, for example; but at times when Dr. Highbarger goes beyond the limits of an article of this sort, the result is satisfactory neither as Greek nor as Megarean history. The reviewer has in mind particularly the chapter on fourth century Megara, which is a summary account of Greek history used as a background for a few references to Megarean affairs.

A few typical slips will be mentioned as illustrations to show that a work like this taxes the powers of a student. We are told on page 9 that Megara is a typical Mycenaean site, and that its position and two acropoleis recall other Mycenaean settlements such as Corinth. The author was thinking of Acrocorinthus, for he says that it is about as high as the twin hills of Megara. The fact that the latter are nearly 1,000 feet lower than the lofty Corinthian citadel suggests that the

author has no first-hand knowledge either of the one or of the other.

Though numismatics is of little value for the student of early Megarean history, it could not be omitted. On page 118 we find a confused, inaccurate, and incomplete reference to some wheel-shaped (sic), copper (silver) obols assigned by Svoronos to Megara. This slip serves merely to give point to our criticism, for the mistake does not affect any of the author's theses. In epigraphy there are similar unimportant errors. To mention only one, the Salaminian decree probably is late, rather than early, sixth century, as Dr. Highbarger might have known if he had consulted the editio minor of Inscriptiones Graecae. One notes as an example of chronological error, the startling statement that the Spartan war-weariness of 427 was caused by the affair of Pylos, and one is curious to know what the following sentence means, "Alexander did not violate Greek soil any more than Philip had done." It is unnecessary to list other slips of this nature, and the mistaken citations, of which the reviewer has noted several, can be ignored.

When it comes to points of strictly Megarean history, another principle is involved, of which we may take as illustrative the author's theory that Theagenes' tyranny originated in a wool monopoly. One feels that he is too familiar with what one may call, for want of a better term, the dangerous books, books which, though brilliant, must be used with care even by the mature scholar. In justice, however, it must be added that the bibliographical notes often contain the much

needed word of caution, e.g., p. 120, on Ure, Origin of Tyranny.

Nevertheless, the monograph is a useful storehouse of Megarean information, culled from sources both ancient and modern, well presented, and for the most part interpreted with clarity and judgment. Old theories are sometimes cogently defended, or discarded, and an occasional new theory of merit enhances the value of the work.

ALLEN B. WEST

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS AND FRAGMENTS FROM NIPPUR AND BABYLON, by Leon Legrain. Philadelphia, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1926.

The two stately volumes of Hilprecht's Old Babylonian Inscriptions are now completed by this thin book of fragments. So little is known of pre-Sargonid Babylonia that every name, word, or even sign recovered by Legrain is precious. From the Ur dynasty, we are given door sockets of Dungi and Gimil Sin. In connection with his publication of the latter, Legrain cites in translation only a longer socket inscription. He does not tell where he saw it, presumably in the hands of a dealer. Unless there is more than one example in America, this is the Gimil Sin inscription now in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois. It will be fully published in due time.

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The Nisin dynasty is represented by a brick of Ishme Dagan, a fragment of Libit Ishtar, a cone of Enlil-bani. The Kashshite period is enriched by twenty-one short inscriptions. A brick of Urta-shum-iddina of the fourth dynasty of Babylon makes this little known ruler slightly more familiar. Bricks of Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal and bits of cylinders from the great Nebuchadnezzar complete the list of fragments.

But three inscriptions are of any length. One is a massive barrel cylinder of Nabu-naid, which describes the repair of Imgur Bel, the city wall of Babylon. As Legrain notes, the length agrees with the measurements of the German excavators. The second is a barrel cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, already published in part.

Easily the most important document of the book is the completed Ekur tablet from Nippur, first published by Poebel. Legrain has discovered a large fragment which virtually completes the text. We are given new names of rulers in Babylonia and on the Elamite frontier conquered by Sargon and Rimush. We are told how Sargon collected to the wharf of his city Agade ships from Meluhha, Magan, and Dilmun, a passage which will doubtless reopen the discussion as to the location of these places. We already knew of Sargon's expedition to Mari, Iarmuti, and Ibla, as far as the cedar forest and the silver mounts. We now learn that the "man of Mari" was named Uga. Just before the mention of Mari, we are told that Sargon sacrificed to Dagan in Tutuli. The Code of Hammurabi places Dagan of Tutul just after the settlements on the Euphrates. Since Mari is again closely fixed to the Middle Euphrates, we have more reason than ever for finding the cedar forests and the silver mountains close to the Euphrates bend, that is, in North Syria.

The labor on this book has been great, the return small. We must thank Dr. Legrain for what he has done and for the certainty that we have at last before us all the narrative material from the great find at Nippur.

A. T. OLMSTEAD

University of Illinois

L'ART HITTITE par Edmond Pottier, membre de l'Institute, conservateur honoraire des Musées nationaux. Premier Fascicule. Librairie Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1926. Pp. 100, 4to. Price of the completed work, 62.50 f.

M. Pottier proposes to do in the work, of which this is the first part, for Hittite art what Perrot and Chipiez did a generation or more ago for the art of other lands of the Eastern Mediterranean. It is a most welcome undertaking, for hitherto we have had no comprehensive treatise on Hittite art as a whole. Weber's book gives us specimens of different types of the art, and monographs on different excavations describe what was found on each site, but a comprehensive comparative study of the whole was a desideratum. The first fascicule of M. Pottier's work gives promise that it will supply this want. The work opens with a brief historical sketch, which is followed by a section devoted to the thesis that Hittite art developed earlier than that of Assyria. Fourteen pages are then devoted to a discussion of the art of Carchemish, fifty-seven to that of Zendjirli, and the discussion of the art of Sakjê-Geuze is scarce begun before this fascicule which consists of but a hundred pages comes to an end.

In one respect the historical introduction is not up to date. M. Pottier seems to be unaware of the racial mixture and linguistic variety represented in the group of peoples who produced this art which we call Hittite—a mixture which the linguistic study of the tablets from Boghaz Koi has made so evident and the results of which Forrer has set forth so clearly. There was an Indo-European element in this

mixture, but there was also a large non-Indo-European element the racial affinities of which have not yet been identified.

The belief that Hittite art is earlier than Assyrian art and in its beginnings independent of it is receiving month by month additional confirmation. It seems to have been the product of a cultural group whose influence can be traced from Asia Minor, through northern Syria and Mesopotamia, along the hills to the eastward of ancient Assyria to Susa in ancient Elam. Traces of it are also found in the earliest strata at Abu Sherain (Eridu) and at Tell Obeid in southern Babylonia. Several links in this chain have been recently supplied by the labors of Dr. Chiera and Dr. Speiser of the American School at Baghdad. M. Pottier's illustrations are good and clear, being of the type employed in the works of Perrot and Chipiez, which this work emulates.

GEORGE A. BARTON

### UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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CÉRAMIQUE CAPPADOCIENNE, by Henri de Genouillac. Vol. I, pp. X, 126, 21 plates (pl. 11 suppressed); Vol. II, pp. 75, 57 plates. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1926.

This is an important publication by the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the Louvre. There are very few works on the pottery of Asia Minor and so these two volumes fill a long felt need. The first gives an inventory of the Collection Chantre and the second the "Acquisitions du Musée du Louvre." Nearly every vase is illustrated on the excellent plates and some are reproduced in colors (Vol. II, Pl. 3 bis, 5 bis, 10 bis, 12 bis which shows a beautiful polychrome duck in Ionian style from the Pontus, 23 bis, 24 bis, 27 bis, 38 bis). The colored plates enable the student who has not access to the originals to form a real estimate of the decoration. One is reminded by the Hittite vases, with black painting on red or sometimes yellow and brown, of early Thessalian ware, especially that from Dimini and Sesklo and Lianokladi. It is a matter for regret that the author in his inventory, which generally gives only a description of the vases, does not often call attention to such parallels. There are some exceptions as in the case of the pretty two-handled vase on plate 49 labelled a "Calice Amphore," which is exactly like the Homeric depas amphikupellon found at Troy.

There is a good introduction which discusses the general aspect of Cappadocian pottery and its connections with the pottery of the Troad, Yortan, the Aegean, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, Thessaly, Macedonia, Central Europe, Turkestan, and Caucasus. Then follow some notes on forms and motives, especially the rhyton, Cappadocian geometric decoration, the spiral, the horse, ram, cow and other animals. There is also a good account of the hieroglyphs and images engraved on the vases, of the shapes, of the chronology and technical terms. The study of the rhyton is hardly correct and does not know the limitation of the term to

vases with a hole in the spout, as shown by Buschor.

More use should have been made of Studies in Early Pottery, by Frankfort, whose name is mentioned on p. 31 as Franckfort. The Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum and Forsdyke's very useful Catalogue of Prehistoric Aegean Pottery which appeared in 1925 are not cited at all. But these two volumes of Genouillac confirm the theories put forward by Frankfort and in my article in the A.J.A., XXXI, pp. 26 ff., on the prehistoric vases which I discovered at Sizma near Konia. Classical archaeologists should know the Asia Minor vases since they throw much light on the origins and connections of early Aegean vases with Asia Minor. The great lacuna to which Dechelette called attention in his manual of pre-

historic archaeology, will soon be filled if volumes of this kind continue to be issued. The Hittites are related to Europe and the Caucasus rather than to the Sumerian-Semetic world of Mesopotamia and their pottery not only helps us understand their artistic tastes, manners and customs and religion but reveals to us one of the ancestors of Hellenism.

DAVID M. ROBINSON

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

LES ORIGINES DE LA GRAVURE EN FRANCE, LES ESTAMPES SUR BOIS ET SUR MÉTAL, LES INCUNABLES XYLOGRAPHIQUES, [Par] André Blum. 92 pages, with 112 reproductions on 78 plates. Paris et Bruxelles: G. Van Oest, 1927. 40 Swiss francs; édition de luxe (25 copies) 90 Swiss francs.

Since the days of good old Adam Bartsch, over a century ago, the cataloguers of prints have industriously gathered, listed, arranged and rearranged their material. Attributions, national and individual, have been made and unmade. The result is a very large body of literature, even on the fifteenth century alone.

In the merry war of experts making claims each for his own country Monsieur Blum appears with refreshing freedom from expression of national bias. "No polemics, only documents." A contrast to Delen's book reviewed in this JOURNAL, December, 1925. Blum writes to establish French claims, but is ready to throw out as untenable attributions made by his countryman Bouchot, and even hesitates to accept the assignment of some prints to France by the German Lehrs. "It is not scientific to decide . . . without proof." In this spirit of fairness and scholarly detachment he presents all sides of the problem and more than once offers his conclusion as tentative, leaving the question contestable. He is no easy dispenser of finalities.

The book aims to "define the present state of the researches effected by modern scholarship," and the bibliography covers numerous periodical articles as well as books. Many proofs are cited to establish a veritable school of engraving in France in the fifteenth century—ordonnances relating to playing cards, etc.—particular weight being laid on costume and architecture in the prints discussed. The author concludes that a sufficiently characteristic style is evidenced to prove the existence of a national tradition which "has left a profound impression in this field." That, though one cannot cite "a single name of a great artist." As to priority of discovery in this field of engraving, he concludes that no country can with certainty claim it.

As Monsieur Blum has issued over 25 books in 17 years, not to speak of numerous articles, this piece of scholarly research seems all the more of an achievement. The present book deals only with separate prints (broadsides) and block books. Printed books are reserved for a subsequent volume, which one may safely expect with much interest.

FRANK WEITENKAMPF

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

LES RICHESSES D'ART DE LA FRANCE: Recueil de documents publié sous le patronage du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts. La Bourgogne, l'Architecture, par Louis Hautecoeur, I-XVII, 1-7, pls. 1-64; La Peinture et les Tapisseries, par Louis Réau, 1-7, pls. 1-24. Paris et Bruxelles, G. Van Oest, Editeur, 1927.

These two volumes of plates (28 x 38 cm.) should prove of considerable value to students interested in the art of Burgundy. Of the two here reviewed (the third

dealing with sculpture has not been received) the one dealing with the architecture of the province is by far the more interesting and complete. It offers in a way a corpus of churches and chateaux in that interesting district. One could have survived without the volume dealing with the painting and tapestries. Those fields, except for a few pleasant primitives, make a rather poor showing.

On the whole one will use these volumes not for their introductory text but for the plates and the notices which accompany them. The introduction is but a polite gesture leading on to the real matter of the plates themselves.

OLIVER S. TONKS

VASSAR COLLEGE

THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA IN CLASSICAL TIMES, by Thomas Ashby, D. Litt. London, Ernest Benn Limited, 1927. 21 s. net.

The appearance of this volume is an event of more than usual importance in our studies. After thirty years of detailed investigation of the remains, large and small, of all periods of antiquity still to be seen in Latium and Southern Etruriaand despite the quaint allusion (page 18) to an "apology for idlers," his friends have good reason to appreciate the laborious character of such investigation-Dr. Ashby, with all the resources of his unique competence, presents the essence of his results in a readable and well-balanced volume. It is acceptable to have his treatment of that part of the Campagna—the stretch between Rome and the sea, on both sides of the Tiber—which he had not vet covered in his detailed papers; but it is even more important in the general interest to have his well-rounded presentation of the whole field. Now for the first time is it possible for the general scholar to use this vast material with confidence that he is building on a stable foundation. If Dr. Ashby states a bare fact such as that at a certain point (85) "there are various fragments of colored marble, bricks, etc., to be seen about." or that in another place (228) "I have never been able to see any trace of anything earlier than the mediaeval period, except a pagan sepulchral inscription, the provenance of which I do not know," we have learnt to trust his statements implicitly; and when he formulates conclusions based on his observations of many years, such as that (44) "it was under Augustus that the first great increase in prosperity came," and that (45) "there was a general increase in prosperity in the early second century A.D.," we have confidence in the cogency of his deductions; in the former of the instances quoted, his results agree with those of Rostovzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, p. 59 with note 19, while the latter statement is perhaps more true of superficial matters than of the essentials, and is to be interpreted in the broader context afforded by Rostovtzeff's same work (pp. 131-179). And since the old Campagna of our youth is rapidly vanishing in the face of modern progress, the volume before us will in a few years demand respect as a record of things no longer to be seen.

It must have required great abnegation to practically eliminate citations and references, and it was perhaps not necessary to proceed so far in this direction; but the scientific literature and the ancient testimonia are accessible in Dr. Ashby's previous publications and in other standard works, while the Bibliographical Note (12–13) will serve as orientation in the purely topographical field. Dessau's Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, however, and Von Duhn's Italische Graeberkunde, with their valuable indices, might well have been mentioned.

This book, occupying as it does a unique position and appealing to an extensive public, is assured of wide circulation; and I would suggest for the future editions which are to be expected, that its usefulness would be enhanced by a list of the

more instructive objects in the various Roman museums illustrating the different Latin and Etruscan sites, such as the Vicarello cups, the inscriptions of the Roman municipium of Veii and the Arval Brethren, the contents of the Praenestine tombs, and the outstanding architectural fragments, mosaics and statues from Hadrian's villa; some of these are mentioned in connection with the topography, but a compact list arranged by museums would help both the visitor and the student in libraries, for few realise the wealth of the collections of the Capital in this respect.

The author, as implied above, maintains his well-known standard of accuracy of statement; but such is the progress of science that his text already requires several modifications. Thus (26) we now know of "Villanova" ossuaries from Antium (A.J.A., XXX, 1926, 364); (44) isodomic masonry on occasion, could be used as late as the time of Septimius Severus, since it occurs in the Castra Albana (Lugli in Ausonia, IX, 1919, 217); and—a matter only accidentally of concern to archaeology-quinine (50) is no longer prescribed by the most advanced medical opinion as a prophylactic against malaria, though its value as a cure remains unchallenged. It may also be observed that the identification of the well-preserved temple foundations at Lanuvium (199 f.) as a Capitolium seems excluded by their position, which is not on the summit of the hill but part-way down its slope.

A few words must be devoted to the craftsmanship of the book, in the sense of the author's care and skill in presenting his information. Some of us have viewed with emotions akin to dismay the ominous spread, in recent archaeological literature, of such neologisms as "Latian," "Ostian," "Veian," which disregard the traditional adjectival formations, Latialis or -aris, Ostiensis, Veiens or -entanus; if I am correct, Dr. Ashby's usage in this regard is above reproach. In larger matters, his self-restraint, balance and sense of proportion are especially commendable when we recall the enormous mass of material which he has appraised and assimilated. The illustrations are due to the skill of the author and his friends, and form a welcome documentation.

According to the title, the book should treat of the Campagna "in classical times." We constantly however are conscious of the region as it now is, or rather as it was until the remarkable economic developments of the present day; and these pages are suffused by a brooding melancholy, the sentiment of solitude, desolation, miasma and the decay of the things of long ago. Such phrases as "the long, low coastline, one of the most desolate in Europe" (16); "the ruins that we see, picturesque in their decay" (17); "a solitude surprisingly profound" (20); "the strange, desolate appearance" (21); "the solitude, in contrast to the gay life that once prevailed there, is almost oppressive" (211); "the desolation of this immense expanse of country reaches perhaps its climax" (212 f.); "the monotony of the flat sandy shore" (219); "unhealthy" (227); "lonely" (233); "the picturesque desolation of its streets, half grown up with vegetation, and of its crumbling buildings" (234); and the quotation from Dennis's characterization of the view from Capena (251) with its scene of "singular desolation"—all these expressions and many more will be recognized as just by those who have known the region as it was as late as 1912, and as parts of it continue to exist today. This sombre mood, in such striking contrast to the glowing radiance of Greece, is partly a matter of the contours of shore and hill, of the heavy air of the plain, with the sultry blasts from the African desert, of the dull haze, the less pure colors, all of which serve as it were to attune this landscape to a minor key.

As to the economic and cultural significance of this region under the empire, it seems conditioned by the facts so carefully weighed by Dr. Ashby in his reasoned generalization (18 f.): Rome was a city of the wealthy, of the functionaries of government, of a proletariat which toiled not but was fed by its rulers, and of numerous slaves; the dwellings that covered the Campagna were country residences of the well-to-do; the early villages had largely disappeared; there were no true suburbs. Thinkers who discern in our contemporary developments the operation of forces similar to those which resulted in the disintegration of ancient Roman civilization may well wonder if modern science, with its mastery of means of rapid communication, is to succeed, where imperial Rome failed, in enabling the mass of the population to live in healthy contact with the forces of nature: it is for the newest Italy, with its abundance of vital energy and scientific skill, to tackle again the old problem in the old setting.

A. W. VAN BUREN

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

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The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea, Vol. XXVI, Part II, of Assyriologische Bibliothek, by *Ira Maurice Price*. Pp. 169. Leipzig. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1927. May be obtained in U. S. A. from Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

It is gratifying to note every publication which contributes to our understanding of an ancient form of speech. For many decades the Sumerian language has been studied by scholars who have sought to formulate its principles. The importance of this inquiry is indicated by the fact that the Sumerians had considerable influence upon the general culture of the Babylonians and the Assyrians, and through them touched other peoples who used the cuneiform method of writing. As the science of the Sumerian language has developed, early history in the land of the two rivers has been disclosed and an important stage in man's stride towards settled life and ordered society has become better known.

The texts of Gudea, Sumerian priest-king of Lagash, constitute interesting literature belonging to the middle of the third millennium B.C. The above book is the concluding part of a work dealing with his famous building and votive inscriptions. In 1889 Professor Price published admirable autographic copies of Gudea's famous cylinder inscriptions A and B, of the Louvre Museum, as Part I of Vol. XXVI of Assyriologische Bibliothek, accompanied by a sign-list based upon the two texts. Due to unavoidable hindrances Professor Price was not able to publish Part II until recently, although it was practically completed before the World War. The field of Sumerian studies has been enriched greatly by the book which is the subject of this review. It consists of transliterations and translations of the texts published in Part I, supplemented by a similar treatment of eleven Gudea inscriptions engraved upon statues. In addition there are valuable notes, a ful vocabulary, names of persons, places, and things, and names of deities, followed by two sign-lists, one of transliteration-values, and one of sign-values with cross references to the sign-list of Part I.

The merits of this presentation of the contents of Gudea inscriptions may be discussed from the standpoint of its main features. In the first place, the textual interpretation of the author possesses commendable qualities. It is not easy to translate Sumerian passages into fluent English which will reproduce the meaning of the original without a flaw. This is due to the peculiar structure of the language of ancient Sumer. It can be said for Professor Price that he has overcome the difficulty without straining the sense of cuneiform terminology and without falling into a stilted style. In the second place, he has provided helpful aids to exposition. His explanatory comments with useful references, although occupying little space as footnotes, contribute much to an understanding of the text. Extensive notes are rendered unnecessary by the inclusion of an exhaustive vocabulary. In the

third place, his clear elucidation of the ideograms of the period should be praised. This is accomplished by the sign-lists which have already been mentioned. The cross references to the actual signs used in the cylinder inscriptions, as listed in Part I, are especially valuable. Corrections and additions to the sign-list of Part I are given at the end of Part II.

Professor Price has made a distinct contribution to the illumination of the Sumerian language. His completed volume constitutes a work which will be of great service to Assyriologists. Beginners will find it usable and comprehensible; experts will find it a mine of easily available information.

RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY

### YALE UNIVERSITY

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock: Volume V, Athens, 478–401 B.C., pp. 554, 11 maps, 2 chronological charts, 1 plate of plans.

The editors of the Cambridge Ancient History can hardly hope to produce a single volume of which the subject will have a more unified and absorbing interest than that of the fifth of the series, which is appropriately entitled "Athens, 478-401 B.C.," but naturally includes the general history of the Hellenic world during this period. The opening chapter, "The Economic Background of the Fifth Century B.C.," by Mr. M. N. Tod, emphasizes an aspect of history generally neglected by ancient writers, and gains special value from Mr. Tod's competence in the field of epigraphy. Mr. E. M. Walker deals with the important but sometimes exasperatingly obscure evidence on the rise of the Athenian empire and the development of Athenian political institutions during the fifty years after the Persian invasion. A chapter on Attic drama is contributed by Mr. J. T. Sheppard. Perhaps the fact that Mr. Sheppard has already written a handbook of Greek tragedy and a volume on Aeschylus and Sophocles led him to plan this chapter as a somewhat informal essay. It is pleasant and stimulating, but gives less complete and systematic information than students might expect in such a book. suggestion that the "pattern of the Aeschylean tragedy" was derived from the structure of the Iliad seems fantastic. But in view of recent exaggerations of primitive elements in Greek drama, we may be grateful for the slight asperity of Mr. Sheppard's remark that "the 'origin' of Tragedy in our sense of the word is to be sought, neither in savage ritual nor rustic mumming, but in the transformation of these beggarly elements into a new art by a man of genius."

A chapter on Sicilian affairs before the Peloponnesian War is contributed by Mr. R. Hackforth. Mr. F. E. Adcock deals with the relations of the Greek states during the fifteen years preceding the break between Athens and Sparta, and with the history of the Archidamian War. Professor W. S. Ferguson writes on the difficult period after the Peace of Nicias, the Sicilian expedition, the oligarchical movement in Athens, and the final collapse of Athenian power. Under the caption, "The Age of Illumination," the sophists and Socrates are discussed by Professor Bury; and the veteran editor of Herodotus, Mr. R. W. Macan, contributes a chapter on the two great historians of the fifth century. The final chapter, "Art and Architecture" (is not architecture an art?) has special importance for readers of this JOURNAL. The sections on architecture, by Mr. D. S. Robertson, are a clear and succinct account of the principal buildings of the fifth century. Some stress is placed on the mathematical difficulty of adjustment between the triglyph frieze and corner columns of a temple as a cause contributing to the neglect of the Doric order by architects of later periods. Mr. Beazley's pages on painting and

sculpture have the tantalizing merit of Sam Weller's valentine; one wishes there were more. To the usual academic equipment of the trained archaeologist, Mr. Beazley adds a quite unusual capacity for direct vision and a gift for recording his impressions in an equally direct style, sometimes rather startlingly unconventional, as when a familiar figure of the Acropolis Museum becomes "the big flash kore 682." The quality of Mr. Beazley's interpretation of Greek sculpture may be illustrated by two or three other phrases: on the kore of Euthydicus, "all the little gleeful prettinesses . . . swept away by a young, great artist"; on a figure of the east pediment at Aegina, "the archer Heracles, himself tense as a drawn bow"; on the Critian boy, "The archaic artist was concerned with the surface and build of the body, the interest of the early classical sculptor recedes, inward from these, to the will." It is to be hoped that Mr. Beazley will some time find an opportunity to write a general history of Greek art.

SIDNEY N. DEANE

SMITH COLLEGE

New Chapters in Greek Art, by Percy Gardner, xvi + 367 pp.; 16 plates. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926.

In this book Professor Gardner has reprinted, with considerable omissions or expansions, some of the most important of his contributions to the Journal of Hellenic Studies and other publications, together with a few essays written especially for the volume. Most of the fourteen chapters deal with works of Greek sculpture: the female figure acquired by the Ashmolean from the Hope Collection, which Professor Gardner thinks may represent Elpinice, sister of Cimon; a bronze head in the style of Polycleitus, also in the Ashmolean; a head of Apollo from the Mausoleum (attributed to Scopas, or his school); the Agias of Lysippus, and related works; Cleobis and Biton at Delphi; the Charioteer of Delphi and the Spinario; the Athena and Marsyas of Myron; the Antioch of Eutychides. Two chapters have to do with coins: Themistocles at Magnesia and Artemis Laphria at Patrae. One is a discussion of the scenery of the Greek stage, in which the writer reaffirms the view which he expressed in 1899. The remaining three are more general in character (Fifty years of progress in Classical Archaeology; originals, ancient copies, and modern restorations; Greek art under Roman rule). Two appendices are devoted to addresses delivered in 1905 and 1911, and a third contains a list of archaeological books and papers published by the author.

The specialist will find little here that is novel, but the general reader, to whom the book is addressed, will discover much that is interesting, and will gain an insight into the methods of archaeological research and the varied material with which the classical archaeologist deals. The sixteen excellent plates add materially to the attractiveness of the book.

GEORGE H. CHASE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Die altehristliche Grabeskunst; ein Versuch der einheitlichen Auslegung, by *Paul Styger*, 123 pp.; 30 illustrations on 16 plates; 8vo. Kösel and Pustet, Munich, 1927.

This is an argumentative little book, constituting a sweeping denial of the traditional symbolic and allegorical interpretation of the subjects used in the frescoes of the catacombs and in the reliefs of the early Christian sarcophagi. The essay develops in four chapters: the first criticizes the various systems of

allegorical interpretation hitherto in vogue; the second deals specifically with the evidence for and against the symbolic meaning of certain types; the third brings out the wide discrepancy between the theories advanced by the allegorical interpreters as evidence against the probability thereof; the fourth presents the author's own explanation of the sepulchral cycle as merely the favourite and familiar subjects of the early faithful, chosen for their narrative interest, and selected from the stock decorations of the contemporary Christian house or church, or the illustrations of the current Christian texts.

Citations from the fathers in support of the allegorical theories are not good evidence according to Styger, who points out the widely variant meanings given to Biblical figures and scenes in patristic writing. The symbolism of the pseudo-Cyprianic prayers is also rejected as a source for the catacomb cycle. The attitude and gesture of the "orant" is interpreted as merely the antique formula for the expression of joy. The symbolic catenae proposed by Wilpert to explain the selection of series of scenes in the catacombs are a vulnerable target for the author's criticism, which even attacks the accepted explanation of the famous fresco of the "Fractio Panis" in Priscilla on the ground that there is nothing to prevent us seeing in the scene the customary funeral banquet of antiquity. Other marks that have drawn the author's fire are the Peter scene on a sarcophagus in Arles wherein Wilpert sees a symbol of "papal infallibility," and the amusingly divergent expositions of the architectural background on the lateral faces of the sarcophagus numbered 174 in the Lateran Museum.

The author shows a thorough acquaintance with the actual material of the sepulchral art of Rome in the early Christian period and is evidently well informed on the objects that have come from recent excavations such as those at S. Sebas-His data are listed in the early pages of his essay, where he gives the names of 78 subjects which are used in the frescoes and on the sarcophagi. In the case of a few, the figure which he gives as the number of times the subject is used, is larger than the number given in the Princeton Index of Christian Art, but in most cases Styger's figure is considerably below, especially as regards the examples on the sarcophagi. Thus the Index records 70 examples of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the sarcophagi while Styger gives only 50; Jonah cast into the sea is used on sarcophagi 51 times according to the Index, while Styger's figure is 40; the Three Hebrews in the Furnace occur on sarcophagi 38 times, according to the Index, as against 25 according to Styger. Aside from the indication thus given that the author's data are incomplete at least so far as the sarcophagi are concerned, his viewpoint is narrowed by lack of acquaintance with the larger aspect of Early Christian art. His notions of the Oriental factor in primitive Christian style and iconography are evidently derived from Strzygowski and Wulff alone; the Coptic material is not used, and the author is apparently innocent of any knowledge of the bearing of the manuscript material on his subject. An instance of his limited conception of sarcophagi is to be found in his argument against the customary interpretation of a well-known group as the "Three Hebrews refusing to worship the image." Styger argues that the scene is always paralleled with the Adoration of the Magi, and since the "three Hebrews" have the same costume as the Magi, the group is probably an episode of thei appearance before Herod according to a lost apocryphal gospel. His argument in this case shows that he has no suspicion of the possibility of the intrusion of subjects foreign to the Roman cycle, in the course of the fourth century. The subject in question is one which first occurs on the sarcophagi which Marion Lawrence has isolated as products of Asiatic ateliers. with the interesting implication that the iconography which they use reflects the usage of Asia Minor (Art Bulletin 1927). The intermixture of foreign ideas into

the Christian art of Italy in the fourth and fifth century has not yet become part of the data of our author, who, however much he may "polemisieren" against the traditional methods of the Roman school of Christian archaeologists, has not emerged from the restricted field in which they labor.

On the other hand, the book is a welcome criticism of the soundness of the premises on which this school has built up its imposing elucidation of the Early Christian sepulchral monuments. It may be disturbing to learn that there is no good evidence for dating any fresco of the catacombs earlier than the second century, and to be made to doubt the time-honored significance of Salvation, Deliverance, and of the Sacraments which De Rossi's school have attached to the catacomb-paintings and the sculptures of the sarcophagi, but the structure of Christian archaeology, if it is to be permanent, should have its foundations examined periodically. Such a trenchant going-over as this of Styger's has not been

its lot for many generations.

Styger's own explanation of the choice of themes is that they merely echo the customary decoration of the Christian interiors of the time, whether these be of private houses or the churches. He points out that the earliest and most persistent themes are those which depict outstanding events of the Old Testament, and concludes that the cycle starts with a nucleus of stories familiar to the Jewish contingent of the early Church. To him they are narrative themes, with no more symbolic significance than the frescoes which were chosen from similar considerations by the dwellers of Pompeii with which to adorn their walls. Noah, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Miracle of Water from the Rock, Jonah, the Hebrews in the Furnace, Daniel, the Magi, the Healing of the Paralytic, the Good Shepherd, the Raising of Lazarus, are used according to him about 1000 times, while all the rest of the themes cannot count more than 600 instances of their use. He asks why, if the scenes and figures of the catacombs and the sarcophagi are used in the decoration of the churches in the age of Constantine, and on the contemporary "goldglasses," with only historical significance, they should be supposed to have a different and allegorical intent in the sepulchral art. The book is evidently calculated to excite a controversy, and will probably produce a number of similar essays in reply; out of the discussion thus precipitated there should emerge a sounder appraisal and exegesis of our earliest monuments of Christian art.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations of the titles of periodicals will be used in the Journal, other titles being uniformly abbreviated (cf. A.J.A., 1925, pp. 115-6);

A.J.A.: American Journal of Archaeology.

A. J. Num.: American Journal of Numismatics.
A. J. Sem. Lang.: American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.

Ant. Denk .: Antike Denkmäler

Ann. Scuol. It. At.: Annuario della r. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente.

Arch. Anz.: Archšologischer Anzeiger.
Arch. Eph.: 'Αρχαιολογική' Έφημερίς
Ath. Mitt.: Mitteilungen d. k. d. Archaeol. Instituts, Athen. Abt.

Boll. Arte: Bollettino d'Arte.

B.S.A.: Annual of the British School at Athens. B.S.R.: Papers of the British School at Rome. B.C.H.: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

B. Metr. Mus.: Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York. B. Mus. F. A.: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston.

B. Com. Rom.: Bulletino d. Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. Byz. Z.: Byzantinische Zeitschrift.

C. R. Acad. Insc.: Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. C.I.A.: Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.

C.I.G.: Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. C.I.L.: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

Gaz. B.-A.: Gazette des Beaux-Arts.

I.G.: Inscriptiones Graecae Jb. Arch. I.: Jahrbuch, d. k. d. Archäol. Instituts.

Jh. Oest. Arch. I.: Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.

J.A.O.S.: Journal of the American Oriental Society.

M. Am. Acad. Rome: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. M. Soc. Ant. Fr.: Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France. Mitt. Or. Ges.: Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.

Mon. Ant.: Monumenti Antichi (of Accad. d. Lincei)

Mon. Piot: Monuments et Mémoires pub. par l'Acad. des Inscriptions, etc. (Fondation Piot.

Mün. Jb. Bild. K.: Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst. Mus. J.: The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania.

Not. Scav.: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.

R. Arch.: Revue Archéologique.
R. Art. Anc. Mod.: Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne.
R. Ep.: Revue Épigraphique.

p.: Revue Épigraphique

R. Ét. Anc.: Revue des Études Anciennes.
R. Ét. Gr.: Revue des Études Grecques.
Rh. Mus.: Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge. Röm. Mitt. Mitteilungen d. k. d. Archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abt.

Röm. Quart.: Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte.

## American School of Classical Studies at Athens

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#### THE COMING OF THE GREEKS

I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRE-GREEK PLACE-NAMES

AT the suggestion of Professor Blegen I have prepared the accompanying map designed to exhibit the distribution of pre-Greek placenames and their probable source. The material I have taken almost exclusively from Fick's Die vorgriechischen Ortsnamen. Although I have consulted the various reviews of this work and other pertinent discussions available. I have ignored Fick's hazardous attempt to assign the names specifically to the Carians, Lycians, Lydians, Pelasgians, etc., and treated them en masse. Even so, the evidence of pre-Greek origin is of widely varying degrees of cogency, and while I have excluded some of the most doubtful cases, there will remain many names the pre-Greek character of which is far from indisputable. In general it is safe to say that Fick's list of pre-Greek place-names errs more on the side of inclusion than on that of omission. On the other hand, I feel convinced that some of the names I have excluded are really pre-Greek names in Greek disguise and owe their Greek appearance to the fact that they were confused by folketymology with Greek words of somewhat similar sound. Cf. 'Ιεροσόλυμα, the form in the Textus Receptus of the New Testament, which probably owes its rough breathing to the Greek adjective 'ιερός.

The map contains those place-names in Greece that seem to be related to place-names in Asia Minor. I have subdivided these names on the basis of the three kinds of evidence attesting their connection with Asia Minor. Group A includes those place-names that are identical with place-names in Asia Minor, Group B those that have suffixes that are common in Asia Minor, and Group C those in which the radical element is identical with or similar to the radical element in place-names in Asia Minor. The differences among these three groups are not those of relationship, but of the evidence whereby this relationship is indicated.

On the map the names in Group A are written in capital letters, those in Group B in small letters with initial capitals, those in Group C in "italics" with initial capitals. In Group B, names with the suffixes -nth- or -s(s)- are underscored.

It may be that a given name does not belong exclusively to any one of the groups, but shows two, or even all three kinds of evidence. Labyrinthos, for example, has a suffix that is common in Asia Minor, and the root of the word seems to occur in the name Labranda in

Ionia. Not only is Parnassos shown by root and suffix to be related to place-names in Asia Minor, but the name actually occurs there. However, for the sake of clearness and to avoid confusion, each name is classified under only one group. If the name occurs in Asia Minor it is classified under Group A. Names that are shown by both root and suffix to be connected with Asia Minor are put in Group B, since I regard the suffixes as affording clearer and more satisfactory evidence than the roots. In Group C, therefore, are left those names which are shown only by their roots to be related to place-names in Asia Minor.

The existence of a series of place-names in Greece that is identical with a series in Asia Minor clearly indicates, it seems to me, that one is original and the other transferred. Coincidence is out of the question for such a large number of names as those contained in Group A. And the evidence shows, in my opinion, that the transfer was from Asia Minor to Greece rather than that the converse was For the number of these names is so large relatively to the Greek names that the Greeks certainly carried to Asia Minor as to make it improbable that these two groups belong together. Furthermore, the geographical distribution of these names in Asia Minor makes it seem improbable that they were brought over by the Greeks. Certainly it is not likely that places so far inland as Hermos, Kadmos, and Skiritis owe their names to Greek influence, to say nothing of Parnassos, which is in the very heart of Asia Minor.

When we come to consider Group B the case is even clearer. It is conceivable that whole names might have been transferred from Greece to Asia Minor, but suffixes are out of the question, in view of the fact that these suffixes occur in names that are widely distributed in Asia Minor but are utterly foreign to Greece and to Greek.

Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, has argued convincingly for the non-Greek character of the two suffixes -nth- (the identity of which with the -nd- suffix in Asia Minor he establishes) and -s(s)- in place-names in Greece. He admits that the first of these suffixes occurs in some words, and the second in a great many that are Greek. The fact, however, that both of these suffixes occur with great frequency in Asia Minor, and that in Greece they occur attached to a great number of place-names the roots of which obviously are not Greek, leads him to think that these placenames originated in Asia Minor. In the case of the -nth- this explains why a suffix which has such a meager existence in Greek apart from place-names occurs with such frequency in them.

The suffixes -l-, -m-, -m-, -n-, -r- and -t- I have included in Group B. I do not mean to imply that such suffixes are always non-Greek and that any place-name with any one of them is without further ado to be called Anatolian. What I am suggesting is that Kretschmer's arguments for the suffixes -nth- and -s(s)- are applicable to these suffixes also.

It is needless to cite examples of these suffixes in Greek words. They all admittedly occur in numerous Greek words. But it may be worth while to cite a few examples of their occurrence in placenames in Asia Minor:

- -l-: Tmolos, Mykale, Karmalas, Kinolis, Phaselis;
- -m-: Idyma, Olymos, Sasima, Sidyma, Hyromos;
- -mn-: Kremna, Larymna, Ordymnos, Methymna, Kalymna;
  - -n-: Adana, Amanos, Dardanos, Lagina, Halasarna, Kyrnos;
  - -r-: Balbura, Gargara, Isaura, Karura, Patara;
  - -t-: Kozanata, Sindata, Othatatis.

Since, then, these suffixes occur frequently in Asia Minor, and since place-names with non-Greek roots occur in Greece with these same suffixes, I regard such names as derived from Asia Minor and include them in Group B, though without the underscoring which distinguishes names in -nth- and -s(s).

Of the three groups the names in Group C afford the least satisfactory evidence for a connection with Asia Minor. The assumption of identity of roots is bound to be precarious when we are dealing with words in a language about which we know so little as we do about the language of Asia Minor. And since the meaning of the words is not known, we are forced to rely on similarities of sound and spelling, which are no doubt deceptive in some cases. Thus the independent evidence which Group C furnishes is rather weak. It is strengthened, however, by the fact that the distribution of Group C on the map is essentially the same as that of Groups A and B. This would seem to increase the likelihood that in most of the cases the assumption of relationship with names in Asia Minor is correct.

The following tables give the names in each of the three groups, alphabetically arranged:

	GROUP A	
"Αβαι	Κελένδερις	Μυκαλησσό
"Ασσος	Κορησσός	"Ολυμπος
$^{\circ}\mathrm{E} ho\mu\mathrm{os}$	Λάρισα	Παρνασσός
Θηβαι	Λάρυμνα	Πέργαμον
Θηρα	Λίνδος	Πήδασος
Ίάρδανος	Λύκαστος	Σάμος
Κάδμος	Μαγνησία	Σκιρίτις
Kapla	Μάρπησσα	Τάρρα
Κασταλία	Μίλατος	Τερμησσός

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## GROUP B

'Ηριδανός Θεναί 'Ιτανός Κάντανος Κάρνος Κύνος
Ίτανός Κάντανος Κάρνος
Κάντανος Κάρνος
Κάρνος
Kûvos
Λέρνα
Μεθάνα
Μυκᾶναι
Σαλμώνη
Σαμώνιον
Σίκινος
Σούνιον
Τευθρώνη
$T\hat{\eta}\nu os$
'Υσσέλινον
Φαλάσαρνα
-r-
$\Delta \rho \hat{\eta} \rho o s$
Έπίδαυρος
Έφυρα
Ίκαρία
Κησκώρα
Κύθηρα
Μεμβλίαρο
Πάρος
Πέλλερις
Σύρος
Τέγυρα
Τιτάριον
"Ωλερος
'Ωλίαρος
-t-
Еїратоз
Καίρατος
Κύτα
Σύβριτα
<b>Ταύγετον</b>
Γαυγετον

#### GROUP C

'Αβία	Λίλαια	Πρίανσος
"Aξos	Μάσης	Σάρων
"Αρβιον	Μεσσάπιος	Τραμπύα
Καλυδών	Μέταπα	Τροιζήν
Κορόπη	Μύων	"Ya
Λεβάδεια	Νάρυξ	'Yola
Λεβήν	Πίνδος	'Youai

The following tables contain the rest of the pre-Greek place-names in Greece not included on the map. Group D consists of names that may be related to names in Asia Minor, but which were so uncertain that I did not feel justified in putting them on the map. A -th- and an -ēn- suffix occur several times each, but I have not been able to establish their connection with Asia Minor. And finally, Group E, the residuum, is a heterogeneous group of pre-Greek place-names for the origins and relationships of which the evidence seems to be lacking. They may or may not be related to place-names in Asia Minor. At any rate I have been unable to find any specific indication of such connection.

## GROUP D

Λίδηψος	-th-	Σώπηθος
'Αμύκλαι	Κάνηθος	Υρνάθιον
Έλεῦσις	Κικύνηθος	
'Ιθάκη	Κρᾶθις	-ēn-
Κελυδνός	Πάρνης (Πάρνηθος)	'Αραδήν
Λύκαιον	Πεπάρηθος	Θηρήν
	Σκίαθος	Τροιζήν (Group C) Λεβήν (Group C)
		mp ( Stoup o)

#### GROUP E

"Αρβα	$\Theta i\sigma \beta \eta$	$\Lambda \hat{\omega}_{S}$
Βίαννος	"I KOS	Μασσαλίς
Γαθδος	Ίστρών	Μιδέα
Γόρτυς	Κέως	Μινώα
Γόρτυν	Κήναιον	Νίσαια
Δίκτη	Λάδων	Ραῦκος
$\Delta i  ho  ho vs$	Λάτω	Σκάνδεια
Ζάραξ	Λέσβος	Σουλία
'Ηετιωνεία	Λήλαντον	Τάναγρα
*HTIS	Λύρκειον	'Ωροπός

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### THE COMING OF THE GREEKS

# II. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PREHISTORIC REMAINS IN GREECE

The map prepared by Dr. Haley (Plate 1) is, so far as I know, the first attempt to show clearly in this form the actual geographical distribution throughout Greece of the not inconsiderable number of place-names, which the majority of philologists now agree to be of pre-Hellenic character. Not all of these names are above suspicion—many have indeed been called into dispute—but there can be no doubt that the group en masse is a legacy from pre-Greek times, and as such these puzzling remnants may certainly be regarded as weft-threads in the fabric of pre-history in the Helladic peninsula, which is so slowly being unravelled.

Not a few attempts have been made to associate these place-names with one or another of the various racial elements familiar in Greek tradition—Carians, Lycians, Lydians, Pelasgians, etc.—but the results can hardly be said to have been convincing or to have met with general acceptance. In view of the vast uncertainties regarding all these "races" which somehow obtained an entry into Greek folklore, all such attempts at identification must still be held to lie in the field of hazardous speculation.

In this paper it is proposed to make an effort in another direction, where our conclusions may perhaps be based on firmer ground—namely, to examine the geographical distribution of these placenames in order to ascertain if possible whether it coincides or agrees at all closely with the distribution of the material archaeological remains belonging to one of the periods which are now pretty well recognized for prehistoric Greece. Archaeological exploration in this field, especially in certain parts of the country, is still far from complete, and there are some unfortunate gaps in our evidence, but enough has been done to make this investigation appear worth while.

The preparation of the map was by no means an easy matter. Many of the names, it is true, belong to conspicuous natural features such as great mountain ranges, and may be assigned their place without hesitation. Others, however, little known, and not well attested topographically, could only be placed after a great deal of study. Thanks to Dr. Haley's patient research, however, almost all

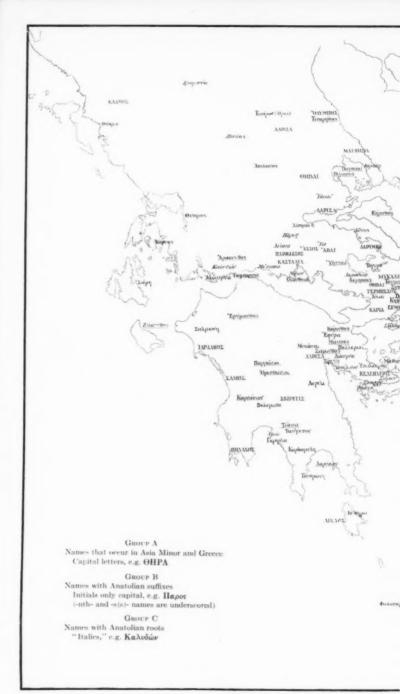


PLATE I. PRE-GREEK



the names have been put more or less nearly in their proper places, and the map constitutes a document of real importance for "pre-historic history." Even though some of the places could not be established with absolute accuracy, the general distribution is certainly correct, and for our purpose here greater exactness is not necessary.

Dr. Haley has carefully separated the names into three groups according to the character of the evidence, and the kind of type in which each name is printed on the map indicates at a glance to which group it belongs. A scrutiny of the map will show, however, that so far as their bearing on the problem with which we are dealing is concerned, there is no distinction to be made among the three groups. Each appears to have practically the same distribution as the others and, though the possibility cannot be denied, there is no indication that we have anything in the nature of layers or strata here among these place-names, representing several successive languages. On the contrary, it looks rather as if we are dealing with a single closed group, representing one linguistic body. For the present enquiry, therefore, the whole group may be treated as a unit.

The actual distribution of these names, as appears from the map, is as follows:

Crete is thickly covered, especially the eastern and central parts of the island, and it cannot be without significance that among the names here are those of some of the most important Minoan establishments, such as Cnossus itself and Tylissos. Even in the western provinces, too, these names are not rare; and throughout Crete all three of Dr. Haley's groups are well represented.

Among the Cyclades also we find a good scattering of these names, many of the islands themselves bearing a pre-Greek designation; and

here, too, all three of the groups are exemplified.

Turning now to the mainland we find the Peloponnesus to be richly provided with these evidences of pre-Hellenic occupation. Argolis and Corinthia particularly are abundantly supplied, and here again we have examples from all three groups. In Laconia, too, though the number is not so great, each group is represented, and the map suggests that the distribution here is due to a movement spreading northward from the Helos Plain. In Messenia pre-Greek names are scanty and not much more can be said than that they do occur. Arcadia likewise offers very few examples, but one of its most notable landmarks, Mount Erymanthus, must not be forgotten. To Elis only a very few names can be assigned, and for Achaea none at all are certain. The distribution in the Peloponnesus, therefore, indicates a rather populous settlement in the east

(Corinthia and Argolis), as well as in the south, whence it advances northward through the Helos Plain, while only scattered traces of occupation appear in the west and northwest.

Attica, Boeotia, and Phocis supply a rich store of these pre-Hellenic place-names which can only reflect a fairly intensive occupation by a numerous people. Dr. Haley's three groups are all in evidence here. In Thessaly also not a few names occur, scattered pretty widely over the whole province, and including examples of the three groups.

For western Greece the evidence is scanty enough: Aetolia is almost without a representative, though Acarnania is somewhat better supplied, especially in the neighborhood of Calydon. Epirus gives only three fairly certain names, curiously one each of the three groups; and in the Ionian Islands, finally, we see a few scattered traces.

In summary, then, it may be said that the distribution of these names points to a pre-Greek linguistic family occupying in force Crete, the Cyclades, southern and eastern Peloponnesus and central Greece, with offshoots extending beyond to the north, northwest and west into the adjoining provinces. It might be remarked that the appearance of the map suggests a linguistic movement from south to north—from Crete and the islands to the mainland along its south coasts and thence into the interior.

The specific problem before us is now to consider whether the geographical distribution of this linguistic evidence agrees with the distribution of the archaeological remains of one or another of the periods of the prehistoric age. If such be the case and the agreement be very striking, it would seem more than mere coincidence and we could proceed with some confidence to identify the association of the pre-Greek linguistic layer with the archaeological stratum in question; and without doubt such an identification would mark a decided step forward in this field of research. Its bearing would also be significant in two further points. In the first place, if we can identify the pre-Greek layer, it naturally follows that we can also recognize as Hellenic the succeeding layer and we can thus determine exactly where in the archaeological stratification the Hellenes first appear. Moreover, Dr. Haley's summary of the evidence, set forth above, is convincing proof that the immediate origin of this pre-Hellenic language, which spread over Greece and left its traces in so many place-names, is to be sought in Asia Minor; and his arguments show conclusively that the movement could not have been carried out in the opposite direction. We shall then, if we succeed in identifying the archaeological layer, be in a position

to say with reasonable certainty that the civilization it represents likewise came originally from Asia Minor.

The archaeological material we must consider belongs to two main stages in the prehistoric era, namely the Neolithic Period and the Bronze Age, and we may begin with the former. Neolithic remains have been found in Crete, and on the mainland from Thessaly to the Peloponnesus; but up to the present time the Cyclades have produced nothing whatsoever that may be assigned to this period. This blank in the Cyclades, together with the total difference between the remains in Crete and those on the mainland, which indicate no relation whatsoever, make it fairly certain that we must reject the Neolithic Period as the one in which some form of linguistic family-connection extended from Crete across the Aegean and over the mainland as far north as Thessaly; and we may accordingly proceed to the Bronze Age.

The three divisions of the latter, Early, Middle and Late—Minoan, Cycladic and Helladic—are definitely established and perfectly well known; and if they are not absolutely and exactly contemporary in all their phases in the three areas mentioned, they are certainly nearly enough so for the purposes of this investigation.

From the archaeological evidence available for the early division it can now confidently be said that the Early Minoan, Early Cycladic and Early Helladic civilizations "are all branches of one great parent stock which pursued parallel, but more or less independent, courses." This close relationship is shown not only by the evidence of the pottery, but by that of other remains as well. The recent discoveries at Asine and at Zygouries have done much to strengthen this view. In this period we know that Crete flourished to a high degree, with numerous settled towns and a large population. Almost all the Cycladic Islands were likewise occupied, and there was certainly considerable traffic between them and Crete. At the same time Corinthia and Argolis were dotted with Early Helladic settlements in a state of great prosperity. The site at Palaeopyrgos near Vaphio shows that Laconia was also included in the Early Helladic sphere; and Early Helladic pottery has likewise been found at Hageorgitika in Arcadia, near Tripolis. No early Helladic remains have yet been reported from western Peloponnesus, but the gold sauceboat of undoubted Early Helladic date in the Louvre is said to be from Heraea on the Alpheus.

Many Early Helladic sites are known in Attica; and in Boeotia are several large important settlements of the same period. This <sup>1</sup>Cf. B.S.A. XXII, p. 180.

Early Helladic area stretched on in unbroken continuity into Phocis, where Professor Sotiriadis found such abundant remains at Hagia Marina. A thick Early Helladic layer at Lianokladi, the remains of a very large settlement, indicates that Early Helladic civilization extended northward into Malis; and Early Helladic pottery has been discovered beyond Mount Othrys in Thessaly also.<sup>1</sup>

In northwest Greece exploration in this field has hardly begun as yet, and no evidence of Early Helladic occupation is available from Aetolia and Acarnania. But Early Helladic pottery of characteristic types has been brought to light at Levkas (Bossert, Altkreta, Plate I, 1 and 2), and one may prophecy with confidence that it will not long remain an isolated find in this region so far removed from other Early Helladic centres.

From this survey we see, therefore, that in the early period of the Bronze Age,—Early Minoan, Early Cycladic, and Early Helladic,—we have very closely the same geographical distribution of archaeological remains as that of the pre-Greek place-names shown on the map prepared by Dr. Haley. The agreement is, in fact, so extraordinarily close that it does not seem possible that it can be due to chance. Before, however, we are in a position to conclude definitely that these place-names are to be assigned to the closely interrelated Early Minoan, Early Cycladic and Early Helladic civilizations, we must consider the Middle and Late Periods to see if there is any possibility of identification there.

The Middle Period-Middle Minoan, Middle Cycladic, and Middle Helladic-clearly does not fit and can easily be rejected. For here, though the distribution of Middle Helladic remains on the mainland is not far different from that of the place-names, we find a total divergence of culture as between the mainland and Crete. Crete Early Minoan civilization progressed in rapid development without a break and attained its height of magnificence in the splendid palaces of Cnossus and Phaestus. The mainland, on the contrary, seems to have been overrun and overwhelmed by a fresh and vigorous invasion, and Early Helladic civilization was brought to an end-abrupt in some places, more gradual in others. In the Cyclades we may perhaps see evidence of the meeting of these two currents in the discovery at Phylakopi, in the same layers, of Kamares ware from Crete and Minyan ware from the mainland. Though some scanty fragments of this latter ware have come to light in the eastern part of the island, it is clear that the great wave which brought this distinctive pottery along with it never broke over Crete; and we cannot imagine a close linguistic relationship at this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prehistoric Thessaly, p. 145.

time extending from Crete to Thessaly. The islands and the mainland were surely occupied by two different peoples.

We come, therefore, to the Late Period-Late Minoan, Late Cycladic, and Late Helladic. In its two earlier phases the civilization of this stage appears, if we may judge by the remains which have been uncovered, to have had a much more narrowly limited diffusion than that indicated by the distribution of the pre-Hellenic place-names; in the northern provinces of the mainland remains of these phases are almost totally lacking, and in the south it is chiefly in the great capitals that we find evidence of wealth and power. In Crete the Early and Middle Minoan race and language presumably still continue to exist; but on the mainland we have almost certainly a different race, the descendants of those invaders who brought Minyan ware into Greece. They have now come under powerful Minoan influence—so strong that many, with Evans, believe in a Minoan conquest of the mainland. But this influence is chiefly limited to the southern regions and does not penetrate very far into the interior. At any rate it is fairly sure that we can have no community of language and civilization at this time, dominating the whole area marked on the map by the presence of pre-Greek placenames.

The Third Late Period, on the other hand, Late Minoan, Late Cycladic, and Late Helladic, is the era of the widest diffusion of Mycenaean civilization, and characteristic remains have been found throughout the entire Eastern Mediterranean basin. In this period, it is true, the distribution of the material remains appears to correspond very closely with that of the place-names in the area under consideration. In Late Mycenaean times Crete and the Cyclades were still inhabited, and the southern mainland, especially northeastern Peloponnesus, had reached its greatest height of prosperity. During this stage the use of Mycenaean pottery extended far northward through Boeotia and Phocis into Thessaly and even beyond into southern Macedonia. In western Greece the remains are comparatively scanty, but it cannot be denied that Mycenaean influence spread over the Ionian Islands and touched the coast of the mainland opposite.

A closer examination of the evidence, however, reveals some indications that the situation was not quite so simple as it at first appears. In Crete, perhaps as the result of invasion from abroad, perhaps from some internal catastrophe, the great palaces were destroyed by fire at the end of Late Minoan II, and the succeeding stage shows only a feeble survival, probably under mainland domination. Some sites were undoubtedly abandoned for a time, at least;

at any rate it looks as if henceforth two elements in the population must be taken into account: a subject class and a ruling caste, the latter not necessarily very numerous. It was presumably an offshoot from the powerful dynasties established at Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid; while the bulk of the population was almost surely still constituted by the survivors of the indigenous Minoan stock, who had surely not been exterminated. To this latter native element, clearly different from the people of the mainland, undoubtedly belong most of the place-names in the island: it is certainly unlikely, not to say incredible, that the names of Cnossus itself and of other great Minoan centres, which have come down to us, should be new designations applied to these ancient historic places by raiding bands from the mainland. These names surely go back to genuine Cretan traditions and records of an earlier age, and must have existed long before the invasion of the island by the people of the mainland in Late Helladic III.

Since, then, it appears that we have no real homogeneity in this period, so far as Crete and the mainland are concerned, I think we may safely conclude that the Third Mycenaean stage-Late Minoan III, Late Cycladic III, Late Helladic III—is not the one to be associated with the pre-Greek place-names. The admirable summary of the linguistic evidence presented by Professor Buck<sup>1</sup> has, as a matter of fact, shown conclusively that some form of Greek was already established on the Helladic peninsula as early as the beginning of Late Helladic III (that is, about 1400 B.C.), and the discussion in the preceding paragraph might seem to be quite unnecessary; its justification is that we are here trying to reach an independent solution of the same problem through a consideration of the purely archaeological evidence.

All other possibilities having thus for one reason or another been eliminated, we may accordingly return to the Early Period of the Bronze Age—Early Minoan, Early Cycladic, and Early Helladic in which we found the distribution of the archaeological remains to be in such remarkably close agreement with that of the pre-Greek And I think we need no longer hesitate to identify the two phenomena as belonging to one and the same period and group and people. The association of the -nth- and -ss- names with the Early Minoan, Early Cycladic, and Early Helladic remains is not indeed a new idea; it was suggested many years ago by Professor Kurt Müller, and it is proposed by Harland in his paper on the Peloponnesus in the Bronze Age (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XXXIV, 1923, p. 10). The map prepared by Dr. Haley, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Classical Philology, XXI, 1926, pp. 1-26.

now for the first time puts all the evidence of these names before us in its geographical distribution, adds weighty confirmation to this theory.

For a test of its correctness we may properly be asked to turn to Macedonia, which was not included in the area under consideration by Dr. Haley. Names of un-Greek character are, of course, not rare in this region, though many of them may perhaps be referred to the "barbaric" tongues which were spoken here even in Greek times. Among these names, however, are a few which seem unquestionably to belong to the same pre-Hellenic group with which we have been dealing in Greece proper: as examples may be mentioned Olynthos in Chalcidice, Sindos or Sinthos on the Thermaic Gulf, perhaps Bottiaea, and certainly Kalindoia or Alindoia in Mygdonia. -nth- and the -nd- stems, especially, offer convincing evidence of the presence of a pre-Greek layer of place-names. If the association of the linguistic and archaeological layers proposed above is correct, we must then expect remains of the Early Bronze Age, clearly related to those of the Early Helladic and the Early Cycladic periods in the regions farther south, to make their appearance in Macedonia. Unfortunately, only a few Macedonian sites have as yet been adequately excavated, and much valuable evidence must still lie buried beneath the soil. The whole peninsula of Chalcidice, for example, is still an unopened book, so far as excavations are concerned. But a highly significant exploration has been carried out by S. Casson at Kilindir, a site, the name of which is believed by some to preserve in a modified form the Kalindoia of Ptolemy, and which, at any rate, is situated in the very district where Kalindoia probably lay. lowest stratum here belongs to the Early Period of the Bronze Age; in it Casson found objects—chiefly pottery—which, as he points out, show unmistakable kinship with the Early Cycladic remains of the Aegean area. Indeed, the askos and the pyxis, which Casson illustrates, speak for themselves in no uncertain terms,1 and one cannot escape the conclusion that the results of the excavations at Kilindir offer a most striking confirmation of the identification proposed above.

The terminal date of the Early Helladic Period is now established with a fair degree of certainty. We know that the period overlaps the First Middle Minoan stage in Crete, and its end must fall somewhere between the year 2000 and 1800 B.C. Future researches may perhaps make it possible to fix the date even more exactly, though the transition was probably a slow and gradual one. At any rate we can hardly go far astray if we take, in round figures, the year 1900

Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria, p. 136, fig. 44.

B.C. as marking the passing of Early Helladic civilization on the mainland and its supersession by the earliest form of Hellenic culture. The results of our enquiry have, therefore, led us to push backward some three hundred years the date of arrival of the first Hellenic stock, which Professor Buck, on the linguistic evidence, would place at least as early as 1600 B.C. The still earlier date, ca. 1900 B.C., corresponds far better with the archaeological evidence, since it coincides with a clearly indicated cultural break, whereas no satisfactory evidence for such a break can be shown at 1600 B.C., when the archaeological remains point to a continuity of development rather than to a rupture. We find ourselves, therefore, in essential agreement with E. Meyer and Beloch, who on other grounds have placed the first entry of people of Indo-European stock into Greece at the end of the third millennium B.C. These people were, of course, not yet Greeks, as the term is understood in its later significance: but they undoubtedly formed the persistent basic stock, which, constantly stimulated by the influx of further kindred waves, influenced by its heritage from Early Helladic times and even more powerfully by its contact with the Minoan world, moulded by environment and climate, and gradually tempered by the struggles and vicissitudes of the following centuries, ultimately became the producer and bearer of Hellenic civilization.

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## The Archaeological Institute of America

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#### BASILICA AEMILIA

A VETERAN topographer should perhaps be no more affected by the sight of a deforming projection in the ground-plan of some building than by the discovery of an aberration in the course of a drain or an unexpected enlargement of a sewer. For him all three are merely a challenge to his science; and topography is certainly one of the calmest that can be pursued. But no such emotional equability, no such parity of interest can be expected of one who has not specialized in that field. Accordingly, when the usual Classicist, studying the ruins around the Roman Forum, finds the Basilica Aemilia thrusting out its southeast corner to a distance of seven and a quarter metres in a jut that is contrary to all his ideas of monumental symmetry, he can hardly regard it with the same callousness as he does, let us say, the redirection of the course of the Cloaca Although I have read, I think, all the ancient passages that scholars have brought to bear upon this basilica and have added some finds of my own, and have, furthermore, carefully digested as much of the voluminous modern literature upon the subject as is accessible to me, I can find among the topographers no explanation to account for an architectural asymmetry that has long and perhaps unduly offended me and piqued my curiosity to a high degree. To find the motive for this unusual construction was, then, the original purpose of my research. But if we can throw any light on this problem, it will prove of importance to other phases of ancient life than the mere identification of localities, important though the latter is to students in many fields. Some account of the history of the whole building is a necessary preliminary to our investigation.

The Basilica Aemilia, as we call it today, recalls by its name a family that perhaps did as much for the architectural glory of Republican Rome as any other. Well might Cicero say <sup>1</sup> of the triumvir Marcus Lepidus in B.C. 13: magnis et multis pignoribus M. Lepidum res publica inligatum tenet. Summa nobilitas est, omnes honores, amplissimum sacerdotium, plurima urbis ornamenta, ipsius, fratris, maiorumque monimenta. But, unfortunately, our ancient information about most of the works with which the Aemilii embellished Rome is so slight that we must greatly regret the loss of that monograph which Atticus composed <sup>2</sup> upon the family. Many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Philippies, 13. 4. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Our informant is Nepos, Att., 18. 3. 4. We may compare *Hermes*, XL (1905), p. 50, Attieus als Geschichtschreiber, by Münzer.

men in midlife will recall their early visits to Rome when the Basilica Aemilia was still shrouded with the accumulated soil of the ages, and, as they review the research of the last quarter century, may well wonder whether its excavation has not revealed as many new puzzles to ponder as it has solved old. There is, indeed, in the books a notable amount of disagreement about matters in which certainty, or, at any rate, near certainty can yet perhaps be reached. For instance, the very nomenclature of the building, in its changes through the ages, has been handled at times rather negligently, to the impairment of judgments upon questions of a larger importance.

Livy tells us 1 that in 179 B.C. the censors M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius (Nobilior), each with his own assignment of the national funds, built various public constructions. After listing those of Aemilius, and among them one in which the censor's own private finances had been concerned, he gives those for which Fulvius let the contracts, stating incidentally that the works which he undertook were more numerous and of greater utility. Among them there were a basilica, which was built behind the argentariae novae and a fishmarket, which he surrounded with shops which he sold to private individuals.2 There is nothing said about the name of the basilica, and, so far as the language of Livy is concerned, it is no more reasonable to link Aemilia with Fulvia in the case of the basilica 3 for which Fulvius was responsible than to use both adjectives for any construction that was solely the charge of Aemilius Lepidus. The very fact that Livy expressly apportions the public works between the two officials, favors the view that the basilica was called Fulvia from the man who actually founded it.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 40. 51: opera ex pecunia attributa divisaque inter se haec confecerunt. Lepidus molem . . . M. Fulvius plura et maioris locavit usus . . . basilicam post argentarias novas et forum piscatorium circumdatis tabernis quas vendidit in privatum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Thédenat is, therefore, inaccurate when he says, Le Forum Romain et les Forum Impériaux (cited henceforth as "Thédenat"), p. 139: M. Fulvius Nobilior . . . fonda . . . une basilique . . . et l'entoura de boutiques qui furent louées à des particuliers; so, too, Gatteschi, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (referred to hereafter as "Bull. Com."), XXVII (1899), p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> But this is commonly done. Compare Richter, Topographie der Stadt Rom (to which I shall refer hereafter by the name of the author alone), p. 95; Gilbert,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> But this is commonly done. Compare Richter, Topographie der Stadt Rom (to which I shall refer hereafter by the name of the author alone), p. 95; Gilbert, Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum (hereafter "Gilbert"), III, p. 213, note 2; Van Deman, A. J. A., XVII (1913), The Porticus of Gaius and Lucius (hereafter "Van Deman"), p. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the censor's prerogatives in this particular see Pauly, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (cited from here on as Pauly), s.v. censores, p. 1904, line 46. Of public works due to Aemilii, an example would be the Via Aemilia, which the censor of 109 B.C., M. Aemilius Scaurus, constructed in northern Italy. On the other hand, the Aemilian Bridge over the Tiber was built by a quaestor of that name, Plutarch, Numa, 39.3 (Gilbert, p. 259), and the Porticus Aemilia outside the Porta Trigemina was erected in 193 B.C. by two Aemilians who were aediles, M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus, Livy, 35. 10. 11–12 cf. 41. 27. 8).

over, investigation reveals in our authors no other instance of a building bearing the names of both censors, and the directly opposite practice is attested by our closest parallels. For instance, we have a similar apportionment of funds but an individual nomenclature when the Basilica Sempronia was erected: Livy, 44. 16. 10: Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia quae ipsi adtributa erat, aedes P. Africani pone Veteres ad Vortumni Signum lanienasque et tabernas coniunctas in publicum emit basilicamque faciendam curavit quae postea Sempronia appellata est. Equally apposite is the case of the censors who were building independently of each other five years before the Basilica Fulvia was erected; for we read in Livy, 39. 44. 6: et separatim Flaccus molem ad Neptunias aquas . . . Cato atria duo, Maenium et Titium, in lautumiis et quattuor tabernas in publicum emit, basilicamque ibi fecit quae Porcia adpellata est. The Basilica Porcia never figures in any way under the name of Cato's colleague in 184 B.C., L. Valerius Flaccus.1

Statius,2 writing as a court poet about 90 A.D. concerning the colossal equestrian Statue of Domitian, refers to our basilica in the following lines:

> at laterum passus hinc Iulia tecta tuentur illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.

But it would not be safe to conclude, as some have done,3 from this single allusion that Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, did anything to this building during his censorship of 164 B.C. By the poet's day it had long become so much a monument of the Aemilian family that he might naturally call it the regia Pauli. Jordan 4 conjectured that some trophy or effigy of the great hero, set up in the basilica, was the poet's reason for the reference, and there are, indeed, surviving titular inscriptions which indicate that the building became increasingly a sort of memorial museum of honorary monuments 5 while still serving fully its primary purposes of a utilitarian character.

Topographers have chosen as the next date in the chronology of the Basilica Fulvia 159 B.C., when, according to Pliny (N.H., VII.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> To take the case of a consular construction, the term Basilica Opimia gives no hint that the colleague of Opimius in 121 B.C. was Q. Fabius Maximus, whose defeat of the Allobroges won him the erection of the Fornix Fabianus, the site of which is to prove of much importance to our investigation. The arcus Lentuli et Crispini of the consuls of 2 A.D. is the only coupling of names of which I have knowledge.

2 I, 1. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Lange, Haus und Halle, p. 171; Drumann, Geschichte Roms, <sup>2</sup> I, p. 6.
<sup>4</sup> II, p. 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> On the basilica as a Hall of Heroes see Huelsen, Röm. Mitt., XX (1905), p. 59.

215), Scipio Nasica, being the first to construct a day-and-night clock of the clepsydra type, set one up sub tecto. The Latin runs as follows: Scipio Nasica collega Laenati primus aqua divisit horas aeque noctium ac dierum idque horologium sub tecto dicavit anno urbis DXCV. Even scholars most gifted with powers of divination would hardly have ventured to guess that the building within which this water-clock was dedicated by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica was none other than the Basilica Fulvia, were it not that Varro, more than a century later, after stating what he had seen engraved on a sundial at Praeneste, says of some Cornelius: D antiqui non R in hoc dicebant ut Praeneste incisum in solario vidi. solarium dictum id in quo horae in sole inspiciebantur quod Cornelius in basilica Aemilia et Fulvia inumbravit. Some think, therefore, that inumbravit means "he set it up in the shade," recalling sub tecto; that Cornelius was Scipio: that solarium was the water-clock. The first is lexicographically reasonable,3 the second historically possible, but the third hard to justify in view of the fact that the author has just been discussing the lettering of a sundial and has actually used the words in quo horae in sole inspiciebantur, defining the solarium as a sun-clock. Shall we throw out those words as a gloss on solarium, a definition that has been interpolated by some late scribe who knew of the passage in Censorinus, 23. 7? This runs as follows: deinde aliquanto post P. Cornelius Nasica censor ex aqua fecit horarium quod et ipsum ex consuetudine noscendi a sole horas solarium coeptum vocari. But such an excision is drastic, to say the least, and it may be simpler to take the description of the sundial on which they would note the hours whenever there was sunlight as that of a solarium for which some Cornelius marked the lines for the shifting shadow on the outside of the Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia. So far as Nasica's instrument of time is concerned, we know that he erected a portico on the Capitoline,4 so that this may have been the edifice that sheltered it sub tecto.

Some have thought that, in the days of Varro, Cornelius would mean Cornelius Sulla, who, of course, may have seen at Praeneste the very sundial which had attracted Varro's attention. He cap-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Goetz-Schoell in their edition of Varro, L.L., p. 58, and, among the topographers, H. Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum (hereafter abbreviated "Jordan"), I, 2, p. 392, and note 111; Gilbert, III, p. 213, note 2; Thédenat, p. 139: De Ruggiero, Il Foro Romano (hereafter "Ruggiero"), p. 398; Huelsen in Pauly, s.v. Aemilia basilica.

<sup>2</sup> L.L., 6, 4. <sup>2</sup> L.L., <sup>3</sup>, <sup>4</sup>L., <sup>4</sup>, <sup>5</sup>While, in this passage, Harper's Latin Dictionary defines inumbrare "mark the shadows upon," "mark out," "layout," and Georges, Wörterbuch, "Etwas im Schattenriss entwerfen," Forcellini, Lexicon, mistakes the time-teller for a roofed sun-parlor, solarium tectum (cf. Marquardt, Das Privatleben, p. 247, note 7).

<sup>4</sup> Vell., 2, 1, 2; 2, 3, 1.

tured that town in 82 B.C. But even if Sulla was the man that the Polymath meant, we are not necessarily to suppose that the two sundials were the same; <sup>1</sup> Varro would not have used *id*. But whether Cornelius was the Dictator or not, and I incline to the negative <sup>2</sup> (since such historians as, for example, Sallust and Plutarch always introduce the cognomen), no use of these passages will prove that the basilica as yet bore a double name: we cannot assume that Varro is calling the basilica by anything other than the name that was current when he was writing his *De Lingua Latina*. This was between 45 B.C. and the death of Cicero.<sup>3</sup> There may have been a special reason which we shall ascertain why the building might then be designated sometimes by a double appellative, while in 159 B.C. it was still the Basilica Fulvia, as all our evidence indicates.

In 78 B.C. M. Aemilius Lepidus and Quintus Lutatius Catulus were colleagues in the consulship. Speaking of those who had displayed portrait-shields, clipea, upon buildings, Pliny, N.H., 35. 13, says: post eum M. Aemilius, collega in consulatu Quinti Lutatii, non in basilica modo Aemilia verum et domi suae posuit, id quoque Martio exemplo. While it might seem a pure assumption that the hanging of shields 4 upon the basilica implied that M. Aemilius had either just built it or had restored that of Fulvius, a passage that has been overlooked in this connection would support this hypothesis. We read in Pliny, N.H., 36. 49: M. Lepidus, Q. Catuli in consulatu conlega, primus omnium limina ex Numidico marmore in domo posuit magna reprensione. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that while Aemilius was scandalizing Rome by putting the precious marble from Numidia to such humble domestic use (in massa ac vilissimo liminum usu, says our author, a little further on), he was, at the same time, delighting his fellow-citizens by employing it with other building material in such extensive reconstruction of the Basilica Fulvia as to associate the hall thereafter primarily with his family name.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The view expressed in Platner, Bunsen, et. al., Beschreibung der Stadt Rom (hereafter cited by the first two authors' names), III, p. 31. Cornelius is identified as Sulla by Borsari, Topografia di Roma antica (hereafter "Borsari"), pp. 223–224; Gatteschi, Bull. Com., XXVII (1899), p. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Of course, the imaginative can conjecture that the word Sulla has dropped out after the Cornelius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Schanz, VIII, 1. 2, p. 441.
<sup>4</sup> Roman denarii give us some idea of his personal appearance; Babelon, Monnaies de la République Romaine (hereafter "Babelon"), I, 131-134, Imhoof-Blumer, Portraitköpfe, Tafel, I, 5, Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum (henceforth cited as "Grueber"), III, Pl. LVI, 9, 13; LVII, 11.

Possibly, however, the shields displayed only the likenesses of his ancestors.

<sup>5</sup> Platner, Bunsen, III, p. 31; Thédenat, pp. 139 and 252; Gilbert, III, p. 214, note 1, and p. 215; Jordan, I, 2, p. 392, note 111.

Although we cannot safely use Pliny as a witness to any change in nomenclature made a century and a half before the time when he was writing, there is excellent testimony for the new name Basilica Aemilia only thirteen years later than our present date, 78 B.C. I refer to the coins of the moneyer of 65 B.C., M. Aemilius Lepidus,1 the triumvir, who was son of the M. Aemilius Lepidus with whose work on the basilica we have just been dealing. On his money we have the inscription M. LEPIDVS AEMILIA REF. S. C. Aemilia refecta on a coin that pictures the basilica with the shields adorning it attests a restoration by the moneyer himself, since the name appears in the nominative case. The topographers,2 however, overlooking this numismatic usage, interpret as if we had LEPIDO, and accordingly consider the coinage a memorial to the building activities of the father. The money of another member of this Aemilian gens might have set them right, where the inscription runs M. AEMILIO LEPIDO 3 in honor of a builder of a public work, pictured by three arches (surmounted by an equestrian statue) which are variously explained.4

When we come to our next and most important date, B.C. 54, we must recall the appearance of the Basilica Aemilia on the coin as a fine two-story structure, and also bear in mind that it had already received considerable repairs during the preceding quarter of a century. We turn now to a passage in Cicero's letters to Atticus, belonging to the month of June in the year 54 B.C. The Paulus or Paullus to whom he refers is the L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, son of M. Aemilius Lepidus, that consul of 78 B.C. who had rebuilt the basilica and adorned it with shields, and brother of the triumvir, M. Aemilius Lepidus, who had pictured the building with its martial embellishment on his denarii of 65 B.C. He was curule aedile apparently in 55 B.C., the year before Cicero was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Grueber, I, pp. 447–448, 450 (nos. 3650–3653), III, Pl. XLVI, 11; Babelon, I, 129, no. 25; Gilbert, III, 214, note 1, referring to Cohen, Cons. Aemilia, no. 8, says: Während der Avers Bild und Namen eines Lepidus zeigt.

<sup>2</sup> Jordan, I. 2, p. 392, note 111; Gilbert, III, p. 214, note 1. Thédenat, p. 139, even makes the mistake of thinking that the consul of 78 s.c. is the same man as the moneyer of 65 s.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Grueber, II, p. 291, note-2; Babelon, I, 117: Le datif indique que l'inscription se rapporte à la statue et non au monétaire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Babelon, I, pp. 117–118; Grueber, II, p. 291, notes 1 and 2; and III, Pl. XCIV, 11; Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, V 1,27. We find other coins that picture arches, Grueber, I, 485, 486, 306, 313; L. Marcius Philippus has an equestrian statue on five arches of his aqueduct; we have even an arcade of seven, no. 3895, III, Pl. XLVIII, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>I wish that we could be sure whether the view on the *denarius* pictures a façade or, as some have thought (cf. Lange, Haus und Halle, p. 171), the interior of the building. The sketchy and symbolic methods of ancient die-engravers have left much for our imaginations to work upon.

<sup>6 4. 16. 8 (14).</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pauly, s. v. Aemilius, No. 81.

writing. Paulus in medio foro basilicam iam paene texerit isdem antiquis columnis, illam autem quam locavit facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet, in monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus contempsimus sexcenties HS. The word texerit 1 has to be emended. The choice of texuit 2 introduces the metaphor of weaving which seems hard to apply to the architecture of a colonnaded hall,3 however natural it may be to use it, e.g., for the fabrication of a ship's hull. departs too far from the ductus litterarum; so, too, erexerat. change is to texerat,6 which fits well with the iam paene.

So few years had elapsed since the restoration of B.C. 65, we wonder what had happened to the basilica to require such an extensive rebuilding. Possibly there had been an earthquake. At any rate, Paullus had already almost finished roofing his new construction in medio foro, but with the use of the same old columns, when something happened that led him to discontinue this relatively inexpensive operation. We may assume that Atticus knew what this happening was; for Cicero continues "but the basilica for which he has let the contracts (in other words, the building in its new form) he is erecting with the extreme of magnificence." 7 This seems to me a more reasonable interpretation than to assume 8 that Caesar, though absent in Britain, had ordered the commencement of the Basilica Julia and that it is to that structure that the illam refers. rather in the ut forum laxaremus that we would see a reference to

Baiter. <sup>2</sup> As Tyrrell says in his edition of the Letters, II, p. 135.

4 Boot, Müller.

5 Klotz 6 Wesenberg.

<sup>8</sup> T. Frank, Roman Buildings of the Republic, p. 67, and note 8 (hereafter to be referred to by his name alone), puts it admirably; see also Gilbert, III, p. 221.
<sup>8</sup> See Tyrrell, Correspondenc: of Cicero, I, 2, p. 135; Jordan, I, 2, p. 394, and p. 395, note 113; Huelsen-Carter (1909), p. 16; Thédenat, p. 151; Gilbert, III, p. 222, note 1; Mommsen, Res Gestae Divi Augusti, p. 85. It has even been postulated that there were two Aemilian basilicas side by side: Platner, Bunsen, III,

Depicts of Miss Van Deman, p. 25, leave the reader in doubt as to what her understanding of the Latin is. "In 54 B.c. the curule aedile Aemilius Paullus Lepidus began according to Cicero a second restoration of this same basilica in him for this purpose by Julius Caesar, he built another which was much larger and more magnificent." If it was "in addition to" then the reference must be, I take it, to the Basilica Julia (because of her use of "larger" below), and yet in note 2, her to the other alternative "in place of," which in my opinion is the correct interpretation.

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improvements in the Forum towards the south. Since the letter itself mentions the immense amount of money available for civic improvements, the contrast would appear to be between the use of second-hand material and of the costliest new. Fortunately, we have other data to indicate what was suddenly making this magnificence possible.

Julius Caesar and Pompey had been becoming more and more estranged from each other, so that the death of Julia in 54 B.C. seems to have snapt the last of the ties that had bound them. It was very important to Caesar to win to his side or at least keep neutral one of the most powerful members of the gens Aemilia, L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, who, only a few years later, was to receive the highest office in the state as consul of B.C. 50. To buy him. indeed, cost the Dictator, we are told, fifteen hundred talents. statement recorded by our informant Appian 1 reads as follows: Παθλον δέ χιλίων και πεντακοσίων ταλάντων έπρίατο μηδέν αυτώ μήτε συμπράττειν μήτε ένοχλείν. The historian then goes on to say that Caesar's expensive recruit invested the bribe in the construction of the basilica that bears his name 2 (doubtless, of course, in accordance with Caesar's own far-reaching architectural and topographical plans), dedicating an edifice of surpassing beauty, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλές, to the use of his fellow citizens. From Plutarch we learn how this compact of concord, with its architectural pledge growing daily before his eyes, put the fear of Paullus in the heart of Pompey. Plutarch, Caesar, 29. 3: Παύλω δὲ ὑπατεύοντι χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δόντος, άφ' ών καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκεῖνος, ὀνομαστὸν ἀνάθημα, τῆ άγορα προσεκόσμησεν άντὶ της Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθείσαν οὕτω δή φοβηθείς την σύστασιν ὁ Πομπήϊος κτλ.

At this point we must stress three things: although it is probable that the sum had been provided in instalments, by the time of Paullus' consulship in 50 B.C., a million and a half dollars had been available for the basilica; the work was no mere restoration of the Fulvia, such as the private purse of the builder had alone allowed, but a replacement of it  $(\dot{a}\nu\tau\dot{\iota}\ \tau\hat{\eta}s\ \Phio\nu\lambda\beta\dot{\iota}as)$  with the magnificence that public funds made possible; <sup>3</sup> that the transaction cemented a

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  B.C., 2 (4) 26. Plutarch (Pompey, 58. 1, and Caesar, 29. 3) mentions the same amount, but he uses a less offensive verb,  $\delta \acute{o} \prime \tau \sigma s$ .

² Scholars who think that this was the time when it came to be called Basilica Aemilia (Jordan, I, 2, p. 393; Richter, p. 95) overlook the fact that it was already so termed on the coin of 65 B.C. As a matter of fact, Basilica Paulli seems to be the name favored by our ancient texts: Pliny, N.H., 36. 102 (but in 35. 13 Basilica Aemilia); Tacitus, Ann., 3. 72; Curiosum Urbis (Urlichs, Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus), pp. 6, 7, 22, 23, Notitia R. IV; cf. Plut., Caes., 29. 3; Appian, B.C., 2 (4) 26; Dio. 49. 42. 2; 54. 24. 2. Plutarch's words ἀντὶ τῆς Φονλβίας indicate that Fulvia had hitherto been its appellative.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> To this period I am rather inclined to date the columns which we still

concordia between Caesar and Paullus which Pompey dreaded and the Dictator had no doubt long planned.

Gilbert 1 has shown his usual acumen in recognizing that Cicero in writing to Atticus, who knew perfectly well where the original basilica was located, would never have used the term in medio foro, had there not been some special point to the adjective in a reference to the groundplan of the building which Paullus had begun with use of old material but could now complete on a grander scale, thanks to the godsend that came from Caesar. "Dass dabei der alte Bau näher an das Forum herangerückt werde, ersieht man aus den Worten in medio foro" are the topographer's words. But, in my opinion, he has not gone far enough: the building went not merely to the edge of the Forum, but, at least at one corner and perhaps at both, actually plunged into it. The coin of 65 B.C., if it pictures the front of the basilica.<sup>2</sup> represents nothing but an unbroken facade. ruins demonstrate the presence at the eastern end of a projecting pavilion, that architectural excrescence, if I may call it so, which originally started us upon our investigation. There must have been some strongly compelling reason for an enlargement at this special point of the portico that fronts the line of rooms and brings the Basilica Aemilia, metaphorically, into the very Forum. That reason I venture to think I have discovered.

see in fragmentary state in the main building and which are probably those over which Pliny the Elder exclaimed (about 77 A.D.), using the very word magnifica, it will be noted, N.H., 36. 102: non inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imp. Aug., pulcherrima operum quae umquam videt orbis? The fire of 14 B.c. may have been confined largely to the portico, as we shall see. But there has been much and perhaps futile debate about this, since, even if we know of the extent of a fire of two millennia ago, its precise effect upon various building-materials can hardly be deemed yet a determinable matter. Jordan thought that the columns that Pliny admired went back to the construction of 78 B.C., I, 2, p. 395, note 113 (cf. also p. 392), while noting that Becker attributed them to the restoration that followed the fire of 14 B.C. The latter is the date accepted by Gatteschi, Bull. Com., XXVII (1899), p. 121, Thédenat, p. 140, and Van Deman, p. 26. On the other hand, Richter, conjectured B.C. 34, p. 95. Speaking of the columns, Huelsen, Rôm. Mitt., XVIII, 1902, p. 52, says: Sie trugen ein Gebälk aus weissen Marmor von trefflicher Arbeit, auf dessen Architrav die durch Brand stark beschädigten Reste ein Inschrift PAUL RESTI. . . . Huelsen, Forum und Palatin, p. 40, figures that this refers to the consul of 34 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gilbert, III, p. 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> If this is the one towards the Forum, we must think of the rooms that represent the tabernae novae of pre-basilican days, as lying close behind it. The original course of the cloaca left room for a portico of small width. However, the interpretation of such a tiny and partial reproduction as a denarius permits (Grueber, III, Pl. XLVI, 11. 12) is at best problematical. Compare T. L. Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, p. 263, but not for his historical data! That there was a lack of porticos around the Forum at the time of Caesar's aedileship in 65 b.c. is evidenced by Suet., Jul., 10: aedilis praeter Comitium ac Forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extructis in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur.

In the construction of a line of columns in a colonnade we can think of only two things which might necessitate a change in their alinement, one the presence of a man-made shrine whose occupant, like Terminus in the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, might resist eviction,2 the other the existence of a god-marked spot the very nature of which made it non-transferable. Of the latter sort was any place in the earth which lightning had entered, what the Romans called a fulguritum. As everybody knows, the fulgur had to be conditum 3 where it struck, with the sacrifice of a young sheep, bidens. Then, in order to prevent anybody from treading on this locus religiosus,4 an act that might result in the trespasser's going mad, if that be the correct inference from Horace (5 utrum minxerit in patrios cineres an triste bidental moverit incestus: certe furit) the evitandum bidental 6 had to be fenced in. On the puteal or curbing of this saeptum bidental 7 the sacerdotes bidentales,8 or other priests, might have inscribed the monitory words fulgur conditum.9

The enclosure was neither paved nor covered, and, even if it was located outside of a building, like the puteal of the Lacus Curtius 10 or that of Navius 11 in the Comitium, it must have been a stumblingblock for traffic and an inevitable nuisance in any crowded area. If, on the other hand, the puteal had been included in some building of later construction, the roof would doubtless have to have a special aperture, in order that the religious prescription might be scrupulously observed.12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Since we are actually discussing the Basilica Aemilia, one naturally thinks first of the awkward situation of the Sacellum Cloacinae, encroaching as it does, upon the very steps

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ovid, Fasti, 2. 669. Terminus ut veteres memorant inventus in aede Restitit et magno cum Iove templa tenet. Nunc quoque se supra nequid nisi sidera cernat Exiguum templi tecta foramen habent.

Serv., ad Aen., 9. 446.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For the burial and the object buried see particularly Juvenal, 6. 587, and the Scholiast on it; Lucan, 1. 606; Schol. on Persius, 2. 26.

Schol. on Persius, II, 27: bidental dicitur locus secundo percussus fulmine qui bidente ab aruspicibus consecratur quem calcare nefas est; compare further, Festus 92 M (Lindsay, 82. 8). The Greeks had the same ideas about a τόπος κεραυνοπλήξ (C.G.L., II, 30. 8), as we learn from Artemidorus, 2. 9, and Pollux, 9. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Ars Poet., 470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Persius, 2. 27. <sup>7</sup> Apollon. Sid., Carm., 9. 194.

S Compare for them, e.g., C.I.L., VI, 567 and 568.
C.I.L., VII, 3048: FVLGVR DIVOM CONDITVM. Compare 3047 and 3049, and, for other references to "lightning graves," C. Blinkenberg, The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore, p. 110, a very interesting treatment of the subject.

<sup>10</sup> Varro, L.L., 5. 150: Cornelius et Lu(c)tatius scribunt eum locum esse fulguritum et ex s.c. septum esse: id quod factum est a Curtio consule cui M. Genucius

fuit collega, Curtium appellatum.

<sup>11</sup> Cicero, De Div., 1. 17. 33: cotem autem illam et novaculam defossam in comitio supraque inpositum puteal accepimus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is notable that three of the inscriptions which concern the collegium of the

Now, nobody seems to have noticed that it was precisely at the time 1 that Aemilius Paullus was encroaching upon the Forum with the magnificence of his immense basilica, 54 B.C., that L. Scribonius Libo, issued his well-known denarii, picturing on the obverse the head of Bonus Eventus with the inscription BON EVENT and LIBO, and on the reverse a puteal, above which we read PVTEAL and, below, SCRIBON.3 If ever there were times when the most famous of all the putealia, the Scribonianum, might appropriately appear upon the coinage of Rome, one would be when its inclusion within the ground-plan of the great basilica had been required, as we expect to show, through its chance situation upon the line of the frontal colonnade of that building. The construction of a projecting pavilion with an opening in the roof might offend a future age of architects who had no faith in Jupiter, but would prevent offending the god of lightning in an age that did believe in the power of his vengeance. It was a way out of a difficulty that by the grace of Bonus Eventus 1 promised a good issue. But, so far, one may say, this is only a pretty hypothesis. Fortunately, even numismatically, we can take it much further.

A colleague of Scribonius Libo on the board of three who were minting the money of 54 B.C. was no less a person than L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, son of the very Paullus, whom we find at this time engaged in building the Basilica Aemilia. He and Scribonius had, indeed, other close relationships. Thus, his wife Cornelia was daughter of his colleague's sister Scribonia, both of them famous women; for Scribonia became the wife of Octavian in 40 B.C., only to be divorced in 39, and Cornelia is celebrated in the well-known

Sacerdotes bidentales have to do with offerings made to Semo Sancus or Dius Fidius, whose shrine had to be open to the sky also, Varro, L.L., 5. 66. When one swore by this deity or by Hercules (all three were probably the same, according to Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 138), he had to stand under the open sky, Nonius, 194; see also note 2, p. 164, Ovid, Fasti., 2. 671.

1 "With no axe to grind," Babelon chose (I, pp. XXXV, 81, 121 and II, p. 426) the date 54 B.C., while Grueber himself admits (I, p. 418, note 2) the great difficulty

L. Scribonius Libo, who was praetor peregrinus 204 B.C., was probably the man who built the original of the Puteal on the coin. But compare the dubiety of Mommsen, Juristische Schriften, Vol. III, p. 322.

4 Babelon's attempt (II, p. 427) to connect the appearance of this deity on the

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of accepting the earlier year proposed by Count de Salis, i.e., B.C. 71, concerning which we find the just remark in Pauly, s.v. Scribonius Libo no. 20, p. 882, line 33: "was freilich für die Laufbahn Libos fast zu früh erscheint," cf. no. 82, s.v. Aemilwas freihen für die Laufbann Lidos fast zu früh erseneint, "d. no. 82, 8.º. Aemilius. Our other numismatists accept 54 B.C.: Mommsen, Geschichte des römischen Münzwesen, p. 274, Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine, Trad. par Le Duc de Blacas, II, p. 498; Gnecchi, Monete Romane, 3rd Edition, 1907, p. 190. Compare also Eckhel, Doctrina Numorum Veterum, V, pp. 301–304.

2 There is a restitution of this type by Trajan, Babelon, II, p. 584, no. 47.

3 Grueber, I, p. 419, nos. 3377–3382. Pauly, s.v. Scribonius, no. 16, thinks that L. Scribonius Libo who was practor preggrinus 204 a. c. was grabably the man

coins with some relationship of the family with Beneventum seems somewhat farfetched. Compare Grueber, I, p. 419, note 2, who, however, has no suggestion to offer.

poem of Propertius 4. 11 as consoling her husband Paullus after her

In 34 B.C. this Paullus was consul suffectus and finished the basilica which his father had begun. In the same year Scribonius Libo, who had been his colleague in the mint in 54 B.C., was consul. But of more importance to our immediate problem is the relationship of these two moneyers to Julius Caesar and Pompey in the year that they were striking their denarii. Scribonius Libo seems to have been consistently a Pompeian, 1 so far as consistency was possible in that shifty age, when even men of character were forced at times "to sit on the fence" and to change sides suddenly. Libo was, indeed, the father-in-law of Sextus Pompey and was favoring Pompey the Great rather than Caesar as early as B.C. 56. The Aemilii, on the other hand, seem to have been politically less stable.2

The Paullus who was reconstructing the basilica in 54 B.C. makes his first appearance in Roman history as a partisan of the aristocratical party, as we know from his accusation of Catiline in 63 B.C. In 59 B.C. Vettius charged him with having been privy to a pretended conspiracy against Pompey.3 But in 57 B.C. we find him working to secure the recall of Cicero from banishment. If, as we may reasonably assume, he began his reconstruction of the family basilica as aedile in 55 B.C., he must have soon, if not at once, come into some coöperative arrangements with Julius Caesar; for Cicero's letter of 54 B.C. implies a general plan for the buildings around the Forum with which his work would have to be in harmony, and he was already receiving, no doubt, financial help from Caesar's spoils of war in Gaul,4 which made his attitude as consul in B.C. 50 seem to the historians the result of an enormous bribe. Such, at any rate, is the natural interpretation of that change from second-hand material to the costliest construction and of Cicero's reference to the stupendous sum that he and Oppius, as Caesar's friends, were willing to see disbursed upon the enlargement of the Forum, in accordance, we cannot doubt, with the Dictator's own scheme of city-improvement. Cicero's words are: itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet in 5 monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus contempsimus sescenties H S. It cannot, therefore, seem

Babelon, II, p. 426.
 For the vacillating career of the moneyer compare Babelon, I, p. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The accusation deserved and received little credence, Drumann, Geschichte Roms, p. 5; Heitland, The Roman Republic, §1073.

4 Heitland, op. cit., §1189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The in is introduced as an emendation; but Frank's proposal (p. 67) to consider monumentum . . . solebas as an apposition to basilicam in the earlier sentence may seem preferable.

without significance that Paullus' son,1 the moneyer, should have selected for his coin-types not only one that recalled the great familyhero L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, the conqueror of Perseus in B.C. 168,2 whose memorial, as we have seen, may have stood in the basilica, but also, in a joint-issue 3 with Scribonius, that puteal which we think was being included in the new ground-plan, and, on the obverse side, the head of Concordia, with the inscription CON-CORD added that there might be no doubt about the deity intended, and with the name PAVLLVS LEPIDVS that there might be no doubt, either, about the identity of the contracting party. This choice of Concordia and of the puteal has always defied interpretation by the numismatists, but I venture to see in the former the Aemilian family's public pledge of harmony with Julius Caesar and in the latter a symbol of the most radical change that the rebuilding of the Basilica Aemilia had brought into its construction, that projecting pavilion which housed the Puteal Libonis.

But even if an indulgent reader will grant that our hypothesis is now a little prettier, he may yet object that, after all, it is still only a hypothesis. It must be shown that the puteal Scribonianum was actually situated in the Basilica Aemilia. Scholars have already done something to prove this, but I hope to add my own little contribution. We must begin with a passage which is found much mutilated in Festus 333 M. We produce it in the form in which Lindsay (448. 33) thinks it may be safely emended: (Scribonianum ap|pellatur ante[a] atria [puteal, quod fecit Scri]bonius cui negotium da[tum a senatu fuerat, ut] conquireret sacella att[acta . . . pro] curavit quia in eo loco . . . sacellum fuit, quod igno . . . ut quidam, fulgur conditum, quod . . . [ne]fas est intagi: semper foramin[e . . . aper]to caelum patet. From this we learn how some member of the Scribonian gens had been commissioned to enclose this particular lightning-grave with the puteal. We learn, furthermore, that it was ante (a) atria. This phrase has defied all interpretation.4 It is, of course, quite impossible to take it as a reference to the Atrium Vestae.5 The name for the home of the Vestals appears in the plural only once and then as a poetical usage to facilitate the metre in Ovid, Fasti, 6. 263:

Grueber, I, p. 418, 3373–3376 and note 3.
 Grueber, I, p. 420, 3383–3385.

compare Gilbert, I, p. 305.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We have already had a son memorializing on his denarii the building activities of his father in the case of the moneyer of B.C. 65. In both instances they are members of this glory-loving Aemilian family.

d'Thédenat, p. 147; à un endroit que Festus désigne par l'expression peu claire pour nous ante atria. Jordan, I, 2, p. 403, note 121.

b This Piganiol did, Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, XXVIII (1908), p. 263;

Hic locus exiguus qui sustinet Atria Vestae Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.

Of course, it might seem easiest to conclude that the phrase is corrupt, since the passage in Festus is, as a whole, in such bad condition. But I am rather inclined to believe that atria is a name that may have been sometimes given to that series of rooms which lie behind the frontal portico. If the puteal Scribonianum was where we think it was in that corner pavilion, ante atria would be a possible description to localize it. Atrium, is, indeed, a very difficult word to define in all its uses. The shift of meaning from that of the central apartment of the front part of a house, such as we find so commonly at Pompeii, to a mere vestibule is, of course, familiar. The word is particularly troublesome when it is used in connection with a colonnade or porticus.<sup>1</sup>

We may take our start from that Atrium Maenianum which Cato bought, along with an Atrium Titium and various shops, tabernae, in order that he might build his Basilica Porcia. From a combination of various passages 2 it appears that this atrium of Maenius was much like the other places of business around the Forum except that its roof of beams and planks extended out on to the columns that stood across the front, so that from the second-story gallery that was thus constituted privileged spectators could view gladiatorial games in the area below to great advantage. This was also a desirable construction for the rows of shops about a forum, because it provided shade for prospective customers in the heat of summer and shelter during the rainy season. We can perhaps picture the tabernae novae, which were eventually incorporated into the Basilica Aemilia, as having this architecture. The term atria was especially used for

<sup>1</sup> I have in mind, for instance, the atriolum appearing as an apartment connected with a porticus in Ciero, Q. Fr., 3. 1. 1. 2 (which was discussed by Magoun, Tr. and Pr. of A. P. A., 1896, pp. vii f.), and I might cite also such vagaries as Schol. on Luc., 2. 238: (Weber) atrium proprie dicitur ab atro, i. nigro, quod proprie est

porticus illa ante templa ubi comburebantur quae remanebant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Ascon. in Cic., *Div. in Verr.*, 16. 50 (Stangl, p. 20, 15–19) ad columnam Maenianam. Maenius cum domum suam venderet Catoni et Flacco censoribus ut ibi basilica aedificaretur, exceperat ius sibi unius columnae super quam tectum proiceret ex provolantibus tabulatis unde ipse et posteri eius spectare munus gladiatorium possent, quod etiam tum in foro dabatur. Ex illo igitur columna Maenia vocitata est. Compare Porphyr. on Hor., *Sat.*, 1. 3. 21; Lucii., 1203 (Marx, p. 82), but especially Festus, 134 M = Linds., 120. 1: Maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula; Isidore, 15. 3. 11. Terraces and galleries above a first-story colonnade were common enough. Cicero, *Acad.*, 2. 22. 70: itaque cessit et ut ii qui sub novis solem non ferunt, item ille, cum aestuaret Veterum, ut Maenianorum, sic Academicorum umbram secutus est. Vitruvius (5. 1. 1–2), writing between 20–11 в.с., had good examples in the basilicas of the Forum. *Cf. Pliny, N.H.*, 35. 10. 113.

the halls of the auctioneers,1 but those down by the Tiber that Ovid 2 mentions may have served other business purposes: Fluminis ad flexum veniunt—Tiberina priores atria dixerunt—unde sinister abit.

If we may conclude, then, that the row of large rooms, replacing an earlier series of smaller size,3 and constituting architecturally 4 the back of the portico 5 which forms the front of the Basilica Aemilia, as the excavations have revealed it, were sometimes termed atria,6 we have found an explanation for the term which Festus used in defining the location of the puteal.

Furthermore, we are now able for the first time, I think, to give a precise interpretation to a passage in Ovid's Amores, 1. 13. 19, which, indeed, the topographers have not used in any of these

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atque eadem sponsum multos ante atria mittis unius ut verbi grandia damna ferant,

"You, Aurora, send many persons as sponsors before the atria to undergo great losses through a single word." He is referring to the praetor's court which was held at the Puteal Libonis. The passages which prove this are such an important support incidentally to our location of the puteal at this point in the Forum that they deserve extended treatment. Of course the earlier practorian tribunal in the

<sup>1</sup> Thus we read in Cicero, De Lege Agr., 1. 3. 7: at hoc etiam nequissimi homines consumptis patrimoniis faciunt ut in atriis auctionariis potiusquam in triviis aut in compitis auctionentur; Pro Quinctio, 6. 25: tum Naevius pueros circum amicos dimittit, ipse seros necessarios ab atriis Liciniis et a faucibus Macelli corrogat ut ad tabulam Sextiam sibi adsint hora secunda postridie; Pro Quinctio, 3. 12: tollitur ab atriis Liciniis atque a praeconum consessu in Galliam Naevius. One is mentioned also in an inscription of Superaequum, Orelli, 3439-3883, C.I.I., 1X, 3307: ex testamento atrium auctionarium fieri, and probably also in one from Portu, C.I.L., XIV, 1941 (on a sort of puteal), atrium cum quadriporticum, etc. Then Juvenal, 7. 7: vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio, where the Thesaurus interprets the atria as auctionaria (so, too, the commentators, e.g., Friedländer, Lewis, Mayor).

Fasti, 4. 329.

Determination of the chronology of these tufa walls must rest with the experts in building materials. Miss Van Deman, A.J.A., XVII (1913), Pl. 1, assigns the carlier ones to the work of B.c. 54 (see p. 26), the later to the restoration after the fire of 14 B.c. (p. 26), while T. Frank, Roman Buildings of the Republic, dates the former (p. 10) in 78 B.c., the latter (p. 68) in 34.

4 Compare Huelsen, Röm. Mitt., XVII (1902), p. 50, note 1. He quotes Lanciani in agreement. See also, more recently, Miss Van Deman, p. 20.

5 The arrangement of the places of the business which the advance of the business which the advance of the business.

<sup>5</sup> The arrangement of the places of business behind the colonnade of the basilica reminds one of the long series of similar rooms around the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia, where, to be sure, they were apparently called *stationes*, as a rule; see Calze, *Bull. Com.*, 1916, p. 192, where he argues aginst *scholae* as the name.

<sup>6</sup> Scholars have been much puzzled by mention of the Atrium Sutorium as the

place where on March 23, every year, the tubae were purified: Cal. Pr., C.I.L., I, p. 315=Orelli, II, 386; Varro, L.L., 6. 14; Festus, 325 M = Lindsay, 480. 25. It is at least conceivable that since the Argiletum, which ran along the western end of the Basilica Aemilia, was the "shoe district" of Rome (Martial, 2. 17. 3), one of the atria of the basilica belonged to the sutores.

comitium continued to exist, but new ones had been necessitated by the increase in judicial business, and, if we may trust our ancient authorities, it was no other than a Scribonius Libo who first constructed the necessary platform and benches at the Puteal to serve for the court. Horace 1 had said: forum putealque Libonis mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis. Porphyrio's comment 2 on this is definite enough: per puteal praetorem ac iudicem significat. Puteal autem Libonis sedes praetoris fuit prope arcum Fabianum dictum quod a Libone illic primum tribunal et subsellia collocata sint.

Some<sup>3</sup> have imagined, but with small probability I fear, that it was Scribonius the moneyer of B.C. 54 who built the tribunal near the puteal. That would account for the choice of the Scribonianum as his coin-type as well as for the notable innovation of including the once free-standing curb within the ground-plan of the Basilica Aemilia as Paullus was reconstructing it.

Porphyrio's note throws light on other passages in Horace. Sat., 2. 6. 33, he says: ante secundam Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras, on which we have the comment, Pseudo-Acro: Locus Romae ad quem conveniebant feneratores. Alii dicunt: in quo tribunal solebat esse praetoris (erat autem in Rostris). It was perhaps before the practor here that the bore was bound to appear in our poet's famous experience; Horace, S., 1. 9. 35:

> ventum erat ad Vestae quarta iam parte diei praeterita; et casu tunc respondere vadato debebat quod ni fecisset perdere litem. Si me amas, inquit, paulum hic ades. inteream si aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura.

If Cicero spoke there, he might aptly enough use the language that he employs in his letter to his brother ad Fr. 2. 3: dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio. As a matter of fact, Puteal and Tribunal practically became synonyms in popular parlance.4 Janus and the Puteal (at least as the haunt of usurers), at or near opposite ends of the Basilica Aemilia, were places to be feared by persons in financial difficulties. Ovid, Rem., 561:

> Qui Puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas Torqueat hunc aeris mutua summa sui.

<sup>1</sup> Ep., 1. 19. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See also Cruq. on Hor., Ep., 1. 19. 8; Pseudo-Acro on Hor., S., 2. 6. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Forum, p. 1303. But compare the possibility that it was L. Scribonius Libo, the praetor peregrinus of 204 s.c.; Pauly, s.v. Scribonius (Libo), p. 830, and note the authority of Porphyrio. <sup>4</sup> For this statement see particularly Mommsen, Juristische Schriften, III, pp.

<sup>323-324 (= 394).</sup> 

For this passage there are companion-pieces in Persius, 4. 48.

#### amarum

### Si puteal multa cautus vibice flagellas

(where the Scholiast makes clear that the Scribonianum is intended), and in Cicero *Pro Sext.*, 8. 18: (B.C. 56) alter unguentis affluens, calamistrata coma, despiciens conscios stuprorum ac veteres vexatores aetatulae suae, puteali et faenatorum gregibus inflatus, a quibus conpulsus olim ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam (in) fretu ad columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum perfugerat. Compare on Janus Hor., *Sat.*, 2. 3. 18.

As for the actual construction of the necessarily small tribunal at or around the Scribonianum, we are left largely to conjecture. spite of the round puteal, found at Veii (Benndorf und Schöne, Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums, p. 307, no. 440), which may be a partial reproduction of the Scribonianum, a good argument can be made for the theory that the latter was rectangular.2 The tribunal may have been a stept platform with accommodation on it for the practor and others, although our portly Horace feared that he would have to stand. In times of riot when barricades or firewood were needed, the benches, tables and other furniture of the practors' courts were so readily available that we must conclude that places for trials were anything but stable.3 We hear of a tribunal Aurelium which is likely to have been the same as the gradus Aurelii.4 These steps might be so packed by a clever litigant with noisy partisans as to incapacitate his opponent; witness, the experience described by Cicero in his Pro Cluentio, 34. 93.

But the course of our argument as well as chronology requires us to continue now our history of the basilica. In 34 B.C., according to Dio Cassius (49, 42), the consul L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, i.e., the moneyer of B.C. 54, brought to completion at his own expense and dedicated την στοάν την Παύλου καλουμένην, 5 Paullus of the Greek

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scholars are not in agreement about this; see Thédenat, p. 148; De Ruggiero, p. 72.

p. 72. <sup>g</sup> Grueber, I, p. 419. For a comparison of the representations see Huelsen, Forum und Palatin, Abb. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For cremations we may compare Asconius, in Milonianam 34 (Clodius); Suet., Caes., 84. 3, Plut., Caes., 68. 1 (Julius Caesar); for riotous proceedings, Cic., in Vatin, 9. 21. The best representation of a stept tribunal known to me is on a large bronze of Nero's coinage, W. Froehner, Les médaillons de l'Emp. Rom. n. 14. 77.

<sup>\*</sup>Jordan, I, 2, p. 405, note 123. Its degree of proximity to our Puteal Libonis is hardly to be determined. Huelsen, I piu recenti Scavi nel Foro Romano, appendice all' opera Il Foro Romano (1905), p. 28: accanto al puteal era situato un tribunale (tribunal Aurelium), etc.; see De Ruggiero, pp. 72-73; Platner, Topography of Rome, p. 270: De Witt, Class. Phil. XXI, 1926, pp. 221-222; and, best of all, Harriet D. Johnson, The Roman Tribunal, Johns Hopkins Diss.

<sup>6</sup> και την στοάν την Παύλου καλουμένην Λιμίλιος Λέπιδος Παύλος ίδίοις τέλεσιν έξφκοδόμησε.

being, of course, his father, who as aedile had begun work on the basilica in 55 B.C. Although the use of the term στοά is somewhat loose 1 and it is conceivable that Dio means by it the entire basilica. it seems likely that he is specifying the completion of the portico on the side towards the Forum. Even at a much later date, we seem to have a feeling that the Basilica Aemilia was, in a way, a plurality of monuments. Thus, under date of 22 A.D., we read in Tacitus, Ann., 3. 72: isdem diebus M. Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque, where the strengthener and embellisher of the building is the son of the Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, who had finished and dedicated the στοά in B.C. 34.

In the choice of that particular verb firmaret, I might say, incidentally, I think that I have found at last a solution for the puzzling anonymity of a passage in Dio Cassius, who is speaking apparently of A.D. 23, 57. 21. 5: κατά δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ στοὰ μεγίστη έν τη Ρώμη έπειδη έτεροκλινής έγένετο, θαυμαστόν δή τινα τρόπον ώρθώθη. The historian is referring to the Basilica Aemilia, or perhaps specificially to its portico, and its evil plight is more likely to have been due to an earthquake or to subsidence of the ever treacherous soil of the Forum region than to a fire.2

Our next notice is to be dated a score of years later. In 14 B.C. according to Dio Cassius, 3 ή τε στοά ή Παύλειος έκαύθη, where, I take it, the historian may again be referring specifically to the portico. The flames spread to the Temple of Vesta.4 Although the amount of destruction wrought by such conflagrations among edifices so largely constructed of fire-proof materials must ever be

κάν τῆ ὑπατεία καθιέρωσεν \* ὑπάτευσε γάρ ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους τούτου, where the choice of εξωκοδόμησε indicates that he was bringing to a finish work that his father had commenced: "It is the ground-plan of this structure which modern excavators have laid bare," according to the belief of T. Frank, Roman Buildings of the Republic, p. 67. On p. 74 he says, "To the repairs of 54 casually mentioned by Cicero as quickly abandoned, we cannot assign any material now in situ."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Latin, also, confuses basilica and porticus; see Gilbert, III, p. 256, and note 3. Of course, Greek of the imperial age can differentiate between στοά and βασιλική; compare, for example, Plut., Publicola, 15. 5: εὶ μίαν είδεν ἐν οἰχία Δομετιανοῦ στοὰν ἡ βασιλικήν ή βαλανείον ή παλλακίδων δίαιταν κτλ, where, however, the basilica is of a somewhat different type. But Dio uses στοά for porticus elsewhere: 68. 10. 2 èν τῆ στοᾶ τῆ Λιονία; 53. 27. 1: τὴν στοᾶν τὴν το) Ποσειδώνος ὁνομασμένην (of the Porticus Argonautarum); 49. 43. 8: τάς τε στοὰς . . . τὰς 'Οκταουιανάς (of the Porticus Octaviae); 55. 8. 4: ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίω στοὰ (of the Porticus Vipsania) and an unnamed portícus, 57. 21. 5. Upon the separableness of portico and basilica, one might cite various passages, e.g., in C.I.L., VIII, 794; 7037; IX, 2557; XI, 3614. 11; XII, 2533. 
<sup>2</sup> Gilbert (III, p. 221, note 3) suggested that a fire may have been responsible.

Dio's whole account deserves perusal by those who are interested in ancient methods of restoring old buildings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 54. 24. 2. 4 καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαῖον ἀφίκετο.

somewhat puzzling, it may have been not only the wooden roofs and ceilings but also the subsellia and other furnishings of wood at the projecting corner, where we have located the sessions of the court, that were chiefly responsible for the ignition of such a structure as the Temple of Vesta, far removed though it was from the basilica and itself difficult to set on fire. But the material glories of the Aemilian family were not to be allowed to remain in their fallen The building rose again, restored nominally by an Aemilius but actually through the financing of Augustus and the friends of Paullus.<sup>2</sup> Literature gives us no clue as to when this restoration was effected, but among the ruins we still see some huge blocks, beautifully engraved with a dated inscription, lying where they fell 3 and precisely where we have tried to prove that the puteal 4 and the tribunal were once situated. A study of its contents and their implications will enable us to round out our argument.

According to what is surely the original text L. CAESARI AVGVSTI F DIVI N PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS COS DESIG CVM ESSET ANN NAT XIIII AVG SENATVS, the inscription 5 was cut in 2 B.C. by senatorial decree in honor of Lucius Caesar, when, although he was only fourteen years of age, he was consul designatus and augur. Although the tribute to Lucius may once have had a companion-piece in honor of his brother Gaius, and we may associate with this epigraph others concerned with the brothers which were found nearby,6 and there is now set up near them a beautifully cut inscription in honor of Augustus, which was found in mediaeval constructions at the other end of the ruins of the basilica,7 yet we cannot safely assume that they all belonged to some separate monument in honor of the Augustan family that once stood in

1 Of course, we must recognize that the rescue of the sacred objects does not necessarily mean that the building was burned down.

2 Dio Cassius, 54. 24. 3: ή μεν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀνόματι μεν ὑπ' Αἰμίλιου, ἐς ὂν τὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντός ποτε αὐτήν γένος ἐληλύθει, τῷ δὲ ἔργφ ὑπό τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ὑπό τῶν τοῦ Παύλου φίλων ἀνφκοδομήθη.

3 After many examinations of the position of these pieces I can see small likelihood that they were merely assembled here for burning in a lime-kiln. very heavy and there is a certain matching of the fragments that would be explicable upon the theory of a fall. Yet compare for a contrary view Lanciani, Bull.

Com., 1899, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> While puteal is, of course, the proper term for a well-curbing and in the case of a spring it might partake of a sacred character, as exemplified by the Puteal Iuturnae 1899, p. 190. (D. S., s.v. Puteal, p. 779), the identification of the well at the southeast corner of the ruins of the Basilica Aemilia as the Scribonianum is quite impossible. Miss Van Deman (pp. 24 and 27) ignores entirely what was unquestionably the character of the Scribonianum, as we have shown above, and we find a similar error in Huelsen, Forum und Palatin, p. 41.

A useful picture of the fragments, photographed from above, is to be found in

the Bull. Com., XXXI (1903) p. 84, fig. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Röm. Mitt., XIV (1899), pp. 260–261.

<sup>7</sup> Huelsen, Röm. Mitt., XX (1905), p. 60; Forum und Palatin, p. 40.

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front of the Temple of Divus Julius.1 In the first place, there is no literary record of what would have been a most important memorial. Again, a position in front of a building that had a rostra 2 from which orators addressed the crowd would be most inappropriate. We must rather direct our investigation along other lines. Long ago Gatteschi 3 conjectured that Augustus not only made the restoration of the basilica financially possible, but gratified his well-known passion 4 for honoring his grandsons Gaius and Lucius by inscribing with their names the portico that had just been rebuilt along the Forum side. The exquisitely engraved blocks to which we have referred would then be a part of that tribute. The date is B.C. 2.

But I am rather inclined to query this theory of Gatteschi. The στοά of the basilica continued to be called by the name of Paullus, and the broken inscription obviously lies precisely where it fell in that projecting pavilion that inspired this investigation. This was not where the portico of the basilica, as a portico, would display its honorary title, but rather somewhere in the middle,6 and one need not be an architect to see, after viewing the surviving fragments of its entablature, that the memorial to Lucius would have no structural fitness there. It seems safer to assume that the Julian porch that was dedicated to the Julii Gaius and Lucius 7 was, in a way, an architectural unit, namely that projecting structure itself 8 which had taken the place of a similar one which the fire of 14 B.C. destroyed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This theory was advanced by Richter, p. 361, Huelsen, Röm. Mitt., XX (1905),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Suet., Aug., 100; cf. Dio, 56. 34. <sup>3</sup> Bull. Com., XXVII (1899), p. 120. Compare Vaglieri, Bull. Com., XXXI (1903), p. 87, note. Thédenat, p. 143, and Miss Van Deman make no reference to this earlier work. The view is also referred to by E. Burton Brown, Recent this earlier work. The view is also referred to by E. Burton Brown, *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum*, p. 142.

So we have his statement in the *Mon. Ancyr.*, 20: Forum Iulium et basilicam

quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni coepta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio ampliato eius solo sub titulo nominis filiorum meorum incohavi et si vivus non perfecissem perfici

ab heredibus iussi. Compare also Suet., Aug., 29. 4.

<sup>5</sup> It seems to be this same Dio's name for it in his own day; compare the present participle 49. 42. 2 (cf. 54. 24. 2 and 3). If, indeed, such an important element of the basilica as the entire portico on the Forum side had borne the separate name of Julia, one might expect it to have been so specified in such passages as the one in Plutarch's Galba, 26. 3, where the horsemen as well as infantry seem to have charged into the Forum through it.

The hypothesis has been advanced that our pavilion or porch was a sacellum to Lucius to which there was another corresponding to it at the southwest end of the basilica in honor of Gaius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Compare, however, Richter, p. 361; see, too, Huelsen, Forum und Palatin,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> I came to this conclusion independently of what seems to be the same view in Huelsen's new book, *Forum und Palatin*, p. 40. Die Osthalle wurde von diesem Denkmal der Kaiserdynastie gelegentlich Porticus Julia genannt. I am, however, rather inclined to believe that Julia was its regular name.

The Aemilians had not only built and rebuilt the basilica through so many generations but had also undoubtedly appropriated as much as possible of its halls and ambulatories for memorials glorifying their family. If Augustus was to receive anything in return for his money in the way of a monument to his own, he would have to have recourse to something as separable as this little porticus Julia. Thédenat 1 believed that it was the memorial to Gaius and Lucius that Ovid 2 had in mind, when he speaks of the templa of the brothers whom their grandfather Julius Caesar could see (metaphorically, at least) in sculptured form from his high temple just across the street:

Quem pia vobiscum proles comitavit ovantem, Digna parente suo nominibusque datis Fratribus adsimilis quos proxima templa tenentes Divus ab excelsa Julius aede videt.

But I am afraid that his templa must refer to the one which housed those more famous brothers, Castor and Pollux.

Huelsen thought 3 that in this Porticus Julia we may have the Chalcidicum to which Vitruvius refers in the following passage (5. 14): sin autem locus erit amplior in longitudine chalcidica in extremis constituantur uti sunt in Julia Aquiliana, where he would change Aquiliana to Aemiliana.4 This theory perhaps implies that there was a similar structural element at the other end of the Basilica Aemilia. But we can hardly say that the spatial conditions on this north side of the Forum were like those prescribed by Vitruvius. good example of a chalcidicum seems rather to be that ante-room which ends the Basilica of Maxentius on the east.5

We have now brought the history of the Basilica Aemilia down to about the beginning of the Christian era. Under date of 12 A.D. we find the following in Dio Cassius, 56. 27. 5: ή τε στοὰ ή Ἰουλία 6 καλουμένη ώκοδομήθη τε ές τιμήν τοῦ τε Γαΐου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καισάρων καὶ τοτε καθιερώθη. At first thought, one might be tempted to take this chronicle of Dio as a reference to our porticus

<sup>3</sup> See Röm. Mitt., VIII (1893), p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> It is usual to insert et between the adjectives, as Reber proposed.

<sup>5</sup> Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome, II, p. 226. For a basilica with a chalcidicum at both ends see Guhl and Koner, p. 417, fig. 429.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thédenat, p. 143. <sup>2</sup> Ex Ponto, 2. 2. 81

<sup>6</sup> Here the emendation of λιονία of the manuscript tradition to Ἰονλία by Merkel (on Ovid, Faste, p. 141) is certain: Jordan, III, p. 315, note 77. There was, to be sure, a Porticus Liviae at Rome, built by Vedius Pollio and dedicated in 7 s.c., but it cannot come into consideration here, nor, are we concerned in our investigation with the porticus deorum (Gatti, Bull. Com., XXVII (1899), p. 142; Borsari, Bull. Com., XIII (1885), pp. 87-88), nor with the porte of the temple of Divus Julius (Jordan, Hermes, VII (1873), p. 285; Nichols, The Roman Forum, p. 129).

Julia. But, unfortunately for such an hypothesis, that inscription to Lucius belongs fourteen years before, and it is reasonable to think that the restorations of the Basilica Aemilia after the fire of 14 B.C. date at least that far back. We must rather refer the passage to the basilica on the other side of the Forum, the Julia, which Jerome tells us 1 was dedicated in 46 B.C. It was then, however, destroyed by fire and it devolved on Augustus to rebuild it.2 As we have already noted, there is often a certain separableness in a basilica and its porticus, and so we have in Suetonius' reference (Aug. 29. 4) the coördination of those words by a que: quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli, and in our passage of Dio an allusion to the dedication of the portico to the brothers. At the time to which he refers the main basilica had yet to be completed. For both of them together, the terminology that was to prevail was the original one: it was much easier to say Basilica Julia.

If, now, we have the porticus Julia of the Basilica Aemilia surely located, we have also definite knowledge of where the Puteal Libonis lay; for we read in the Scholiast on Persius, 4. 49: facenatores ad puteal Scribonii Libonis, quod est in porticu Julia ad Fabianum arcum, consistere solebant.<sup>3</sup> That further information, however, that this was near the arcus Fabianus provides but an elusive landmark; for our ancient authorities aresort to points of definition that might put that monument at either the northeast or the southeast corner of the Forum, locating thereby the beginning of the Sacra Via at whichever site it stood. But, fortunately for our thesis, the fragments of its blocks were actually found in modern times nearer the temple of Faustina than the temple of Vesta; Ligorio seems to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hieron., Chron., a Abr. 1971. Dio, 43. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We have the evidence in his Res Gestae, i.e., The Monumentum Ancyranum,

<sup>20:</sup> quoted in note 4, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> We might note here that in Urlichs, Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus, p. 38, P. Victor, Regio VIII Forum Romanum, there is a disorderly list, but we have this succession: Ludus Aemilius (which probably stands for the Basilica Aemilia), Julia porticus (which Urlichs assumes is the Basilica Julia), Arcus Fabianus Puteal Libonis. Iam duo celebris mercator locus. Regia Numae . . . Basilica

Pauli cum Phrygiis columnis.

Compare, e.g., Ps. Ascon. in Verr., 1. 19. 133 (Stangl, p. 211. 17) ad ipsum fornicem Fabianum. Fornix Fabianus arcus est iuxta Regiam in Sacra Via; Pollio, Vita Salonini, 1: fuit statua in pede montis Romulei, hoc est ante sacram viam inter templum Faustinae ac Vestam (mss. intra templum Faustinae adventam) ad arcum Fabianum. Schol. Gronov. B. (Stangl., p. 336, line 22) in Act. I in C. Verrem, 19: ad ipsum fornicem Fabianum Arcus est prope Vestam, etc. Schol. Gronov. C. (Stangl., p. 350, line 4) in Act. I in C. Verrem, 19: vidit ad ipsum fornicem Fabianum Sacram ingredientibus viam post templum Castoris, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jordan, I, 2, p. 210, note 44. On the 16th century witnesses to the site of the Fornix consult Richter, Die Augustusbauten auf dem Forum Romanum, Jb. Arch. Inst., IV (1899), p. 149. Marliani, Urbis Romae Topographia, p. 42: arcum

have seen its remains on that side of the temple of Divus Julius before they were dissipated; 1 and the place where it stood appears to be definitely indicated by tufa blocks 2 forming part of the pavement between the temple of Divus Julius and the very projection of the basilica that we have long been discussing, nor is it perhaps undeserving of note that it was about the time that we think the Puteal Libonis was first included within the groundplan of the Basilica Aemilia that the Fornix Fabianus itself was undergoing restorations 3 by one of the Fabii, curule aedile in 56 B.C.

This rounds out our argument, but we should perhaps finally consider the possibility that, matching our porticus at the eastern end of the Basilica Aemilia, was another at the western, either constituting a special shrine of honor for Gaius,4 or including, on another theory,5 the famous little temple of Janus. In the latter case, we should have another instance of an irremovable shrine included in a later structure and in either case we should have that symmetry which we rather look for in an ancient building.

Unfortunately, the vicissitudes of time have left the actual remains of the west end of the basilica in such a state as to defy a decision based upon them alone. Countless discussions have been written upon the location of the two-faced deity6 and we have, of

Fabianum apud hoc templum (Antonini et Faustinae) stetisse asserit Tremellius cuius reliquias proximis annis vidimus effodi . . in quo fuerant scuta et signa eius victoriae Fabricius, *Roma*, p. 138 (1150): arcus Fabii in sacra via, cuius fundamenta, cum in urbe essemus, effodi dicebantur prope S. Laurentium in Miranda; in eo scuta et signa victoriae fuerunt sculpta.

Van Deman, Journal of Roman Studies, XII (1922) pp. 27–28.
 This appears on Miss Van Deman's plan, Journal of Roman Studies, 1922, fig. 1. If the arch stood here, the preposition ad localizing the puteal with relation

to it, would certainly put it inside the porticus.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.L., I, 606, p. 178; cf. VI, 1303. L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor at Pydna, seems to have had one of the elogia. On the Fornix see Not. d. Scaw., 1882, pp. 222 ff.; Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds Sechzigstem Geburtstage, pp. 423–430.

<sup>4</sup> So Thédenat conjectured pp. 143 and 355, marking their aedicula on his plan, fig. 52, p. 253, as 5 and 7. But he, of course, believed that the whole stretch of στοά along the Forum constituted their monument.

<sup>5</sup> This was suggested by Lanciani long ago, Bull. Com., XXVIII (1900), p. 7. See especially the excellent guide of Lugli, La Zona Archeologica di Roma, p. 69, and C. on his Tav. IV.

<sup>6</sup> The very plurality of the Iani has added to the difficulties; see a useful exposition in Nichols, *The Roman Forum*, p. 240. We may cite Porphyrio on Hor., Ep., 1. 1. 53: ad Ianos eos qui sunt in regione basilicae Pauli feneratores consistunt; Pseudo-Acro on the same: duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt ubi erant loca feneratorum; Pseudo-Acro, Hor., Sat., 2. 3. 18: Ianus medius locus dictus prope basilicam Pauli ubi vasa aenea venumdabantur; Porphry. Hor., Ep., 1. 1. 54: duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt ubi locus feneratorum, and, finally, with a duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt un notable change in the preposition before the word for the basilica, Porphyr. Hor., notable change in the preposition before the word for the basilica, Porphyr. Hor., Sat., 2. 3. 18: quia omnes ad Ianum in basilica consistebant feneratores. is not at all inconsistent with the statement of Livy, 1. 19: Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique facit. The very persistency of Ianus Medius into a period when the Argiletum, to the west of the Basilica Aemilia, had been partially transformed into the Forum Nervae (C.I.L., VI, 5845, 10027), is some

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course, well-known ancient picturings of his sanctuary. Moreover, there have survived from the fifteenth century drawings that represent what was then to be seen at that western end of the basilica. But none of the data at present available seem to me to point to a plausible conclusion. Suffice it, if we now have an acceptable reason for the construction of the jut at the other end, that southeast corner of the famous but still perplexing Basilica Aemilia.

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support for the theory that it was actually housed within the limits of that building. Compare Ovid, Fasti, 1. 257: hic ubi juncta foris templa duobus habes.

Huelsen, Röm. Mitt., XX (1905), pp. 54-57, and most recently and conveniently in his Forum und Palatin, pp. 38-39, and Tafel 19 from Monumenti Inediti, Vol. XII. The dimensions seem so limited that the structure suggests use as a sacellum. The size indicated has, indeed, troubled scholars, who yet do not doubt that the west end of the basilica is the location; see, for instance, Huelsen, Annali dell' Instituto di Corr. Arch., LVI (1884), p. 353. Of course, there is good evidence that the aedicula of Janus itself was small; Middleton, The Remains of Ancient Rome, I, p. 248. See Ovid, Fasti, I. 275 and, for the sixth century A.D., Procopius, De Bello Goth., 1. 25. 19. The question whether the space in front of the Basilica Aemilia on the south side was regarded as a sort of street of Janus is hard to settle in the affirmative. See Richter, pp. 106-107, on the view of Bentley on Hor., Ep., 1. 1. 54 f., accepted by Lanciani. Cf. Bull. Com., XVII (1890), p. 98; Borsari, p. 224.

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# A METRICAL INSCRIPTION FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF EUTRESIS

WHILE excavating a large house which had been built on the site of the Hellenic cemetery lying along the road connecting the town of Eutresis with Thespiai in ancient times, we found embedded at different points in the masonry of one of the walls, two inscribed stones. When joined they formed a metrical inscription in three hexameter lines (Fig. 1).

While the stone is broken off at the bottom and has suffered con-



FIGURE 1. METRICAL INSCRIPTION FROM EUTRESIS

siderable damage at the left edge, the inscription itself is complete, although the surface is much worn in spots. It is a white marble block 0.10 m. thick surmounted by a simple pediment. It is preserved to a height of 0.235 m. at the right and 0.35 m. at the left edge. Before the verses were engraved on the stone the surface was picked all over, perhaps to remove an earlier inscription; for although no

actual letters could be made out, there are lines on the upper portion of the stone which can best be accounted for in this way. It is a very imperfect piece of marble, and the principal break seems to occur along the lines of an ancient flaw. The top of the pediment is broken off and there are minor injuries to the surface which can be seen in the photograph. The stele evidently tapered towards the top, for it measures 0.41 m. at the widest point and 0.40 m. directly under the pediment. The inscription (Fig. 2) is, with the exception of a few letters, fairly well cut, but the spacing and the size of the individual letters vary greatly. Their average height may be given as 0.01-0.012 m. The form of the letters suggests a date some time not far from the middle of the fourth century B.C. It is not surprising that these verses, which aim at an epic dignity, show only one Boeotian dialect form ai for  $\epsilon l$  in the third line.

The inscription reads as follows:

'Ενθάδ' έγὼ κεῖμαι 'Ρόδιος τὰ γέλοια σιωπῶ [Κ]αὶ σπαλάκων ὅλεθρον λείπω κατὰ γαῖαν ἄπασαν αὶ δέ τις ἀντιλέγει [κα]τάρας δεῦρ' ἀντιλογείτω

None of the readings is doubtful except that of the fourth and fifth words in the third line. The fifth letter of ἀντιλέγει looks more

E NOA DE LAKEIN PONIC & TALEMINE INTO

AIETANAKANONE O ONNE ITAKATALAINATAEAI

LIJETIEANTINEI E PARTE YEANTINOTEITA

FIGURE 2. METRICAL INSCRIPTION FROM EUTRESIS

like an  $\alpha$  than a  $\lambda$  in the photograph, although on the stone there is some indication that the apparent cross bar may be a break. Fortunately we need not remain long in doubt, for any reading with  $\alpha$  is metrically impossible and  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$  finds its echo in  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$  Between the final  $\iota$  of  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$  and the  $\tau$  of the next word, it is possible, if we take the closest spacing that the inscription shows at any point, to restore two letters reading  $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}\rho\alpha s$ , which is not, I think, the "curses" familiar to us in inscriptions of this type, but the agrist participle of  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\dot{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ .

To turn now to the contents of the inscription, we are dealing here with the amusing instance of a rustic wit, who can envisage his demise with more equanimity than the certainty that his reputation as a humorist is doomed to oblivion. To be eaten by worms—bad

enough—but never again to raise a laugh among one's fellow townsmen nor tell a "tall" story, that is more than a man can endure. So Rhodios composes his own epitaph betimes, proclaiming with mock grandiloquence the loss the world will suffer when he, humorist and master mole-catcher, ceases his activities.

The inscription may be freely translated as follows, in verses which, I claim, do full justice to the awkwardness of the original:

Here I, Rhodios, lie, my jesting by silence o'ertaken.

Through the length and the breadth of the land I cease the destruction of moles Would you gainsay me? swoop down, and here in person gainsay me.

It is pleasant after the opening formula which we are accustomed to recognize as the herald of so many lugubrious references to early death, unkind fate, and farewell to the light of day, to find our deceased in such truculent humor. Perhaps he was a colleague of the Boeotian who in the Acharnians of Aristophanes comes to Athens to peddle his heterogeneous assortment of wares:

"I bring geese, hares, foxes, moles, hedgehogs, weasels, brocks, martens, otters —Copaic eels."  $^{\rm 1}$ 

The word ἀντιλέγει gains for us, perhaps, in humorous significance if we recall that it is used in solemn arbitration treaties in the sense of taking exception to a legal decision:  $^2$  καὶ ἐπελθόντων ἐη' αὐτὰν τὰν χώραν τῶν δικαστᾶν Καὶ κρινάν[των] Ἐπιδαυρίων εἶμεν τὰν χώραν, ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Κορινθί[ων τ]ῶι τερμονισμῶι, κτλ.

Instead of  $\kappa a \tau \dot{a} \rho a s$  a simple reading with  $\delta \epsilon \hat{v} \rho o$  would be  $\kappa a \tau a \beta \dot{a} s$ . The stone, as may be seen in the photograph, is worn smooth at this point, and the lower part of a  $\beta$  may well have disappeared, leaving what appears to be a  $\rho$ . Personally my choice is for the figure, which, in spite of the fading out of the original meaning that the word  $\kappa a \tau a i \rho \omega$  gradually underwent, may still be sensed in the jaunty challenge, "Swoop down here to Hades you pestiferous bird who comes pecking at my reputation."

Whatever may have been in the mind of our friend Rhodios when he laboriously composed his hexameters, I venture to say he little dreamed that he would one day earn the gratitude of an archaeologist, delighted to find upon a tombstone, a sly summons to mirth instead of the eternal invitation to shed tears.

HETTY GOLDMAN

#### ATHENS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acharnians 878, translation of W. J. M. Starkie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dittenberger Sylloge <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Plato, Hippias Major 281A: Ίππίας ὁ καλός Καί σοφός, ὡς διὰ χρόνου ἡμῖν κατ ῆρας εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS<sup>1</sup>

# SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

EDWARD H. HEFFNER, Editor University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

# PREHISTORIC, ORIENTAL, AND CLASSICAL

#### EGYPT

The Pre-History of Egyptian Culture.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, New Series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 1–10, F. Calice gives a résumé of the theories regarding the history of Egyptian culture, the interrelations of Egypt and Babylonia, the relations of Egyptian, Hamitic, and Semitic languages, and the possibilities of a Western and Mediterranean influence on the development of the country, especially in the development of agriculture. The article is really a survey of the situation rather than a distinct contribution.

Two Ptolemaic Coin Hoards.—Edward T. Newell publishes in Num. Notes, No. 33 (34 pp.; 3 pls.) an account of two recent Egyptian finds of Ptolemaic coins noted hitherto only briefly in the Numismatist, Mar. 1924, p. 301. The Delta hoard comprises twenty-one silver coins, one of Philadelphus, two of Berenice, and the rest of Philopator. The finding of the rare Berenice coins (Svoronos, Nos. 989 and 990) in Egypt helps to disprove Svoronos' attribution of this type to the mints of Ephesus and Seleucia.

The Keneh hoard contained forty-three gold octodrachms, two gold tetradrachms, and over two hundred silver tetradrachms of Ptolemies VI, VII, and VIII. Important is the evidence of one of the silver coins of the hoard, assigned by Reichard and Poole to Ptolemy VII, and by Svoronos to Ptolemy VIII. Its presence in the hoard fixes it as belonging to the former. Newell dates the burial of the hoard at about 144 B.C., during the stormy period of Euergetes' return to Egypt. Drastic reprisals against those who had favored his predecessors forced many of the wealthy and influential to flee for their lives and property. Under these circumstances the treasure was probably buried.

"Pyramids of the Queens".—In C. R. Acad. Insc., July-Sept., 1927, pp. 188-193, Gustave Jequier discusses the so-called "pyramids of the queens" of the Early Empire, these being the small pyramids built near, and within the enclosure of, the great pyramids. There have been found small pyramids of the actual queens, tombs at a distance from the King's pyramid and possessing the complete installation for the cult of the dead. These so-called "queens' pyramids" on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor Heffener, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor Samuel E. Bassett, Professor Carroll N. Brown, Miss Mart Buckingham, Professor Sidnet N. Deane, Professor Robert E. Denoler, Mrs. Edith Hall Dohan, Professor Hanold N. Fowler, Dr. Stephen B. Luce, Professor Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Professor Clarence Manning, Professor Elmer T. Merrill, Professor Lewis B. Paton, Professor Homer F. Rebert, Professor John C. Rolfe, Professor John Shapley, Professor Frank G. Speck, Professor Francis J. Tschan, Professor Azel J. Uppvall, Professor Shirley Weber, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after December 31, 1927.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see Vol. xxx, 1. p. 124.

the other hand, as, for instance, those near the greater structures of Pepi and Teti, have no chapel, no stele, not the slightest inscription; the sub-structure is like a rough well, not satisfactory for an entombment in either capacity or finish. Mr. Jequier thinks that such small pyramids, close by and within the enclosure of the greater, may have solar significance, either as an emblem or as part of a cult of which we do not know. It is hoped that new digs and new studies may solve this important question.

#### ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

A Geographical Document from Dura .- Among the remains of a number of light shields-perhaps made for parade rather than for actual use-which were discovered in 1922 at Salihfyeh (Dura) on the Euphrates, one fragment is of exceptional interest. It is a part of the leather or parchment outer covering of such a shield. In the centre of the circle was a painting representing two ships and some smaller boats. On the darker border surrounding this picture is a series of geographical names, accompanied by summary representations of buildings and of rivers, and by statements of distances in Roman miles. The first part of this itinerary gives the stages on a Roman road which followed the shores of the Black Sea from Byzantium to the Danube. Beyond the Danube the stations lead to the Tauric Chersonese. Thence the list is continued across the Black Sea to Trapezus and Artaxata. Franz Cumont, who publishes a study of the shield in Syria vi (1925), pp. 1-15 (colored pl.), believes that the list of stations commemorates the career of a legionary soldier who had a part in a campaign against the Goths in 238 A.D. The geographical data on the shield are derived from a Roman map, since the names are transmitted through the Latin, though the inscription is in Greek, and since the distances are recorded in Roman miles.

#### SYRIA AND PALESTINE

A Citizen of Beyrouth.—René Cagnat publishes in Syria vii (1926), pp. 67-70, two inscriptions from statue bases discovered at Beyrouth, both in honor of one M. Sentius Proculus, whose titles indicate a considerable political and military career. He belonged to that provincial aristocracy upon which the empire drew in the second and third centuries to fill vacancies in the senatorial ranks. He was honored by his fellow-citizens as a patronus coloniae. Neither the text nor the forms of the letters of the inscriptions makes it possible to establish the date of the subject with precision.

Latin Inscriptions from Syria.—In Syria v (1925), pp. 108–112, René Cagnat comments on a number of minor Latin inscriptions from Syria transmitted by M. Virolleaud to the Académie des Inscriptions. No. 7 in this group, which was published in the Corpus from a transcription by Cyriacus of Ancona (CJ.L. III, 160), has been suspected, but the discovery of the original stone at Beyrouth confirms its

authenticity

Notes on Hittite Cylinders.—In Syria vi (1925), pp. 205-214 (15 figs.), J. Six has a series of notes relating to the interpretation of certain motives in representations on intaglio seal-cylinders of Hittite origin. (1) The interlaced spiral frequently signifies running water. But spirals on Mycenaean ceilings seem sometimes intended to represent the sea of clouds above. (2) A garment represented as with a large lozenge pattern is probably to be understood as copied from a corded fabric. (3) An implement represented on two seals is a key, and the god who holds it is god of the thunder; the key indicates that he "opens the sluices of the heavens" (Genesis vii, 11). (4) A sphinx with a female head shows the influence of Queen Hat-shep-su, the only Egyptian queen who was represented in the form of a sphinx.

(5) The two-headed eagle which sometimes occurs may be of Mesopotamian origin, but it became especially characteristic of Hittite art, and, preserved in the tradition of Asia Minor, it was transmitted through the Seljuk Turks to mediaeval Europe. Its occurrence in Southern Egypt is due to the Hyksos, who were Hittites.
(6) A representation on a cylinder in Berlin is probably significant of an astronomical myth in which the legend of Pasiphae originated. (7) The pose of a nude goddess on one cylinder so strongly suggests that of the Cnidian Aphrodite that M. Six conjectures that Praxiteles was not making a wholly independent innovation in his portrayal of the goddess, but was influenced by the iconographic tradition of her Oriental cult.

Samaria in the Time of Ahab.—René Dussaud has contributed to Syria vi (1925), pp. 314–338, (2 pls., 6 figs.); vii (1926), pp. 9–29, (2 figs.) an article on the extant remains and the history of Samaria in the period of Ahab. He gives a résumé of the results of Dr. Reisner's excavations on the site, so far as they illustrate the period in question, and discusses in particular the civilization of Samaria under Ahab, the remains of the palace and the fortifications of the city, and the evidence contributed by inscribed ostraka from the site to the history of the Semitic alphabets. M. Dussaud comments on a number of place-names of ancient Samaria, with suggestions on the identification of the sites in question. In a final chapter he reviews the epigraphic evidence regarding the stewards who gathered from the several districts of the kingdom the contributions in kind levied for the support of the royal house.

Seleucia on the Euphrates.—In Syria vi (1925), pp. 253–268, Joseph Dobláš argues in confirmation of M. Cumont's identification of the Zeugma of Strabo xvi, 2, 3, p. 749, with the Cyrrhestic Zeugma and with the site of Seleucia on the Euphrates. He finds support for this view not only in a comparison of this passage with other references in Strabo, but also in a passage of Cicero's letters (Ad Quintum fratrem ii, 10–12). An inscription of the second century not quoted by Cumont also shows that as late as the second century the place was still sometimes called Seleucia Zeugme. A statement of Theodoretus (Hist. Eccl. iv, 44) seems to imply that Zeugma was not far from Samosata, since a bishop is said to have journeyed from one place to the other in a single night. Theodoretus may have been incorrectly informed about the distance. But a postscript to M. Dobiáš's article quotes M. Cumont as saying that with good rowing the distance

down stream could be accomplished in this time.

Some Bronzes from Byblos and their Northern Origin.—In Syria vi (1925), pp. 16-29 (2 pls.; 9 figs.), Henri Hubert discusses the probable origin of a group of objects of bronze which were found beneath the pavement of the Egyptian temple excavated by M. Montet at Byblos in 1922. These include a hundred collars (torques), a hundred pins, some girdles, and a number of spirals. The temple is assigned by M. Montet to a date between the Old Kingdom and the Middle; but it may be in part a restoration of somewhat later date. M. Hubert inclines, at any rate, to date the collection of bronze objects in the period of the Middle Kingdom, about 2000-1700 B.C., a date corresponding to that of a house of the XIIth or XIIIth Dynasty found at Kahun in Egypt, in which torques similar to those of Byblos were discovered (Flinders Petrie, Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, p. 12, pl. XIII, fig. 18). The nearest analogy to the Byblos bronzes is in a series found at Koban, north of the Caucasus, and M. Hubert believes that the Byblos bronzes came from the Caucasian region. The reputation of this region in metal work was extensive even at an early date. Probably the Egyptians ordinarily imported only the raw materials for metal work from the north; but such ornaments as those of the Byblos find may have belonged to slaves who came from the Caucasus.

Sumerian Sculptures.—In Mus. J. (University of Pennsylvania), xviii, 3 (Sept., 1927), pp. 217–247 (17 pls.), Leon Legrain discusses the above subject. Three periods are distinguished: of Sargon and Naram Sin, about B.C. 2600; of Gudea, about B.C. 2400; of the Third Ur Dynasty, about B.C. 2200. The fullest development is reached in the Gudea period, marked by simplicity and soberness realized in large, smooth surfaces. A national type is achieved, very different from the Egyptian; the proportions are ungainly, but the modelling, especially of the nude parts, is very naturalistic. The physiognomy and physique of the Sumerian statuary are treated in some detail in the discussion. Types and positions of statues are described; the feminine statuette was not rare, even approximating the classic Greek in grace. In the third period, especially, there is a softening and refinement, seen in folds of garments, etc.

There follows a series of plates with descriptive press beautifully illuminating the best work between B.C. 2600 and 2100, most of it having been discovered by the joint expedition of the British and University of Pennsylvania Museums. The titles of the series are: (1) white marble head of a girl with inlaid eyes (2 pls.); (2) black diorite statue of Ningal (3 pls.); (3) a diorite statue of the goddess Bau (2 pls.); (4) a headless statue from Nippur (2 pls.); (5) a limestone statuette of a woman worshiper wearing the figured shawl (2 pls.); (6) a daughter of Sargon, high priestess of Ur (2 pls.); (7) a diorite head of Gudea (2 pls.); (8) head with turban (Gudea type) found at Nippur (1 pl.); (9) worshiper offering a lamb or kid (1 pl.).

A Thiasos at Palmyra.—In Syria vii (1926), pp. 128–141 (pl.), Harald Ingholt publishes with detailed interpretation and commentary an interesting Aramaic inscription discovered at Palmyra in the course of Dr. Ingholt's archaeological mission of 1925. The inscription commemorates the presidency of one Jarhai Agrippa in a thiasos, the object of whose cult is not revealed in the inscription. We learn that the association had a considerable number of officers: a symposiarch, priests, a secretary, a chief cook, and a head butler.

Three Statuettes of Aphrodite.—In Syria vi (1925), pp. 303-313 (4 pls.), ÉTIENNE MICHON discusses three bronze statuettes of Aphrodite which were discovered in Syria and which once belonged to the collection of Joseph Durighello. (1) The first of these, of the type of the Venus pudique, was acquired by the Louvre in 1893, and was published in the Mon. Piot i, 1894, pp. 150-164. Although not without some stiffness of style and some negligence of detail, the statuette is clearly to be ranked above the class of cheap commercial bronzes. The head recalls the large bronze head of Aphrodite from Armenia in the British Museum. (2) The second figure, which was sold at auction, stands with the weight on the left foot, the right drawn far back, the head considerably inclined. The workmanship is somewhat less fine than that of the statuette in the Louvre. The proportions of the figure are more slender than those of most representations of the (3) The most distinguished work of the three is a figure of a Syrian Aphrodite. crouching Aphrodite, which was acquired by the Georges Petit Galerie. The head has a strong resemblance to that of the Cnidian Aphrodite. But M. Michon refrains from any attempt to connect the type of the statue with a celebrated artist. The style of the modelling is naturalistic and vigorous; the plenitude of the bodily forms is characteristic of the Syrian goddess.

Tomb Sculptures from Palmyra.—In  $Mus.\ J.$  (University of Pennsylvania), xviii, 4 (Dec., 1927), pp. 325–350 (15 pls.), Leon Legrain discusses the above subject. A fascinating description of modern sites leads gracefully into a fine review of the history of the city of Zenobia and her times. A tax list of the Roman period is furnished and commented upon. The description of typical tombs, which

follows, leads to the discussion proper, a study and characterization of fifteen Palmyrene busts, largely fragments cut out of larger works on sarcophagi, etc., that were brought to the University of Pennsylvania Museum from Palmyra by Dr. John P. Peters in 1890. The paper furnishes a valuable summary of an art rarely commented upon—a combination of Oriental and Greek influences in the East before the Byzantine period. The best collection of Palmyrene sculpture is in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.

TYRE.—In Num. Notes, 34, Edgar Rogers continues Newell's work on the Seleucid coinage of Tyre from the reign of Alexander Balas onward through the

second reign of Demetrius II (125 B.C.).

#### ASIA MINOR

A Disputed Anatolian Relief.—A marble relief of three figures, published by Sir William Ramsay in his *Revolution in Turkey*, 1909, and there described as "extremely ugly and devoid of the faintest artistic merit," is declared by W. M. Calder to be a very recent forgery (*J.H.S.* xlvii (1927), pt. ii, pp. 178–179; 2 figs.). Its genuineness and its great value as a monument of the little-understood old Anatolian (pre-Mithraic) religion, are upheld by Sir William, *ibid.*, pp. 180–181.

# GREECE GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Cypselus Chest.—A new study of the Cypselus chest, with special reference to the archaeological evidence which has become available within the last twenty-five years, has been made by W. Vox Massow (Ath. Mitt. xli (1916), issued 1927, pp. 1–117; 4 pls.; 25 figs.). A brief discussion of the shape of the chest, its material, technique, use, origin, date, and arguments for confining the decoration to the frontal side, are followed by an examination of the different scenes which Pausanias describes, with an archaeological commentary on each, and a criticism of previous reconstructions. The author's conclusions are made clearer by drawings of his own restoration (fig. 25 and pl. I). Incidentally, new evidence is offered for the genuineness of the golden bowl with the dedicatory inscription of the Cypselidae, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: similarly shaped drinking vessels are pictured on two Corinthian vases.

Grave Stelai from Samos.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 63–85, D. Evangelios discusses grave stelai from Samos. Two fragments recently found by peasants, one abandoned by Boehlau and four more meagre fragments found by the writer, are first described. The prototype of such stelai is to be found not in Mycenaean or Geometric stelai but in eastern examples like the quadrangular stela crowned with an anthemion from Chorsabad. With this may be connected the Erythrai stelai and two Ionic stelai in Athens and one in New York. The anthemion of the Chorsabad type, however, is followed more closely in the Constantinople and Boston stelai. From this Ionic type is derived the Attic. The volutes and anthemions of the stelai are not naturalistic, but show that same vivifying of Geometric forms which is observable in other phases of archaic art. The variations of the volutes and anthemions are described in great detail.

Greek Sea-Power, 776-540 B.C.—A study of the evidence for the history of the states of Greece and the Aegean during the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C. has led A. R. Burn to the conclusion that the puzzling entry of the very unlikely Carians into the chronological list of thalassocracies quoted by Eusebius from Diodorus, is due to a mis-reading of the name of Megara, in a mutilated portion of the text. With this change, the traditional list can stand otherwise unaltered, and approximate dates, supported by literary and archaeological evidence,

can be assigned to each of the successive dominations of the sea, from the decline of Phoenician power to the time of the Persian Wars. (J.H.S. xlvii, (1927), pt. ii, pp. 165-177.)

Macedonian Bronzes.—In Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 74–97 (4 pls.; 10 figs.), G. Οικονομος discusses some Macedonian bronzes in the National Museum, in particular two magnificent ornamental attachments of a bedstead, which he found in Pella in 1914 and briefly described in Πρακτικά, 1914, 141–143. The first formed part of the frame supporting the pillow. It is decorated at one end with a bust of Dionysos, and at the other with a donkey's head rendered with remarkable fidelity to nature and revealing the Dionysiac nature of the beast by the partially laid-back ears. The second which is of the same fine workmanship, is the figure of an eagle with wings spread and head turned to the right. Its use is undetermined: most probably it was mounted on the horizontal wooden bar which braced the legs on the side of the couch.

Other bronzes in the National Museum whose provenience is Macedonia include: (1) an archaic statuette of a hoplite putting on his greave; (2) a ring carrying two strigils; at the top of the ring the figure of a man in combat with a lion, in archaic style; (3) a shallow "cult bowl," almost exactly like one found at Herculaneum. At the end of its handle is a figure of a beardless human head surmounted by two ram's horns and two snakes. This has been identified as an Ammon's head, for which the ram's horns testify. The snakes, however, indicate rather a Medusa. Possibly there has been an amalgamation of types; (4) a bronze pitcher with a griffin and an Attis head at either end of the handle; (5) a Silenus head from a similar handle.

A Miracle of Achilles on the Island of Leuce.—In R. Arch. xxvi (1927), pp. 201–206, Jean Toletoi comments on the miracle which, according to Arrian (Peripl. 32, 33) and Philostratus (Heroic. xix, 17; cf. Scylax, Peripl. 29 f.), occurred on the island of Leuce, sacred to Achilles. Here the live goats which had been consecrated to the hero, when brought for sacrifice, voluntarily offered themselves to the slaughter. Similarly wild beasts offered themselves at the sanctuary of Rhesus in the vales of Rhodope (Philostr., Heroic. ii, 8). In Russia, in the villages of Pretchistoic and Komonev, district of Belozevek, the sacrifice and purchase of consecrated animals is associated with a similar legend. This rite is clearly a survival of paganism, perhaps arising from the sacrifice of an originally divine animal.

Studies in Cretan-Mycenaean Art.—Some Oriental elements, especially from Hittite and Western Asia Minor sources, can be traced, through a mass of details, in connection with the design on a ring found at Tiryns in 1915. The engraving shows a procession of four lion-demons bringing libations to a seated goddess, with rain clouds and the symbols of sun and moon overhead—apparently a rain-bringing ceremony. The scene is copied from a frieze, and not designed for the oval space which it occupies here. From a somewhat similar process of research it is inferred that the Keftiu of Egyptian wall-painting were Syrians, not Cretans. (v. Mueller, Jb. Arch. I. xlii (1927), pt. 1/2, pp. 1–29; 15 figs.)

#### **ARCHITECTURE**

On The Greek Theatre.—A very important contemporary piece of evidence for the construction of the stage-buildings in the time of the New Comedy (second half of the fourth century B.C.) has apparently been overlooked in recent discussion of the Greek theatre. On a bell-crater from Magna Graecia, now in the Louvre, is a picture of the scene in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides (ll. 1017 ff.) in which Orestes and Pylades plan with *Iphigenia* to steal the image of Artemis and escape from the country. The middle of the background, against which the two men are

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seen, is a long, one-story building with tiled roof sloping forward, and at either side is a wing projecting forward, with a gabled, one-story façade occupied by double doors, one half of which is partly open. These wings here represent the temple and the palace. In front of the left-hand wing the statue of the goddess stands on a stepped base, and in front of the other is Iphigenia in earnest conversation with Orestes. We have here the front wall of the skené flanked by the parascenia, exactly as seen in the foundations of the first stone theatre at Athens (built by Lycurgus in 340 B.c.) and in many other theatres throughout the Greek world, which can now be reconstructed in their entirety. This is the Old Attic, sometimes called the Western type of stage-building, and is perfectly adapted to the plays of Menander and his followers. In comedy the parascenia would represent the conventional two houses. The back wall, left blank in the vase-painting because the conventions of the art forbade the representation of perspective landscape, would be hung with painted canvas scenery, and various moveable objects could be added, such as a fence to divide the two yards. Since the action takes place at least partly in front of the front line of the parascenia, it is evidently on the level of the orchestra, with no raised platform. The rows of post-holes found along the back wall of the Lycurgan stage and in some similar theatres also along the walls of the parascenia, show that a wooden upper story could be erected when such a platform was needed for the appearance of a god or some other feature of the classic drama, which was written for the more elastic conditions of the fifth-century wooden building. The two-storied stone stage-building with colonnaded proscenium and usually without parascenia, a type perhaps suggested by some form of exhibition of which we are ignorant, first appeared in the East in early Hellenistic times, and after about 300 B.C. many of the older structures were rebuilt in this style, but both types continued to be built and used for several centuries. The original plan, by which the actual front wall of the skené was tangent to the circle of the orchestra, was adhered to, even when disguised by the erection of a proscenium. In the two-storied type, the proscenium either was used as the background for plays acted on the ground level, with architectural or landscape scenery on painted panels (pinakes) showing between the columns, or served as a podium for the narrow platform on its roof, when this was used as the stage. There is no reason to suppose that the two uses were not contemporaneous; certainly the proedriae, the seats for judges and dignitaries, are found at two different levels in some theatres. In late Hellenistic times the wall of the upper story was built with large openings, thyromata, to accommodate panels of painted scenery similar to the pinakes of the colonnade below, but larger. Perhaps two centuries later than the vase, but also from Magna Graecia, is the marble relief in the Naples Museum which represents a scene from comedy. Here is the same Old Attic type of onestory building with parascenia, but only the left-hand house, before which the

pp. 30–40; 2 figs.)

The Labyrinth Under the Tholos at Epidaurus.—The space inside the three concentric circles of heavy foundation walls which support the three members of the fourth-century round building at Epidaurus, namely the outer row of Doric columns, the cella wall, and the inner row of Corinthian columns, is divided by three smaller circular walls into a small central chamber and three circular passages, which are further cut by a single radial wall but communicate one with another, through narrow openings placed as far apart as possible. The labyrinth thus formed had no entrance, since there was no opening either in the encircling foundation wall of the Corinthian columns or in the pavement of marble tiles which

momentary action is taking place, and part of the back wall, hung with painted scenery, are shown. (K. Lehmann-Hartleben, Jb. Arch. I. xlii (1927), pt. 1/2,

covers it. As its walls are much deeper than any support that could be needed for this floor, they serve no purpose in the fourth-century building, and must therefore belong to an earlier structure, over which that one was built. This supposition is borne out by the difference in their construction. In the walls of the labyrinth, three courses of blocks equal the height of four courses of the fourth-century foundations. Moreover, these inner walls are smoothly finished on the outer sides, as if to be exposed to view, and they rest on a broader foundation, which projects both inside and outside their thickness. The opening in the outermost ring is cut into an arch at the top, giving a height of 1.624 m., and the section of the radial wall which bars the outermost of the circular passages is of rougher construction than the other sections, and not fitted into the walls which it touches. These are all indications that the building was not originally underground. It is clear that the level on which the new buildings of the fourth century were erected,-temple, altar, and tholos, -is an artificial terrace made at that time to carry out the higher natural level of the ground at the east. The original surface of the ground, with ancient buildings on it, remains as it was on the north, west, and south of the terrace, and is reached by a flight of steps from the adyton. Whatever the original purpose of this strangely built little round edifice, as it stood in the midst of the sacred precinct, the site was so sacred that the much more magnificent plans of the builders of the fourth century included a larger round building on the exact spot. Apparently it was at first intended to keep the old one in use or at least accessible, for the passages were not filled up, only such rubbish having been found in them as had fallen in accidentally. Undoubtedly the plan was changed in the course of the years over which the building operations extended, and after it was decided to give up the use of the old building, whatever entrance from above may have been left, was closed up by laying the marble floor without a break. Henceforth the old shrine was no longer to be seen, and the new one became the  $\theta \nu \mu \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \eta$ . (F. NOACK, Jb. Arch. I. xlii, (1927), pt. 1/2, pp. 75-79; 5 figs.)

Tower of the Winds at Athens.—In Byzantion iii (1926), 1, pp. 29-31, PAUL Graindor discusses the Tower of the Winds at Athens as the most ancient example of the roofing over of an octagonal ground-plan. The discovery, about 1926, in Tenos of a similar tower with an inscription, has shown that the Andronicus who was constructor of both was a native, not of the Cyrrhus in Syria, but of that in Macedonia, and indicates that it is not to the fourth century of our era in the East, but to the first century B.c. in the West that we are to look for the origin of this interesting structural device. Mr. Graindor believes the tower at Athens to date from the time of Julius Caesar. The system of covering over the tower was not merely decorative but constructive, being intended to relieve the weight of the superincumbent blocks.

#### SCULPTURE

The Form and Significance of the Seated Figure in Oriental and Greek Art.—In Ath. Mitt., xli (1916; issued 1927), pp. 119–219 (10 pls.; 16 figs.), H. Mößius publishes his doctoral dissertation Über Form und Bedeutung der sitzenden Gestalt in der Kunst des Orients und der Griechen, in which he traces the development of the seated type from the Stone Age through Egypt, the western Asiatic empires, Aegean art, and Greek art to the end of the archaic period. Ancient art tried to reconcile the typical with the real. Form and contents had a reciprocal influence. The seated posture was chosen, not because it appealed to the aesthetic sense of the artist, but because it was appropriate to the person and circumstances portrayed. Early in European culture sitting on the ground came to be regarded as ignoble. An artificial seat raised a man from the earth and gave him nobility. Hence the

throne was a token of sovereignty, like scepter and crown, and sitting on the ground indicated a humble state, either of social position, or of circumstance or mood.

Egypt preferred the seated to the standing figure in general, and excelled all nations in representing the human figure seated on the ground, which was the common posture of the people. The Asiatic empires had less interest in daily life; their statues were draped and not realistic, for they were inferior as observers of nature. Cretan art has no enthroned king or divinity; its few seated gods show Oriental influence, because they lack life. The vivacity of the Cretan seated figure is seen in both its pose and its freedom of movement. On Greek Geometric vases the seated divinity owes its origin to the Orient; mortals, sailors, and mourners, for example, sit on the ground. During the next period the strong influence of the East is seen in the "Oriental silhouette," with shortened torso, thighs lengthened, and the garment outlining a gentle curve from hips to feet, concealing the bend of the knees. Greek archaic sculpture, because of its debt to the despotic East, represents some divinities sitting who stand in later art. The Cretan-Peloponnesian seated figures show a union of Egyptian with Greek characteristics. The Branchidae statues, on the other hand, seem to be more closely related to Asiatic art. In the Endoios Athena Athena contributed the first seated statue which expressed energy and life.

Archaic statuary and vase-painting in their development have nothing in common; the latter relies entirely upon the outline for its effect. The art of the black-figured vases prefers scenes in which there is action rather than fatigue or repose (exceptions are the weary Herakles and the effeminate Dionysos). The seated posture is chosen to indicate authority or occupation or the custom of long tradition, for example, the suppliant on the altar steps. The figures which in archaic Greek art crouch or sit on the ground are monsters, satyrs, and the like, and drunken human beings; menials, craftsmen at their work, and children. At weddings and funerals, and in mourning generally, convention accounts for the lowly posture; suppliants and seers sit on the ground because of the symbolism of this attitude. It was not until the end of the classic period that the crouching figure was represented at the will of the artist and without some constraining influence of the circumstances.

Fragment of Inscribed Stele.—The fragment of an inscribed stele found in the Amyclaeum, and known to the public since 1912, was thought by Fiechter to belong to the sculptural decoration of the throne. It is rather a portion of a stele representing a young athlete, probably a discus thrower. That it should have been set up within the Amyclaeum indicates its unusual significance. Hence it is to be identified with the stele mentioned by Pausanias (III, 18, 5), which was set up in honor of Ainetos, a pentathlete who died while still wearing the crown of victory at Olympia. On the ground of technique it is to be assigned to the first half of the fifth century B.C. (W. Von Massow, Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 40–47;

1 pl., 1 fig.)

Marble Base in the Asclepieum at Athens.—The upper part of a triangular marble base, now in the Asclepieum at Athens, seems to be the earliest of a series of similar bases, of which the best known is the Neo-Attic base in Dresden. The base in the Asclepieum originally supported two figures, vis-à-vis, on either side of a large object, probably a vase. At the corners of the base were lions' legs. Its sides were ornamented with acanthus leaves, which developed into an ornamental vine at the top. The base is either of the fourth century B.C., or else an accurate copy of a work of that period. Its ornamentation seems to indicate that it came from the same workshop as the marble throne in the Acropolis Museum, the earliest of a series which includes the throne in the theatre of Dionysos, and dated by

the name of the archon probably towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. (H. Möbius, Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 117-124; 3 pls.; 1 fig.)

The Marble Euthynteria of the Parthenon.—In Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 125–127 (2 pls.), E. Kunze argues against the view (Ath. Mitt. xlvii (1922), pp. 124 fl.) that the marble euthynteria at the west end of the Parthenon was meant to be visible, as follows: the juncture between the marble euthynteria and the foundation of the earlier Parthenon at the northwest and southwest corners, and the working of the face of the porus blocks which the greater height at the west end made it necessary to insert under the marble euthynteria, give no evidence that the latter belonged to the visible superstructure. On the other hand, the blocks of this euthynteria which are in front of the west doorway, cannot have formed a seventh step of the entrance stairway, but must have been the foundation for the sixth step, since their faces are left partly rough and the joints are beyond the limits of the steps at either end.

Observations on the Cleaning of Ancient Bronzes.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 86-101, K. Zengeles publishes various observations on ancient bronzes. He first describes how the recently found statue of the Marathon boy was cleaned. No chemicals were used for fear of destroying the patina. The bronze was submerged in water which was frequently renewed and at the end distilled water was used. Into this bath, above the places on the statue which were most incrusted, was introduced hot vapor, and after a few minutes of this treatment the deposit was so loosened that it could be wiped away with a soft cloth or brush. The patina differs widely in color according as to whether water, sand, or shells lay next its surface. Here and there is observable a black lustrous coating with a slight purplish tinge. It is not the remains of silver plating, for on analysis it shows approximately the same composition as the bronze statue itself, except that more sulphur is present. The writer concludes that this dark lustrous substance is the remnant of an ancient artificial patina. The literary and material evidence in support of his theory is next examined and held to support his views. The artificial patina was used by the ancients for both artistic and practical reasons. As to the bronze disease which ravages so many museum specimens, it is not the result of a microbe, as has sometimes been held, but of a chemical reaction (which is fully discussed) that takes place in the presence of both salt and air. It is not found in bronzes recovered from the sea. For its cure the electro-chemical process of Finkener is better than Rosenberg's applications of thin sheets of aluminium, although the latter method may avail in cases where the disease has not too deeply invaded the bronze.

Relief in Myconos.—The fragment of a marble relief in Myconos, known since 1886, represents a covered deinos, with griffin heads on its shoulder, supported by an unfluted column. This representation is regarded by E. Von Mercklin (Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 98–116; 6 inserted pls.; 2 figs.) as the translation to a grave stele of a marble deinos which in Attica, like the lutrophorus and lecythus, served as a grave monument. Fauvel in 1800 saw six similar deinoi in an ancient cemetery behind Hymettos. Ten others are still extant, all from Attica or Euboea. They are fluted and, with one exception, show holes from three to six in number, for the insertion of ornaments like the griffin heads on the Myconos relief. With one, at least, were found the griffin heads. Fragments of columns which probably supported these vases have also been found, and other griffin heads of similar style. In type the griffins find the closest parallel on coins of Abdera, 408–350 B.C. The ornamentation of the deinoi and of a capital, which apparently belongs to the column supporting one of them, points also to the fourth century B.C. These deinoi originated in actual urns containing the ashes of the dead. Their form persists in

later times; for example, on the Tower of the Winds, Sciron holds in his hands a similar vessel.

Sculptures of Temple of Zeus at Olympia.—In Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 163–170, E. Buschor analyzes the sculptures which adorned the Zeus temple at Olympia, and on the basis of this analysis assigns the work to five sculptors, each of whom carved figures in both gables, and metopes of both the east and the west fronts. The west pediment shows a more developed technique than the east; the west metopes seem to be later than those of the east front, but earlier than the west pediment.

Some Notes on Greek Sculpture. -(1) That the Roman coiffure of tight "corkscrew" curls which appeared in the time of Claudius with three rows of little curls surrounding the forehead like a crown, and which grew to such huge proportions in the wigs of the later Flavian epoch, does not lack Greek, and even fifthcentury Greek, precedent, is seen in a beautiful Boeotian terracotta peplos figure in Budapest, representing a maiden whose delicate face is set off by a huge mass of braided hair trimmed with flowers and surmounted by a wide calathos. In the garden of the Villa Doria-Pamfili is a statue having the same costume and the same position of the hands (right hand lowered at the side, left hand raised as if to hold a veil or some other object), and here, too, the face is surrounded by a great sponge-like wig. Possibly the original of this type was a cult-statue in the sanctuary of Demeter at Phaleron. (2) The head of a bearded old man on a fragment of a relief in the Archaeological Museum at Florence, when compared with the similar head on the grave monument from the Ilissus in the National Museum in Athens, shows such a striking resemblance that it can be referred with certainty to an Attic grave relief of the second half of the fourth century B.C., and possibly also to the same hand, that of Scopas. (3) Some light is shed on the discussion of the portraits of Sophocles by the recent publication of a cast taken from the head of the Lateran statue before it had been "beautified" and reduced to commonplace by the restorer Tenerani. The original expression was serious and thoughtful, as if from experience of a life of sadness, but this character is smoothed out of most of the replicas, one of which, in bronze, from Leghorn, is now in the Archaeological Museum at Florence. The Lycurgan date of the type cannot successfully be questioned, but a predecessor and perhaps model for it, is to be seen in the bearded head in the background of a grave relief in the National Museum in Athens (No. 832), which is of about the year 350 B.C. (4) The most trustworthy ground for the conclusions which have been reached in regard to the development of Greek sculpture in the later decades of the fifty century, and their best defence against such subversive attacks as that recently made, on purely subjective grounds, by L. Curtius, as to the chronology of the Parthenon sculptures, is to be found in the reliefs on official public inscriptions: for these can be accurately dated, and with due allowance for the time that it takes for the products of great art to be reflected in these unpretentious works, they give the surest evidence that we have, for the dating of their originals and of other copies, especially votive reliefs. Instances of documents which can be profitably referred to are the Athenian honorary decree for the Neapolitans, 410/409, at Athens, the inscription of the year 420/419 at Eleusis, and the honorary decree for the Samians, 405/404 in the Acropolis Museum. (A. Hekler, Jb. Arch. I. xlii (1927), pt. 1/2; pp. 63-74; 8 pls.; 13 figs.)

#### PAINTING

Polystratus of Oration XX in the Lysianic Corpus.—Oration XX of the Lysianic corpus is in defense of a certain Polystratus, who had been involved in the revolution of 411 B.C. This Polystratus was a wealthy and influential man of the deme Deiradae, and his sons distinguished themselves in Athenian military service. The

deme Deiradae is located by inscriptions in the vicinity of Keratea. In the National Museum are three marble vases, two lutrophori and a lecythus, which bear the names of Philopolis, who is both the son and the father of a Polystratus, and a third Polystratus, whose father's name is not given. The provenience of two of these vases is unknown, but the third was found near Keratea. Hence it seems probable that the three vases come from the family burial plot of Polystratus Deiradiotes. Two of his three sons, mentioned in [Lysias] XX, are Philopolis and Polystratus II, and the former had a son, Polystratus III. The two lutrophori represent this son, Polystratus III, attended by a shield bearer with a peaked helmet, taking leave of his father, Philopolis; doubtless Polystratus III met his death in the Corinthian War, and was, therefore, a comrade of Dexileos. The lecythus represents the two brothers, Philopolis and Polystratus II, as old men. A woman, Stratokleia, appears on one of the lutrophori. Stylistic considerations assign the lecythus to about the year 380 B.C. The lutrophori are perhaps ten years earlier. (C. Blümel, Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 57-74; 1 pl.; 8 figs.)

Niobe.—Through a series of studies and comparisons of the various forms in which the representation of the slaying of Niobe's children by Apollo and Artemis has come down to us,—statues, especially the Florentine group, supplemented by the kneeling figure recently discovered in the Gardens of Sallust,—Roman sarcophagi,—neo-Attic reliefs, especially the round plaque in the British Museum,—the painting on marble from Pompeii,—vases, especially the fifth-century crater at Orvieto and the cylix in the British Museum,—with their manifold variations through adaptation, selection, and addition, E. Loewy has reached the conclusion that the original source of all these as well as of the lost version on the throne of Zeus at Olympia, was a wall-painting by Polygnotus, perhaps in a temple of Apollo, and quite possibly inspired by a scene in the "Niobe" of Aeschylus, and that the treatment in the round belongs to the Pergamene period of art. (Jb. Arch. I. xlii

(1924), pt. 1/2, pp. 80-136; 2 pls.; 23 figs.)

Three Amphorae in the Athens National Museum.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 102-118, M. Deffner discusses three amphorae which were long in the royal villa at Tatoi, but were transferred in 1925 to the Athens National Museum. One, a black-figured panel amphora, was presented to the late king, George the First, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, probably by a committee of Thebans. On the obverse panel are represented warriors fighting; on the reverse three men each armed with a club and carrying a chlamys. The other two amphorae are red-figured and were once the property of Joachim Murat, king of Naples. M. Skouloudes acquired one of them in Naples from his agent and the other from Lambros, who had purchased it the year before from the same source. M. Skouloudes presented them both to King George in 1881. One is a very fine column-krater with representation of a wine-press, a companion-piece to a columnkrater in the Vatican depicting the same subject but with this difference that on the Athens vase a satyr treads out the grapes in a large basket through which the juice oozes out into a trough and thence into a half sunken pithos, whereas on the Vatican piece the grapes which the satyr is treading out are enclosed in a wineskin. The writer thinks them to be the work of the same hand, but the Athens piece the later. Other evidence in regard to ancient wine-presses is cited. The third vase is a late amphora with a continuous frieze of figures interpreted as Meleager and his companions.

INSCRIPTIONS

Corrections in Greek Inscriptions.—In Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 16-20, A. Wilhelm publishes notes and corrections concerning fourteen names in Greek inscriptions which have been either wrongly read or wrongly restored.

Further Study of Six Inscriptions.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 50-62, A. WILHELM corrects and completes earlier readings of six inscriptions from various sources.

A dedicatory inscription to Athena Polias in the Acropolis Museum he dates in the fourth century, and before *Polias* he restores *Ergane*, thus confirming Doerpfeld's opinion that there was no sanctuary of Athena Ergane on the Acropolis separate from that of Athena Polias.

In a metrical inscription from Thassanous in the Rhodian Peraea Leonardos' reading ἐτ φάοτ ἀμά[των is altered to ἔσσαο σᾶμα[τόδε, and the second couplet, regarded as hopeless, is completed.

An epitaph from Macedonia, thought by G. P. Oikonomos to contain three hemistichs, in reality contains parts of three distichs, all of which are completed except the last line, of which only two letters are preserved. The first line of this inscription is a heptameter.

Two fragments of a late metrical inscription from the Cave of Pan, near Phyle, were thought by the late A. Skias not to belong with a third stone found years ago by a peasant and published by Wilhelm in 1896. The three stones are, however, shown to be from one and the same inscription, a dedication to Pan by three Thracian boys, only the last lines of which are now lacking.

Another metrical inscription from the same site, rightly recognized by the late A. Skias as the dedication of the well known Nikagoras, had been regarded as impossible to complete, since not quite half is preserved. The writer successfully completes it.

An inscription from Cephallenia had been regarded by N. I. Iannopoulos as a grave inscription, but the writer obtained an impression of the stone and emended  $\theta a \psi \epsilon$  to  $\sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon$ . The inscription is honorary.

Greek Inscriptions on Amphorae at Ravenna.—In Byzantion iii (1926), 1, pp. 251–252, P. Graindor discusses the Greek inscriptions ("wine of Scyros") on the long, pointed amphorae that form the cupola of the Baptistery at Ravenna. Galen is quoted (Med. Graeci, ed. Kuhn, XV, p. 648) to show that this wine was specific for fevers and would have been especially indicated in so marshy < and malarial > a district as Ravenna.

Honorary Decree.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 193—194, A. Wilhelm restores a passage, hitherto unintelligible, in an honorary decree of Roman times recently published by P. Graindor in Rev. Arch. (1917), II, 25, No. 14.

Inscriptions from Rhodes and Cos.—The inscriptions from Rhodes and Cos, published by Maiuri, Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos (1925), and discussed by De Sanctis, Riv. d. Fil. iv(liv), 57 ff., and by F. von Gaertingen, Gnomon ii, 193 ff., receive further critical comments from A. WILHELM in Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 1–13.

The Theminostratos Inscription.—The Theminostratos inscription (Klio xx, 466) comes, not from Crete, but from Calymna. It had already been published by Studniczka (Ath. Mitt. xiii, 188 f.), who, however, read  $\Theta\epsilon(o)\mu\nu\delta\sigma\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\sigma$ . The name Theminostratos is found only at Calymna.  $\Sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\sigma\phi\rho\rho\bar{\omega}\nu$  (l. 3) refers, not to a victorious athlete, but to the chief magistrate,  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\sigma\phi\rho\rho\rho\sigma$ , of Calymna. (A. Wilhelm, Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 14 f.)

Thessalian Inscriptions.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 142–193, A. S. Arvanitopou-Los continues his catalogue of Thessalian inscriptions (see id., 1923, pp. 123–162). Thirty-two inscriptions are here listed. Of these the first nine are dedicatory, if this term may be used to include lists of dedicators, of which there are three. The most important of the dedications is inscribed on a relief, with a representation of Zeus Keraunios. Beside him stands the dedicator's wife, which leads the writer to conclude that after his death by lightning, his wife set up this stone. With the exception of two or three grave-inscriptions, the rest of the list consists of manumission inscriptions.

Two Archaic Inscriptions from Thermon.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 119-141, N. G. Pappadakes describes an important archaic inscription reported to have been found near Thermon. It is written boustrophedon on either side of a thin bronze plaque, but the last lines on the reverse are from another and older inscription. The alphabet is west Locrian; the dialect north-west Greek with an admixture of Aeolic forms. The inscription records an agreement between Plakosulia and Liskaria in regard to the division of land between old inhabitants and immigrants. It dates from about 500 B.C. and is therefore earlier than the Naupactus agreement. It is important for the light it throws on the early stages of political

organization.

Tribute List of 421-420.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 41-49, A. B. West and B. D. MERRITT examine the tribute list of 421-420, of which three fragments are preserved. By reading Mevekles (instead of Mevekless) in the first line of the introductory text, to correspond with the spelling of TPLAKOGTES, which they establish for the sixth line, they fix the reading of the entire first line and so compute the width of the stone as 0.700 m. The lists themselves are written in three columns, the exact width of each of which is determined, as well as the relative position of the extant fragments. The list began with the Ionians, seventeen names being preserved in the lower part of the first column and seven at the top of the second column. After a gap, the length of which is also determined, follows the list from the Hellespont. The Thracian list began at the foot of the second column and ended at the top of the third, where five names are preserved. The authors think that the list of islands was placed at the end.

### COINS

Greek Coins of Syria.—In Revue Numismatique xxx (1927), pp. 1-50, A. Dieu-DONNÉ gives an analysis and description of the Greek coins of Syria in the Cabinet des Médailles, with running comment on the types and legends.

Two Greek Hoards in Egypt.—In Z. Num. xxxvii (1927), pp. 1-138 (6 plates), the late H. Dressel and K. Regling have made a study of two hoards of ancient Greek coins found in the lower Delta region in Egypt in 1901, at Damanhur and at Zagazig (Bubastis). The first hoard consisted of at least 191 coins and two chunks of unstruck silver; the second of at least 84 coins, five large silver bars and eleven unstamped silver pieces. The two hoards embrace a period of about 120 to 150 years of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. They are now dispersed, although a large number of the coins and all the unstruck silver reposes in the Berlin collection. Many of the coins have been already published separately or listed by dealers.

A marked characteristic of these hoards is that several of the coins and bars bear deep incisions in them made by a chisel and mallet to test the genuinc. 3 of the metal. Dressel has shown that hoards similar to these, found in the Delta, are not the silver supply of a jeweller, but silver taken into Egypt to exchange for grain, and awaiting distribution among the farmers of the Nile Valley. The widespread provenance of the coins, Thrace, Macedonia, the mainland of Greece, Aegean islands, Lydia, Cyprus, is an indication of the extent of the dependence on Egypt for food supply.

Many coins are found here for the first time. There are a number of coins attributed by Head to the town of Lete, the obverse showing an ithyphallic satyr seizing a nymph. Head's reading of the inscription, NOIAT [E] A is disputed by Regling, as is also the newer reading of Syoronos (Journ. Int. xix, p. 76)

NONISI). The exact provenance remains unknown, but he would place it in the Pangeum district in Thrace. Two remarkable coins having on the obverse three lions with open jaws and raised paws, in the form of a triskeles, and on the reverse a triskeles in an incuse triangle are discussed by Regling, who rejects in turn Lycia, Aspendos, and Macedonia as places of origin, and leaves the problem unsolved.

Regling's usual keen observations, and the wide geographical distribution of the

coins make this an article of unusual value.

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# ITALY GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Etruscan Sites.—In Mél. Arch. Hist. xliv (1927), pp. 91–102, Lieutenant Colonel Louis Langlois considers Etruscan sites from the topographical and military point of view. Immigrants who come to a country by sea naturally settle on peninsulas and promontories which are easily defended against attack from the land side and also afford good harborage, in ancient times with a beach for drawing up ships. Immigrants who come by land select for their fortified settlements, if possible, isolated hills not so near the sea as to be exposed to attacks from pirates, even though they may wish the sea to be accessible for the purpose of fishing and perhaps for trade. All Etruscan sites of any importance (many of which are cited) have the characteristics of places settled by immigrants who come by land. Whether the Etruscans originated in Asia, or not, they must have reached Italy by land from the north, not by sea, and their sea power developed after they settled in Italy.

The Lictors' Fasces.—In Rend. Acc. Lincei, serie sesta, ii (1926), pp. 521-531, L. Ceci discusses the supposed Etruscan origin of the lictor's fasces. Silius Italicus (Punic. viii, 483 sq.) says:

Maeoniaeque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis, Bissenos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces, Et iunxit totidem tacito terrore securis.

In a tomb at Vetulonia, called the "tomb of the lictor," the rods and the axe are in fact represented on a grave stele, but the richness of the burial indicates not a lictor but a lucumo. As against Rosenberg, who sees in this tomb proof that Silius was right, Ceci insists that the bundle of rods was the original and essential part of the fasces, that the crux was originally a rod or palus, and that the fasces, representing the Roman imperium, were introduced not only into Vetulonia but into Etruria and all Italy. Capital execution was not originally beheading, but rather losing one's life by hanging on the stake or crux; the axe was a sacrificial implement, reserved for the immolation of victims. So carnifex was originally the one who cut the victim into pieces, not an executioner.

The Ornamentation of Roman Lamps.—In R. Arch. xxvi (1927), 233–263, W. Deonna discusses the ornamentation of Roman lamps with regard to its meaning. Lamps serve the living, the gods, and the dead; they are employed in religious services, in divination, in magic, as talismans, and in symbolism. Lamps in the forms of deities or of attributes of deities were intended for use in special cults. Lamps are concerned with life in the night, hence their decoration with bedroom scenes of all sorts, with plants or animals or deities supposed to bring good dreams, with scenes or objects which, if seen in dreams, are favorable omens, and with other motifs which may have some relation to dreams. The decoration may consist of birds, such as the eagle or the cock, which are of good omen in waking life; it may also, often with an inscription, express good wishes, for lamps were frequently given as presents. Lamps were also used as talismans and decorated

with prophylactic signs and inscriptions. The light or fire of the lamp invites analogy with the celestial fires, hence decoration with forms of gods such as Sol and Luna, and with attributes and symbols such as stars and crescents. So too, for Christians, they may symbolize the Light of the World. They and their decoration may also symbolize the fire of love.

Proto-Etruscan Abecedarium.—In Rend. Acc. Lincei, serie sesta, ii (1926), pp. 492–520 (10 figs.), A. Neppi Modona treats of a proto-Etruscan abecedarium on a vase from Viterbo, in the shape of a cock with spherical-shaped body with rudely marked wings and scale-like feathers on the breast, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Modona compares this with other early Etruscan abecedaria and reproduces several of these alphabets. He concludes from the forms of many of the letters and from the full series of the sibilant signs, which he connects with their Phoenician originals, that the early Etruscan letters, at any rate, had no connection with the western or Chalcido-Cumean alphabet. The theory that the western alphabets were younger than the eastern he thinks very uncertain. He imagines that a large number of immigrants from Asia Minor brought the alphabet with them rather than that natives learned the letters from imported objects or from sailors and merchants. This would better account for the use of the full alphabet with many signs that were not used in representing Etruscan sounds.

The Roman Mile.—In Bonn. Jahrb. exxxi (1926), pp. 213-244, August Oxé writes of the Roman mile as a Greek invention. As Caesar probably used Greek engineers in bridging the Rhine, so Augustus and Agrippa used three Greek scientists in measuring the earth. The word passus (in mille passus), which the Romans understood as a "double step," Oxé thinks was originally connected with pando, a stretch or a fathom (Greek δργυά). So, too, does Isidorus (Metrol. Script. II, 138. 12) explain it (doubtless from an older source): passus etiam dicitur, quantum ambobus brachiis extensis inter longissimos digitos est. The author discusses now existing mile-posts and the distances as marked on them. Smaller posts seem to have marked the stadia, in Latium ten to the mile, elsewhere originally eight. The Latium mile table would be: 1 mile=10 stadia=1.48 km; 1 stadium=100 passus=148 m.; 1 passus=1.48 m. The ordinary Italian stadium, 8 to the mile, measured 185 to 185.5 meters.

#### SCULPTURE

The "Anaglypha Traiani" in the Roman Forum.—In Mél. Arch. Hist. xliv (1927), pp. 154–183 (7 figs.), WILLIAM SESTON discusses the "balustrades" with reliefs in the Forum Romanum. They cannot have been set up by Trajan, as is the generally accepted view, but must be associated with Hadrian's policies at the beginning of his reign. Their original position was on two sides of the enclosure near the column of Phocas, in which, as Huelsen has suggested, were the three sacred trees and the statue of Marsyas. The slab with the representation of the burning of the debts stood on the side towards the rostra aedis Divi Iulii, that with the alimenta on the side towards the rostra vetera. The dimensions of the "balustrades," and the marks on them and on what remains of the foundations of the wall of the enclosure, confirm this belief. These reliefs, commemorating the restoration of the sacred enclosure, were erected between 118 and 120 a.b., perhaps in 119.

#### PAINTING

Epichoric Elements in the South Italian Vase Painting.—In Archaeologiai Érlesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 11–37, MARGIT LANG considers the scenes on some of the South Italian vase paintings and points out how on the Apulian,

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Campanian, and other wares certain details have persisted which are probably due to native custom instead of to Greek influence. Among these may be mentioned the purple stripe on some of the garments and the consequent use of less frequent colors in the design; the Oscan and Apulian headdresses in which the hair differs from that on similar Greek vases; toilet articles; footwear, etc. There are differences between the various wares, but it is still too early to try to find the connections between the wares and the origins of the native peculiarities in subject as

well as in design.

Still-Life in Roman and Pompeian Wall Painting.-Still-life in Roman and Pompeian wall-painting,—its relation to Hellenistic art and to studio-pictures, its development and conventions, its likeness to still-life in modern art of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries and the difference of its aims,—is discussed by H. G. BEYER in connection with a piece of such painting in the National Museum, at Rome, which he endeavors, somewhat inconclusively, to assign to the second or the fourth Pompeian style. It comes from the house of Julia Felix in Pompeii, and belongs probably in the upper of the three sections of the wall, which it must have filled, with its height of 88 cm. inclusive of the stucco moulding at the bottom. In two long panels, one of them incomplete, we see standing on blocks or shelves of different heights, a deep bowl of transparent glass filled with fruits of various kinds, a smaller pottery jar filled with grapes, a sealed pithos leaning against the wall, a freshly killed fowl, a silver chalice filled with red wine, and some separate fruits, jar-covers, etc. The objects are painted chiefly in golden browns and soft greys, with purple for the grapes and a light blue background. They are all above lifesize. The painting is in the naturalistic tradition, with finely blended tones and effects of light, but the objects shown belong to a prescribed list, limited by convention, and are arranged for a decorative rather than for a realistic effect. The date is probably in the time of Augustus. (Jb. Arch. I. xlii (1927) pt. 1/2, pp. 41-62; 5 figs.)

Three Silver Cups.—In Rend. Acc. Lincei, serie sesta, ii, pp. 301–320 (11 figs.), M. Guarducci discusses three silver cups now in the museum at Bologna, found in 1832 at S. Domino. The cups are of different dimensions, from 6.4 cm. to 10.4 cm. in diameter, and originally showed traces of gold on the surface. After treating briefly of the two smaller ones, decorated with floral adornment in relief, he passes to a fuller discussion of the largest of the three. This is adorned with raised figures also: four masks lean against four altars, disposed at even intervals about the vase; between these are four animals, a deer, a lion, a bull, and a ram. The masks represent Pan, Silenus, and two Maenads; Bacchic thyrsi, syrinxes, etc., are also used in the decoration. Guarducci regards the vase as extremely important in tracing the history of the mask-frieze as a decorative element. He dates these cups in the first century B.c. and regards them as coming from Alexandria where the worship of Bacchus was peculiarly prevalent. He disagrees flatly with Drexel, who thinks that such mask-friezes are of later origin, in the time of the Flavian emperors, or a

little earlier.

#### INSCRIPTIONS

A Tiburtine Inscription.—In Rend. Acc. Lincei, serie sesta, ii (1926), pp. 448–471 (2 figs.), L. Ceci discusses the ancient Tiburtine inscription published in the Notizie degli Scavi (1926), p. 217, and beginning with the words: (m)ed mitat kapillor viged. (A new reading and interpretation of this inscription had been given by Comparetti in the Rend. Acc. Lincei for this same year (p. 268 ff.), but this was unknown to Ceci until his article was ready for publication. He briefly states Comparetti's position in a footnote.) Ceci reads:

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- III. ni [cidios] sø eti [os]. s[tatom. d[atom]
- IV. h [ercolei] vi[ktorei].
- and interprets:
  - I. Medullius mittit capidem or capides or Medullii or Medullini mittunt . . . . .
- II. in delubrum or in dapem. Finxit
- III. Nigidius Sphettius or Nigidius, Sphettius. Statum, datum
- IV. Herculi Victori.

Ceci regards mitat as=mititat, comparing agito; he cannot explain a subjunctive mittat. Capidem is a vase or urn. Luor=delubrum or dapem. Ficed=finxit. Nigidius Sphettius may refer to one or two individuals. The letter  $\phi$  was used by Sphettius as being a Greek potter. He dates the inscription in the sixth century b.c., regarding it on internal evidence as older than the Duenos inscription but younger than the Fibula Praenestina.

#### COINS

Copper Coinage of Selinus (Sicily).—OSCAR BERNHARD has made a study of the copper coinage of Selinus in Schweiz. Numism. Rundschau xxiv (1927), pp. 207–217. There is but one type of the struck coins, with head of Herakles on the obv. and bow and quiver on rev., which he would date shortly before the destruction of the city, in 409 B.C. After the destruction, a handful of people returned, and the place was resettled, but never again attained its former importance. It is to this later period that Bernhard would assign the few rare copper cast coins that have been discovered and attributed to this city. They bear the selinon leaf that is characteristic of the silver coins of earlier date.

Medallions of Constantine.—In Mitteilungen f. Münzsammler, No. 37, Frankf. am M., 1927, K. Regling corrects the dating of two gold medallions of Constantine (Cohen, Nos. 117, 118,) assigned by Seeck and Maurice to the Gothic war of 332 A.D., to that of the year 323. The laurel wreath of the emperor and the technique point to the earlier date.

Monetary Art in Magna Graecia and in Sicily.—In L'Acropole ii (April-June, 1927), 2, 6, pp. 81-96, Arthur Sambon discusses the above subject:—In contrast with Greek sculpture—usually viewed at poor second-hand in copies—the coins present the surest and most direct witness for the Greek sense of beauty. A distinction is drawn among siceliote, italiote, and indigenous arts in relation to those of Greece proper, the Isles, and Asia Minor. There were fairs held at religious festivals near the shrines themselves, where the bankers, who were often the local priests, struck off coins with the pictures of the patron divinity; there is thus an origin both from the state and from cult. The study made of the course of commerce in the Italiote Mediterranean, introducing good sections on the art of the coinage of the various districts of Italy in evolutionary development, presents a useful and stimulating summary of the art revealed in the numismatic material.

(1). Etruscan: the ablest merely copied the forms of Ionian coins, but is especially good in animals. (2). Campanian: the combination of Sabellian and Italiote art under Etruscan influence at the start and later under that of Alexandria. (3). Lucanian: again a combination of the Hellenic and the rude mountainous local type; later, Athenian refinement ("gem-like"—Poole). (4). Tarentine: its earliest is the best Italian work, originally Phalas on the Dolphin, etc.; later for about two centuries in honor of Dionysos and the Dioscuri, showing models of the Parthenon,

Pergamene sculptures, etc., with compelling spontaneity. (5). Bruttian: especially that of Crotona under the Praxitelean, Rhegium under the Scopaic influence, (6). Sicilian: the most homogeneous,—heraldic animals at first, then a development of five centuries under the influence of the great sculptors of Greece proper; a combination of local scenes of natural beauty with figures of the gods and athletes taken largely from the mainland of Greece.

This article furnishes in its brief compass an excellent summary of its subject.

Some well chosen plates would have enhanced its value greatly.

Roman-Sicilian Coins.—M. von Bahrfeldt has made a study of Roman-Sicilian coins of the time of the Republic in the Schw. Numism. Rundschau xxiv (1927), pp. 218 ff., that is supplementary to a similar study made by him in 1904 in the Rev. Suisse Num. xii, pp. 331 ff. In this later study he has availed himself of the intervening discoveries and brought the matter up to date.

#### FRANCE

The Calendar-Zodiac of the Western Portal of Chartres.-In R. Arch. xxvi (1927), pp. 207-232, Louis-Eugène Lepèvre discusses the calendar and Zodiac of the western portal of Chartres. They occupy the two archivolts of the left-hand (north) door, two signs, Gemini and Pisces, being, for lack of room, transferred to the right-hand door. The calendar begins at the bottom of the inner row at the left with April, to which Aries corresponds. In the outer row are July, August, and September, with Cancer, Leo, and Virgo. At the right the outer row contains October, November, and December, with Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius (Pisces here omitted, as is Gemini which corresponds to June.) This arrangement puts the six months of fine weather at the left, the inclement months at the right. At Chartres until 1567 the civil year began in April, as did the ecclesiastical year. Inconsistencies in the correspondence of the months with the signs of the Zodiac in the Middle Ages are to be explained by the lack of correspondence between the solar and lunar years and by survival of ancient habits. The Zodiac of Chartres is the Zodiac of the cult of Mithra, and it is probable that it is a survival of the Mithraic tradition. In mediaeval calenders the Works of the Months do not always correspond with the same months, but the variations are due to the real differences in the climate of different regions. In an appendix the Calendar-Zodiac of Avallon is discussed. Here the solar and lunar years are intentionally treated separately, and the signs of the Zodiac are not arranged to correspond with the months. This portal and that of Vermenton show the influence of Chartres or (which amounts to the same thing) Étampes.

#### SWITZERLAND

Ancient Marbles.—In L'Acropole ii (Jan.-Mar., 1927), 1, 5, pp. 5-12 (1 pl.), W. Deonna discusses certain ancient marbles in the Geneva Museum of Art and History (of which he is director). A male torso in the museum is assigned to a mutilated group in Rome representing Achilles and Penthesilea, a dedication by the kings of Pergamos (?). Of particular value and interest is a new head of Demosthenes (received in 1926) from Alexandria, "a copy of the first century of our era."

#### HUNGARY

Amphitheatrical Scenes on Stone Monuments at Intercisa.—In Archaeologiai Értesitō, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 122-136, STEFAN PAULOVICS discusses two reliefs, one of animals and one of a combat scene which have been discovered at Intercisa. It seems to be a work of the early fourth century A.D., and Paulovics

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assigns the combat to the gladiatorial games. On the other hand, in a supplementary note Dr. Hekler denies this and suggests that we have a scene from the Troian War.

Cultural Relations between Hungary and Silesia in the Older Bronze Age.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 70–84, Franz v. Tompa points out that the description of the Bronze Age given by Dr. Bolko Freiherr von Richthofen is, in general, true for Hungary as well as for Silesia. The cultures have the same general form. He differs from Richthofen chiefly in maintaining the existence of greater similarities in the pottery and in certain chronological data. The early Iron Age begins at about 1100 B.C. In general, Richthofen's work is very valuable.

Excavations at Szekesfehervar.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 245–257, Arnold Marosi reports the recent discovery at Szekesfehervar of 66 graves of the early Hungarian period which seem to indicate that the original Hungarians lived in small settlements. The swords from the Carolingian times are perhaps the most interesting remains found.

How Did the Gravestone of M. Herennius Pudens Reach Intercisa?—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series (1923–1926), pp. 114–121, Ludwig Nagy discusses the above mentioned gravestone which has been supposed to come from Intercisa, a municipium. There is, however, no evidence supporting the belief that Intercisa was a municipium. Apparently the collegium cultorum was not at Intercisa The reference is probably to the collegium in Aquincum from where the gravestone was sent to Intercisa. The stone probably is to be dated in the early years of the third century A.D.

Military Diploma of the Army of Lower Pannonia.—In Archaeologiai Érlesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 86–87, E. RITTERLING describes a diploma which is apparently of a member of the Cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum. He shows that the inscription refers to Lower Pannonia and not, as is usually explained, to Upper Pannonia.

Oldest Decorated Terra Sigillata Vases on Pannonian Soil in Hungary.—
In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 88–113, VALENTIN KUZSINSZKY discusses several types of terra sigillata which have been discovered. He analyzes their forms and concludes that most of them were not of native origin. The specimens date from the first century onward.

A Roman Gravestone from Este.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 57–59, F. Drexel illustrates a Roman gravestone now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest and known from Este in the seventeenth century. It represents a bound prisoner before a tropaion and bears the word Silene. The figure seems to be a German, and probably dates from the first century B.c., the end of the Republic. At the same time the inscription rather indicates a slave. At any rate, we have here a new and interesting representation of a German.

Urn Field from the Bronze Age in Zagyvapalfalva near Salgotarjan.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 60–69, Eugen Hillebrand discusses the discovery of a series of urns at this site.

#### RUSSIA

Athenian White Lecythi.—In Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 48-56 (5 pls.; 3 figs.), Anna Peredolski publishes eight Athenian white lecythi now in the Hermitage. Of especial interest is the fact that one of these is an exact duplicate, although undoubtedly genuine, of a lecythus in Athens (Riezler, pl. 36; Pfuhl, fig. 543), which Beazley assigns to the Achilles master.

#### NORTHERN AFRICA

Latin Inscription from Carthage.—In B. Arch. C. T. (March, 1927), pp. 9–44, in an account of the meeting of the commission of North Africa, is presented a number of Latin inscriptions (and one Greek) from the region of Carthage, with provenience and restorations, comments, and general studies added. A convenient and up-to-date supplement for the epigraphy of that region is thus offered. The inscriptions have to do largely with personal names and the location of small sites, but all assist in recreating a picture of Roman Africa of the imperial period.

The Limes of Numidia and its Syrian Defenders.—In Syria vi (1925), pp. 30-57 (pl.; map), pp. 118-149, JÉRÔME CARCOPINO publishes in detail the result of a survey of evidences of Roman domination in the extreme south of ancient Numidia. "In general," says M. Carcopino, "the results of my local investigation extend and define more than they alter the conclusions I had drawn from the inscription of Doucen and the works already published on the ruins of this region. Collecting in Syria the troops they needed for the fulfillment of a vast programme, the Severi perhaps intended to carry their military frontier along the line of the Chotts and of Oued-Djedir as far as Messad. They did not have time to establish it there, and the limes which crosses that river between Saada and Drah-Remel, follows it from Drah-Remel to the borders of the oasis of Ouled-Djellal, and then leaves it to turn to the north, did not receive its organization until the reign of Gordian III (238-244), an organization which, thanks to the Syrians who defended this line after the close of the second century, it was to keep until the fall of the Empire." M. Carcopino naturally gives special attention to the epigraphical evidence. His discussion includes these special subjects: (1) the site of Doucen and the fossatum Africae; (2) Sadouri and the limes of the second line; (3) the arrival of the Syrian troops in the late Antonine period; (4) the crisis of the garrison and its reënforcement under Gordian III. M. Carcopino suggests that the strain of Syrian blood surviving in this part of Africa may have contributed to the assimilation of this territory in the Mohammedan invasion.

Sculptures and Sarcophagus.—In B. Arch. C. T., May, 1927, pp. 12–15, in an account of the meeting of the commission of North Africa, L. Poinssor presents three notes: (1) The fine relief of Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates beside Dionysos entered at the Louvre in 1912 came from El-Attermine in Tunisia and not from Alexandria as declared by the sellers, but its material, white marble, would suggest that it was originally sculptured in Greece proper. (2) A report of two terra cotta heads of statuettes from the Karoubia, a head in red earth of the god Saeculum Frugiferum, and one in white earth, probably of the goddess Tanit, the latter much mutilated. (3) A large white marble sarcophagus from Thina, with finely treated sculptures in high relief, much damaged, representing a Roman sacrificial scene.

An inscription in the same number makes it appear that to the Emperor Gallienus is to be attributed the construction of the baths recently discovered at Volubilis.

Unpublished Monuments in the Museum at Lambèse.—In Mét. Arch. Hist. xliv (1927), pp. 119–153 (10 figs.), René Lugand publishes and discusses five monuments in the museum at Lambèse: (1). An altar bearing the inscription

monuments in the museum at Lambèse: (1). An altar bearing the inscription deo . patrio . libero . patri [c]onservatori . dominor(um) . nn[n]-(ostrorum) . augg[g](ustorum) . q(uintus) . ranius . cassianus trib(unus) . mil(itum) . leg(ionis) iii aug(ustae) . v(otum) . s(otvit) . l(ibens) a(nimo) . In line 4 an N has been erased, and in line 5 a G. The inscription must belong to the time of Septimius Severus when Caracalla and Geta were associated in power, i.e., between 209 and 212 A.D. Whether Liber Pater was deus patrius in the native place of Q. Rannius Cassianus or at Lambaesis remains uncertain. (2), (3). Two marble heads of Commodus, as a child and as a youth. The former of these is small and in bad condition, but

makes a better impression than the other, which is colossal and better preserved. Probably the former was carved in 166 a.d., when Commodus was made Caesar, the latter in 176, when Marcus Aurelius conferred upon him the title of Augustus. (4). A portrait of Julia Soaemias. This is a mediocre work, but the coiffure and the features, when compared with those on coins, make it certain that Julia Soaemias is represented. (5). A fragment of a relief representing the myth of Actaeon. Only a part of the figure of Diana is preserved. She is running to escape from sight. The attitude resembles that of the crouching Venus, but the form is rather that of Atalanta as represented in several monuments. (Cf. Pliny, N.H. xxv, 6.)

### UNITED STATES

Eskimo Pictorial Art.—In Mus. J. (University of Pennsylvania), xviii, 3, pp. 248–283 (12 plates; 2 figs.), J. Alden Mason discusses Eskimo pictorial art as shown in native line-carving on local ivories. As this type of work, peculiar to the Eskimo of Alaska, "was not native to Eskimo art but... the initial incentive < was > supplied by contact with the first Russian colonists," it falls outside the field of archaeology proper, but the article offers a good source of information on the subject. Many types of ivory instruments and trinkets are described and not a few beautifully illustrated.

### CENTRAL AMERICA

Maya Civilization.—In Mus. J. (University of Pennsylvania) xviii, 4 (Dec., 1927), pp. 315-380 (18 pls.), J. Alden Mason discusses the Maya civilization. people of Guatemala were probably the oldest of the higher civilizations of America, and were really more advanced in culture than the later Aztec and Incan peoples, who borrowed heavily from them. The Mayas had, however, passed their zenith when the Europeans first came to this continent. They alone of world peoples, says Dr. Mason, evolved a high civilization in a tropical environment, and that too without metal tools, wheeled vehicles, draught animals, or, so far at least as can be proved, any contact with the Old World. Their hieroglyphic system and their calendar were their greatest intellectual achievements. Much of their attainments, written in hieroglyphics on bark books was destroyed by the zeal of the Spanish priesthood, but some portion remains in the Book of Chilam Balam (in Roman characters), of which fourteen copies are known. From this comes our ability to correlate the Mayan calendar and ours, and to decipher, in a measure, some of the hieroglyphics. The system is discussed. Then follows a description of some of the great ruins with reference to the development of the civilization. The plates illustrate some of these ruins and also show some fine pottery described in the text, and forming part of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Collection.

# EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, AND MEDIAEVAL GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Circus and Astrology.—In Mél. Arch. Hist. xliv (1927), pp. 184-209 (2 figs.), P. WULLEUMIER discusses in considerable detail three Greek astrological texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries and their application to the factions of the circus in Rome, Africa, and Constantinople.

Icon Painting.—Knowledge of icon painting is still in its infancy. J. S. Hay and L. Bower, in *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 8-14 (8 figs.), point out that Early Christian art was a compromise between Eastern realists and Hellenistic idealists, the tendency being to draw away from the Hellenistic naturalistic method toward rigid austerity and stiff decoration. However, in the fourteenth century, under the

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Greek emperors, greater naturalistic expression was attained under the Athonic schools. Later, the Cretan school became influenced by the plasticity of the Italian painters, notably by Tintoretto and Veronese.

#### ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

A Painting at Dura and the Annunciation to the Shepherds.—Among the frescoes discovered at Dura is a pastoral scene, divided between an upper and a lower register, in which, interspersed among rudimentary trees, are the figures of shepherds. In the lower, better preserved, part of the picture, three stand in attitudes of astonishment or awe; a fourth figure sits on a heap of stones, the head supported on one hand, as in meditation. The significance is apparently religious. In Syria vii (1926), pp. 142–151 (3 pls.; 6 figs.), Gabriel Millet shows that manuscripts of the Gospels have preserved two types of representation of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. One is of genre character, and of Hellenistic orgin. The other is more definitely religious, and exhibits figures in attitudes parallel to those of the Dura painting. The various motives of the Dura figures and even the ensemble may be traced in mediaeval ivories, manuscripts, and frescoes. The resemblance of the Christian objects cited to the fresco at Dura is another indication that the more religious type of iconography is derived from an Oriental source.

#### SYRIA AND PALESTINE

An Ancient Lock.—In the collection of the Louvre is a stone door of a tomb, discovered at Sour-Baher, near Jerusalem. The door was fastened with a bronze lock which has been studied by M. C. Frémont of the School of Mines. M. René Dussaud reports that M. Frémont has reconstructed the original form of the lock and key, proving that the lock was an elaborate safety-device of a type not known in modern Europe before the end of the eighteenth century. The exact date of the Palestinian tomb is not known, but it belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. (Syria vi, 1925), pp. 188–193, 4 figs.)

St. Thomas of Emesa and the Life of St. Martha.—In Analecta Bollandiana xlv (1927), 3, 4, P. Peeters' article, "Saint Thomas d'Émèse et la Vie de Sainte Marthe," makes use of a bilingual (Syriae and Greek) inscription found (1902) at Krâd ad-Dâsinija (Emesa) to identify the St. Thomas mentioned by Evagrius, Moschus, and la Vie de Sainte Marthe with the St. Thomas commemorated in the Roman Martyrology under the date of November 18.

#### GREECE

Autograph Inscriptions at Temple of Sunium.—Of the four autograph inscriptions carved by ancient visitors to the temple at Sunium, and published by Lebas, only one is given its proper provenience in the corpus (I. G. III, 3824). In Ath. Mitt. li (1926), pp. 159–162, B. SNELL gives the results of his own examination of these inscriptions in situ. Lebas' Nos. 669 and 671 prove to be parts of the same inscription. The autographs belong to the early part of the Christian era; they show that the ancient traveler immortalized the name of a friend rather than emotions which a romantic spot awakened in himself.

Chapel of St. Basil.—In Arch. Eph., 1924, pp. 1-26, G. A. Soterios describes the small Byzantine chapel now known as St. Basil, situated 100 metres north of the present cathedral church of Thebes, and excavated by him in 1921–1922 for the Greek Archaeological Society. An inscription states that it was founded in 872 A.D. and was originally known as the Church of Gregory the Theolog. It consists of three parts: a rectangular room on the west unconnected with the nave, the nave proper, and three rooms south of the nave. The western part may have

been two stories high, the upper story surmounted by a dome, the lower serving as a crypt. The apse does not appear on the outside of the church, being concealed by a rectangular wall. A vaulted tomb was discovered beneath the floor of the nave; other interments had been made in the rooms to the south, some beneath the floor, others in sarcophagi. In plan the building may be an imitation of the royal chapels of Byzantine rulers. The excavation yielded many fragments of sculptured ornaments, which are studied in detail and compared with specimens of Byzantine ornament in the Museum of Thebes and other parts of Greece. As to technique, there is a preponderance of flat ornament, indicating, the author thinks, the influence of wood-carving or weaving. As to pattern, plant motives (ivy, acanthus, palmettes, and vine) are frequent. Geometric spirals and braided patterns are wanting. Animal forms occur but not as frequently as in the succeeding century. In general, the patterns are derived from old Christian ornament with some new themes from the East, brought, the writer believes, by Syrian traders.

The Paintings of Athos.—In R. Arch. xxvi (1927), pp. 274–278, Gabriel Miller discusses briefly the paintings of Mount Athos in connection with his recent publication (Monuments de l'Athos...I. Les peintures. Paris, Leroux, 1927. Monuments de l'art Byzantin, V). After giving an account of the circumstances under which his work was carried on with the aid of the French army, the French School at Athens, and the Greek government, he shows that the Cretan school of painters represents a return to the mystic and literary character of Byzantine art, as opposed to the relatively realistic spirit of the Macedonian school.

#### TURKEY

Inscriptions from Constantinople.—In Byzantion iii (1926) 1, pp. 305–309 (1 pl., 1 fig.), W. A. BUCKLER notes two inscriptions from Constantinople. The first, a marble discovered in 1912, but first noted in 1924, probably dates from the twelfth century. It is an epitaph, apparently for a whole cemetery collectively, and is with much probability assigned to the composing of John Tzetzes. The inscription is of interest as having correct accents and breathings throughout. A smaller, fragmentary inscription, apparently part of an icon frame, may have belonged to the church built by Michael Paleologus.

Mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.—In Byzantion iii (1926), 1, pp. 123-151 (3 pls.), N. Malickij discusses the date of the mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, described by Mesarites. After passing in review the literature, particularly that by Heisenberg and by Bees, on the date of Eulalios (sixth or twelfth century), and the question as to whether he was painter or mosaicist, Malickij proceeds to discuss certain points of the problem. He believes Eulalios a contemporary of Prodromos, that the Pantocrator in the cupola of the Holy Apostles was a restoration, the primitive original (cf. the central dome of St. Mark's, Venice) having been an Ascension. To support this latter view he adduces the miniatures in the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos, as pointed out by Heisenberg. The scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb is referred to Byzantine, not to Palestinian, influence, on the basis of the composition, background, etc.; here Eulalios himself is portrayed mounting the guard. This type of composition is not general before the eleventh or twelfth The Greek Psalter of Chludov, in the Historical Museum of Moscow, is studied in this connection (Brit. Mus. 1066 is a "replica of the Bhludov"); but the author believes that its connection with our mosaics is far from certain. It is impossible to date all the mosaics by the description of Mesarites, but the evidence points to the twelfth rather than to the sixth century and tends to show that at

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# ITALY

Church of St. Sebastian on the Appian Way.—In Analecta Bollandiana xlv (1927), 3, 4, H. Delehaye concludes his study, "Hagiographie et Archéologie romaines," with a description of the church of St. Sebastian on the Appian Way. This church formerly was dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul and the greater part of the article is therefore devoted to a discussion of the writings of those who have fought over the question—not without some archaeological interest—of the nature of the apostolic connection with this basilica.

The Epitaph of Saint Agatha on Mediaeval Bells.—In R. Arch. xxvi (1927), pp. 264–273, Louis Boiteux shows that the inscription mentem sanctam, spontaneam, honorem Deo et patriae liberationem which appears on mediaeval church bells is derived from the epitaph of Saint Agatha. She was the protector, not only of Catania, but of all cities and buildings threatened by fire. This inscription on bells is common from 1239 to 1616, the period of Gothic architecture and of profound and naïve faith. The adjective spontaneam should be spontaneum, in agreement with honorem. The error is apparently due to the Rationale divinorum officiorum of Guillaume Durand (died 1296), VII, vi.

FLORENCE.—The Chatelaine of Vergy.—In Gaz. B.-A. xv (1927), pp. 183–189, (2 figs.), W. Bombe indentifies the frescoes uncovered at the restoration of the Davizzi-Davanzati Palace as a portrayal of the story of the Chatelaine of Vergy, a common theme in France and elsewhere after 1280. The tale itself is retold.

A Norman Church in Eastern Sicily.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 227–236 (3 pls.), A. Cutrera describes the church of SS. Pietro e Paolo on the Agro ravine near Santa Teresa di Riva (Eastern Sicily). This building is a typical example of a Norman church with polychromatic decoration and was constructed around 1172 by Gherardo il Franco, whose signature may still be seen on the lintel of the main door.

Santa Maria in Vescovio (Sabina).—A Series of Frescoes of the Early Roman School.—In Boll. d'Arte vii (1927), pp. 3–30 (26 pls.), R. VAN MARLE again takes up the discussion of the frescoes in the cathedral of Santa Maria in Vescovio, consisting of thirty-two scenes from the Old and the New Testament. By a comparison with all contemporary frescoes of the same subjects, and especially with those in the Upper Church at Assisi, the author connects the series in the Sabine cathedral with the Roman School, dating it at about 1275, at least fifteen years earlier than Cavallini's lost frescoes of the same subjects in S. Cecilia in Rome. Van Marle convincingly points out that in all probability we are here in the presence of Cavallini's earliest teacher.

SARZANA.—Crucifix of Guilielmus.—In Burl. Mag. 1 (1927), pp. 162–177 (11 figs.), G. M. RICHTER describes a twelfth-century crucifix in Sarzana on the Ligurian coast. The crucifix was deemed miraculous and, to preserve it, was covered by an altarpiece in 1715 by Cardinal Casone. The altarpiece has been removed recently and the crucifix may now be seen. It is a tempera painting on a thick walnut panel, is signed by Guilielmus, and dated 1138. Later crucifixes which have survived depend upon this one for form and spiritual content and thus argue for a local school at Lucca in the twelfth or even the eleventh century. Similar schools may have existed in such towns as Rome, Spoleto, Siena, Pisa, and

Milan.

### FRANCE

The Church of Wast in Boulogne.—The remains of the Cluniac priory at Wast are described by C. Enlart in Gaz. B.-A. xvi (1927), pp. 1-11 (8 figs.). Wast

was ruined by the Hundred Years War, and very little remains except a roundarched door, the site of the cloisters, a Romanesque holy water basin, a tomb statue, and four colonnades. There is a statue of the Woman of the Apocalypse with the Beast, the latter mentioned as having seven crowned heads, but here represented as a natural lion. She has a veil on her head arranged in Byzantine-like folds, and a child at her breast. The beast is on her back, biting at one ear. The door at Wast resembles those in the Île-de-France and in Normandy. The archivolt is decorated with two rows of saw teeth resembling that of the gate Bab-el-Foutouh in Cairo (1087–1091), with the difference that in Cairo the teeth are of the same length throughout, while at Wast they are shorter at the base of the arch than at the top. It is possible that the master of works who accompanied Eustache III to Syria may have seen one like it and reproduced it at Wast, or he may have gone to Cairo itself with the delegation of Pierre le Chambrier to Calif Afdal in 1095.

#### HUNGARY

Dragon Representations in the Hungarian Monuments of the Migration Period.

—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 157–172, FERDINAND FETTICH discusses the various types of dragons which are found not merely in Hungary but also in Germany and in Russia. Those in Hungary seem to come from the Avar graves and date from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The type with open mouth and ribbed body is common and these types have led to a development of Scythian art in these countries. The exact source of the idea is still unknown.

The Slavonic Question in the Early Mediaeval Archaeology of Hungary.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 138–156, BOLKO FREIHERR VON RICHTHOFEN examines the arguments of Niederle as to the existence of a Slavonic population in Hungary in the sixth to the ninth century. He disagrees very decidedly with the theories of Niederle and points out that many of the finds are of doubtful Slavonic origin. For example, the wave-line decoration for pottery is not Slavonic. In fact, he concludes that, despite the political and propaganda work, there have been no serious traces of the Slav in this area discovered before the ninth century.

# DENMARK

Coins of Birka.—In Fornvännen, 1926, pp. 307–334, Sune Lindquist discusses certain coins which have been attributed by some investigators to Björkö, Birka, and by others to Hedeby. These are unquestionably the earliest coins of the North. According to the place of discovery, they are classified as group I a: the earliest imitations of Carolingian coins and such as partly or wholly bear independent images. Group I b: coins which differ because of additional images, i.e., faces of men and triquetra. Group 2: coins which represent motives of sceattas. Then there is a group of hybrids.

The coins of group I a have never been found together with those of other groups. This would tend to show that coins of group I b and 2 are partly contemporary and therefore belong to a later time than those of group I a.

Of group I a, 16 coins have been found at Krinkberg near Itzenhoe, Holstein, together with 80 genuine Frankish coins from the time of Charles the Great. A similar smaller coin is in the collection at Jäderen, Norway (ninth century). Two have been found at Hedeby. In Björkö, such coins have been found in graves No. 525 and 168 (early ninth century). Graves No. 526 and 646 contained coins of group I a with independent stamping. No coins of the latter type either of group I a or I b have been found outside of the Scandinavian peninsula. Their

more limited circulation may be due to the fact that they were less adapted to international use than the pure imitations of the Dorstat coins. The position of their eyes shows that on account of their purely Nordic images they were valued as ornaments. The author, therefore, rejects the often emphasized notion that Birka coins were regularly used as ornaments, and this on the ground that the coins in question were not struck in this locality. Furthermore, he maintains that, for various reasons, this was not the custom at this time in the Viking era. Two coins in group 2 are particularly clarifying in this connection. The collections in which they are found all belong to the tenth or eleventh century. Also, the majority of the coins found in graves in Björkö and which have been used as ornaments, were placed in the graves during the first half of the tenth century. But in the same graves, coins have also been found which belong to an earlier period in the ninth century.

The author considers, therefore, that H. Hildebrand's term, Björkö or Birka coins, for the earliest coins of the North, is less incautious than that of F. Hauberg

and others, who use the name Hedeby coins.

In closing the author once more emphasizes, on the basis of his investigation, that there is nothing to prove that Schleswig or Hedeby should be considered the place of coinage of the oldest coins of the Scandinavian North. The Björkö graves (No. 508, 526, and 646), and their contents seem to the author at least as good an argument in favor of Birka as the Krinkberg find ever could be for Hedeby.

Hedeby and Birka.—In Fornvännen, 1926, pp. 1–26, Sune Lindquist writes about the excavations during the seventies of the last century in the island of Björkö, which have demonstrated that Birka, discussed in the Ansgar chronicles of Rimbert, was situated in the above-mentioned island. Its town plan, surrounded by extensive burial fields, constitutes a rich complex of antiquity. Yet the science of archaeology has long hesitated to come to a conclusion as to what extent we should judge by it of the standards of culture during the Viking period.

The origin of Birka was first discussed in detail by Knut Stjerna in 1909. He endeavored to prove that the town was a Frisian colony. His chief argument was that the Svear of the time did not have a culture considerable enough to found such a trading place. Numismatists have also held that the coins struck in the ninth century—now considered genuinely Nordic and the oldest in the North—could not have been produced in the North, but that they originated in the town of Schleswig or Hedeby, south Jutland.

Such arguments were based on the knowledge of conditions at the time of the introduction of Christianity in the North. Denmark was at that time the leading country. The rich ornamentation of the runic stones which flourished in Sweden during the eleventh century may naturally be traced back to the earlier Danish style of ornamentation.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the North during the seventh century, we look in vain within Danish territory for a corresponding parallel of the high culture of Uppland and Gotland, both of which clearly show connections with western Europe. An estimate of mutual relations between Swedish and Danish culture during the ninth and tenth centuries—the golden era of Birka—cannot, therefore, be worked out on analogical conclusions. The indigenous material must be resorted to.

When the Danish king, Godfred, founded the oldest Danevirke at the beginning of the ninth century, and when Ansgar 50 years later set up a permanent mission in this region, Schleswig, on the northern side of the Schlei (Slien) was a Danish town. The territory south of the Schlei was probably sparsely populated. The new town, founded about 900, near Haddeby Nor, was not originally, according to Danish archaeologists, a Danish town. In its layout it closely resembles Birka,

but on the other hand, Hedeby was scarcely of the same dimensions as Birka. During the tenth century it was ruled over by a princely Swedish house. Proof of this is a runic stone the inscription of which mentions a member of the family (Sigtrygg). That of Gottorp, near Schleswig, has a Danish inscription.

The realm of Gnupa, the Swede, seems according to a nearly contemporary source to have embraced Hedeby as well as the Abodritic territory situated to the south-east. The same is true of the bishopric over which Marco presided about

950.

Hedeby is, therefore, to be considered a Swedish settlement, at first a colony of Birka, fully analogical to the Swedish colonies in Russia. Its position close to the Danish boundary was only possible at a time when the unity and strength of the Danish kingdom was negligible.

The early period of the tenth century is, furthermore, a very obscure period in Danish history. After the reconstruction of the kingdom, the power of Gnupa was seriously threatened, but it would seem from certain sources that he succeeded in maintaining his position because of his relations of vassal to Henry I. In that manner, the new posibilities of missionary activities in Denmark and Birka were created, of which, as we know, Archbishop Unne immediately availed himself.

In all probability, Hedeby retained its independence until about 995, when Sven Tveskägg (Forked Beard) besieged the town. During the eleventh century, Schleswig took over Hedeby's rôle as a trading center, as a bishopric, and a place of coinage. The inhabitants of the region seem to have regarded the Golden Era of Schleswig as a continuation of the traditions of Hedeby. On the other hand, however, those who had no deeper insight into the local differences which obtained during the tenth century had every reason to identify Hedeby with the Schleswig known from the time of Ansgar. Hence, Hedeby in the time of its prime was often called Schlesien by outsiders, just as Schleswig after its revival of prosperity was spoken of as Hedeby by the population of the adjacent country.

It is therefore quite as natural that Eccehard, who was, as it would seem, exiled by the king of Denmark, at a German episcopal conference in the year 1000 named himself bishop of Hedeby, as one of his predecessors half a century earlier had preferred to style himself bishop of Schleswig. Hedeby was probably the residence

of both of them.

The so-called half bracteates which were struck here during the tenth century were naturally imitations of the earlier coins of the Swedish mother-town.

Schleswig and Birka.—In Fornvännen, 1926, pp. 245–265, Sune Lindquist discusses Birka of the ninth century and Schleswig. A new view is brought forward, according to which the town is supposed to have existed within the semi-circular walls at Haddeby Nor about 800. As sufficient evidence for this theory is lacking, the author bases his argument on the research work of Müller and Neergaard in Nordiske Fortidsminder i, to the effect that the only existing seaport town of the ninth century in this region was Schleswig, north of the Schlei.

As Schleswig, in contradistinction to Birka, has not yielded any significant archaeological material from this time, the comparison must be limited to an attempt to show what part each of the two towns according to extant documents

played in the history of missions of that period.

Ebo's journey in 823 and that of Ansgar in 826–827 probably were of the greatest importance as journeys of orientation. After Ansgar had been in the service of Harald, exiled Danish petty king, he was commanded to go to Birka. Through negotiations between Ludwig the Pious and the King of Sweden, the permanent central mission in Sweden was realized. The plans for the setting up of a corresponding central in Denmark succeeded only two decades later, according to the

Vita Ansgarii, and long after the Svear had received Gauthert as their bishop. The events seem to show clearly that Birka of the ninth century, despite the great

distance, was of greater importance for the mission than Schleswig.

It is of significance that Ansgar became archbishop only after the first journey to Birka. At the same time he received the commission, besides Ebo of Rheims, to be papal legate to the "Svear, Danes, and other peoples of the North." It is also of interest to know that Ebo, who held the more prominent position and formerly had held the commission, seems to have reserved the leadership of the Swedish and handed over the work in Denmark to Ansgar. Furthermore, it is plain from the Vila Ansgarii that more was done for the Swedish mission during Ansgar's time than for the Danish.

The town of Schleswig was probably founded by King Godfrid in 808. It seems to have reached its highest development during the middle of the century. Consequently it is scarcely probable that the town equalled Birka in the ninth century either with reference to age or general importance.

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#### SWEDEN

Thing-steads in Sweden in Prehistoric Times and in the Middle Ages.—In Fornwännen, 1926, pp. 211-230, F. Wildte writes about the above subject.

Our knowledge about the prehistoric thing-steads must of necessity be very incomplete. The things were held under the open sky, most often in localities adapted to large meetings. That places consecrated to worship were used, seems improbable. Archaeologists are of the opinion that the places marked by stones set up in a circle, domareringar, which largely belong to the Iron Age, indicate thing-steads. There are many reasons to warrant the belief, however, that such domareringar originally had some other function.

Particularly favored thing-steads in prehistoric time as well as in the Middle Ages were natural elevations adapted to popular assemblies or barrows, where the speaker occupied the central position and the people could group themselves round about. Many such thing-steads where assemblies were held in the mediaeval

period are known.

Mediaeval sources furnish positive foundations for the study of thing-steads, but do not enable investigators to reach final conclusions. The oldest documents are the runic stones of the eleventh century. From the State Laws of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we can conclude that things since time immemorial were held in definite localities and at stated times. A certain number of people were bound to attend in order that the proceedings be legal. But little is said as to these localities. It is to be assumed, however, that the assemblies were held in settled parts of the country, near churches (temples) and trading places. Many of the large centers of the present time were, no doubt, at one time thing-steads.

Already in the fifteenth century, most assemblies were held within doors, i.e., in the vestries of churches and town halls. Special court houses were not erected until about 1600. In the country at large the assemblies continued for generations to be conducted out of doors, until finally by acts of legislation, the government directed the people concerned to build permanent court houses in specifically

designated localities.

# JUGOSLAVIA

Some Ancient Frescoes of the Monastery of Nerez.—In Slavia (Prague) vi, pp. 603-609 (6 pls.), Nicolas Okouneff discusses some frescoes discovered in the Church of St. Pantalemon in the Monastery of Nerez near Skoplje in Jugoslavia. These frescoes can be dated in 1164 and are important since they are among the

earliest examples of Byzantine art in which the painters have tried to represent deep personal emotion. Thus in the scenes of the Descent from the Cross and the Deposition in the Tomb, the Blessed Virgin is represented as kissing the body of Christ. There is also in the series a representation of the preparation of Christ for burial. In general these frescoes from the twelfth century contain many details that are often assumed to be the introduction of Italian art in the thirteenth century and help us to see that there was an uninterrupted evolution of forms of art within the Palkan peninsula extending into the fourteenth century, and that we can look there for many of the features that are considered to characterize the Italian Renaissance.

### GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON.—Henry III's Goldsmith.—In Burl. Mag. 1 (1927), pp. 189–195, J. G. Noppen reports extracts from various documents citing commissions executed by William of Gloucester, goldsmith to King Henry III. He was first mentioned as being King's goldsmith on December 6, 1252, and he evidently had charge of the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the mint. He was special royal treasurer as well as a practical craftsman. He made a tomb, over which were laid silver plates, for Lady Katherine, the daughter of King Henry III, who died in 1258; also, a costly altar-frontal, for which gold thread, colored silks, large and small pearls, and enamels were purchased; and finally, he probably made the costly images pawned in 1267. William died in 1268 or 1269. Nothing of his work remains, but it had a powerful effect during the thirteenth century.

Sculpture at Westminster.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 79-80 (2 pls.), J. G. Noppen illustrates and describes the carved heads (six in number) and foliated capitals of the uppermost stage of St. Andrew's Chapel, Westminster. This form of decoration was derived from Amiens. The main transept head may represent Master Henry, the mason from the beginning of the church until 1253. The best preserved head perhaps is a portrait of John of Gloucester who succeeded Henry as the King's chief mason. Professor Lethaby has suggested Master John of St. Albans, "Sculptor of the King's Images," who was head of the School of St. Albans, as the sculptor who superintended the work and inspired such work as he did not do himself.

#### NORTHERN AFRICA

A Church and Reliquary in Algeria.—In Mél. Arch. Hist. xliv (1927), pp. 103-118 (pl.; 3 figs.), Jean Gagé describes a small church about five kilometres from Corneille, at the village of Ksar-Belezma. This region belonged in Roman times probably to the colony of Lamasba. The church was only about 16 m. in length, inclusive of the apse, and was poorly built, in part of re-used stones. Its date is about the middle of the fifth century. Of the interior columns only the foundations remain. Over the main entrance, which was in the north side at its west end, was an arch, the keystone of which bore on its face the inscription ex oficina Donati and on its under side the Constantinian monogram of Christ. front of the church and not connected with it was, the baptismal font, approached by steps from its four sides. Within the church, in a hollow in the foundations of the altar, was a reliquary in the form of a simple covered jar (marmite) of terracotta. The cover is decorated with a linear pattern in red, and the jar itself bears two inscriptions: ecce locus inquirendi d(omi)n(u)m ex toto corde amen  $\chi \rho(ist)e$  and in isto vaso s(an)c(t)o congregabuntur membra x(rist)i. Within the vase was only dust. The expression membra Christi appears to be derived from St. Paul (I Cor. xii, 27) and was applied by St. Ambrose especially to the saints. Perhaps the dust in the vase came from the grave or graves of a martyr or martyrs. The little church was catholic, not heretical, and the inscriptions on the reliquary call upon the believers to worship Christ in the relics of the saints.

# RENAISSANCE

#### ITALY

Allegorical Figures by Francesco Guardi.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 254–257 (2 pls.), D. von Hadeln publishes two paintings, Summer, and Spring, signed by Francesco Guardi, acquired from the Huntington Collection by Mr. Ringling for his Museum at Sarasota (Mexico). Guardi's interest in figure composition was recently pointed out by G. Fiocco.

Baptism by Francesco Francia.—D. von Hadeln in Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 113–114 (2 figs.), traces the Baptism by Francesco Francia, now owned by Mr. Albert Keller of New York, to the predella of the Felicini Madonna painted in 1494. The size, the detail, the style, link the Baptism to another panel, the Birth of Christ, by Francia, now in the Glasgow Gallery. The Birth and the Baptism are the only

two panels which remain of the predella ordered by Felicini.

Bartolommeo Schedoni.—In L'Arte, 1927, pp. 105–116 (9 pls.), V. Moschini contributes an article toward the better understanding of Schedoni by tracing and exemplifying the various stages of his development. After analyzing the Modenese, the Caravaggesque, and the Venetian periods of the painter, Moschini concludes that Schedoni showed throughout his career a constant tendency to renew himself but that he never ceased studying Correggio. The school of the Carraccis stifled the possibility of a further development of Schedoni's art in Emilia; nevertheless, the Modenese artist may be pointed out as the most interesting renovator in the field of color at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Caravaggio.—In Burl. Mag. I (1927), pp. 181-187 (3 figs.), H. Voss attributes a Portrait of a Lady, belonging to Dr. Hans Schaeffer, to Caravaggio, claiming it as an early work of the painter. The portrait has formerly been attributed to

Sofonisba Anguisciola.

A Casa Pirota Plate.—In Faenza xv (1927), pp. 18–20 (2 pls.), G. BALLARDINI publishes a Pirota plate in the possession of Dr. E. Vandelli of Bologna and compares it with a very similar dish shown by Delange in his Recueil de faïences italiennes. In studying the characteristics of these two pieces he contributes several points toward the better understanding of the ceramics produced by the well-known Pirota factory in Faenza.

A Collection of Bologna Pottery.—In Faenza xv (1927), pp. 12–16 (3 pls.), M. die Longara publishes some pieces of faience from the Donini Collection, recently transferred from Bologna to Leipsic. He also studies the origin and date of the Bologna pottery in the Victoria and Albert Museum discussed by W. B. Honey in his article in the Burl. Mag. for May, 1926. These pieces, together with evidence collected during recent excavations in Bologna, give sufficient proof of the fact that pottery factories existed in this city ever since 1470. The definite Cossa influence to be detected in early Bolognese pottery shows that the factories could obtain the coöperation of the best artists of the epoch and could successfully compete with the more celebrated ceramic works of Ferrara.

Decorations by Polidoro da Caravaggio in Rome.—To L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 189–213 (15 pls.), C. Pacchiotti contributes an article on Polidoro da Caravaggio. His decorative paintings are relisted and separated from those of his fellow workers.

Four Portraits in the National Gallery.—In the National Gallery are four portraits attributed to Antonello and later analyzed by Berenson as by Vivarini.

However, H. C. Baker, in *Burl. Mag.*1 (1927), pp. 23–27 (2 pls.), tries to prove that only one of these is by Vivarini, another by an unknown follower of Bellini, and the other two by G. Bellini himself.

Francesco Crassia.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 87-96 (5 pls.), L. L. LOPRESTI gives an account of the works of the sculptor Francesco Crassia of Palermo, who flourished in Rome during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Giorgionesque Portraiture.—In Burl. Mag. 1 (1927), pp. 202-209 (3 figs.), J. S. Taylor questions the attribution of a picture to Titian, made by Signor Fiocco in Burl. Mag. for October, 1924. The painting is described, an attempt made to identify the portraits, and the canvas attributed to the school of Giorgione.

Giovanni Bellini.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 187–189 (3 figs.), W. Suida attributes four paintings to Giovanni Bellini. Three of these are portraits; one is in the store-rooms of the National Gallery and was formerly attributed to Alvise Vivarini; one of a young man in a black jacket and cap, which is signed by the painter; and a portrait of a man which is in the Imperial Gallery in Vienna. The martyrdom of St. Mark in the Venice Academy is also attributed to Giovanni Bellini except for a group of portraits which are the work of Vittore Bellini.

Giovanni da Udine.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 151–171 (13 pls.), A. GHIDIGLIA gives a new inventory and description of the works of Giovanni da Udine in the Vatican and in the Villa Madama. She traces his career and defines his style, differentiating it from that of his contemporaries. Giovanni da Udine is the only painter of Raphael's school who really lived an artistic life of his own, though he

appeared to lose himself after Raphael's death.

Giusto Padovano.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 49–61 (9 pls.), M. C. LORENZETTI connects three little panels in the Correr Museum representing God the Father and Scenes from the Apocalypse with two fragments dealing with the same subject which have recently been returned to Venice from the Imperial Gallery in Vienna. Miss Lorenzetti compares the Apocalypse panels, obviously of the Paduan School of the late Trecento, with the frescoes of the same subject in the chapl of the Paduan Baptistry, commonly attributed to Giusto Padovano. Iconographically and stylistically the two series appear to be by the same hand, and Miss Lorenzetti concludes that the fragments in Venice belong to an altarpiece, possibly for the church of Torcello, in which Giusto Padovano repeated the subjects frescoed in the Paduan Baptistry.

The Keglevich Collection.—In Burl. Mag. 1 (1927), pp. 183–189 (3 figs.), G. de Térey describes four almost unknown pictures in the collection of Count George Keglevich in Budapest. These consist of a Madonna and Child with St. Joseph and an Angel of the school of Leonardo, a Virgin and Child with St. John by Bartolommeo Veneto, a portrait of a Young Lady by Palma Vecchio, and a Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John attributed to Filippino Lippi.

A Leading Sienese of the Quattrocento.—In Burl. Mag. 1 (1927), pp. 35-36 (2 pls.), L. Dussler publishes a picture by G. di Paolo to show that the painter did not accept the formal types and conceptions of the leading Sienese trecentists.

Notes on Minor Florentine Painters of the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century. —In Boll. d'Arte vi (1927), pp. 529–549 (21 pls.), G. de Francovich makes further attributions to certain minor masters of the Florentine school and attempts a more exact dating of their work. She takes up the S. Miniato Master and Fra Giuliano, a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaio. She endeavors to look further into the personality of Jacopo del Tedesco and discusses the Umbrian period of Bartolommeo di Giovanni. Finally, she attributes to Benedetto Ghirlandaio, in his Verrocchiesque period, a Madonna and Child in the Goudstikker Collection at Amsterdam.

Paintings by Bonfigli and Caporali.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 86–88 (2 pls.), A. Venturi publishes a painting by Bonfigli in the possession of Baron Lazzaroni in Rome and a Madonna and Child by Bartolommeo Caporali in the possession of Avv. Fabrizi in Rome.

Panels by a Follower of Pietro Cavallini.—In Burl. Mag. li, pp. 259-261 (4 pls.), O. Siren attributes to a follower of Pietro Cavallini two panels in a private collection in Munich representing the Virgin and St. John. The Roman origin of these paintings is shown by a comparison with the frescoes in Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples and their chief interest lies in the fact that no other panels are known which show so strong an affinity with Pietro Cavallini and his followers.

Perugino's Artistic Inheritances.—In Gaz. B.-A. xv (1927), pp. 1-16 (9 figs.), J. Alazard identifies several influences to be noticed in Perugino's work. He describes the Sienese influence of Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, the Lippi, and Veneziano, and the Florentine influence of the Pollaiuoli, Verrochio. and Signorelli.

Portrait by Gentile Bellini.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 1–2 (1 pl.), A. VENTURI publishes the portrait of Andrea Vendramin by Gentile Bellini which in 1926 was in Mr. Douglas' collection in London. It is inscribed with the date 1476, which coincides with Gentile's activity in the Ducal Palace.

Portrait by Tintoretto.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 84-85, M. PITTALUGA attributes to Tintoretto a portrait of a young man in the Volterra Gallery. The authenticity of the painting is confirmed by the mention of a similar portrait in Ridolfi's Le Meraviglie dell'Arte. By comparison with the St. Mark series in the Brera, Milan, this portrait may be dated around 1560.

A Preparatory Version of Titian's Trinity.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 53-59 (3 pls.), C. Holmes publishes a Trinity which he considers the "Modello" for

Titian's Trinity in the Prado.

The Reliefs of the Seven Sacraments on the Campanile at Florence.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 214–223 (10 pls.), L. BECHERUCCI ascribes to Alberto Arnoldi the heretofore unattributed reliefs which decorate the second zone of the Florentine Campanile on the north side, above the hexagons by Andrea Pisano and Luca della Robbia. The author of the reliefs of the Seven Sacraments took from Andrea Pisano his gift of clear composition, from Nino Pisano and Orcagna his treatment of surfaces and his oblong figures, and from the Romanesque sculptors his precise geometrical values and his plastic solidity. It is known that Alberto Arnoldi in 1361 finished the Madonna in a lunette over one of the smaller doors of the Baptistry. By him also is a Madonna between Two Angels in the Oratorio del Bigallo. A close study of these works, coupled with documents proving Arnoldi's participation in the Opera del Duomo, confirm Miss Becherucci's present attribution.

A Self-Portrait of Rembrandt.—Gaz. B.-A. xvi (1927), pp. 43-50 (3 figs.), A.-C. Coppier publishes a portrait of Rembrandt which represents the artist as being about forty-five years old and which M. Coppier attributes to the painter himself on scientific grounds. The method of preparing the canvas and the ingredients of the paint mixtures are found to correspond with those of the authentic works of

the artist.

The Stanza della Segnatura.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 170–186 (15 pls.), M. T. Tozzi proves the truth of Vasari's statement that the purely decorative part of the vault of the Stanza della Segnatura is by Sodoma. During the course of the article Miss Tozzi makes an exhaustive study of Sodoma's decorative works.

A St. Francis by Raphael.—In  $L'Arte \times xx$ , pp. 80-83 (5 pls.), A. Venturi attributes to Raphael a small St. Francis in the Dresden Museum and connects this painting with the St. Anthony and a Franciscan Saint at Dulwich

College, London. The three small panels were probably part of the predella in Raphael's St. Anthony altarpiece now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

St. Jerome by Mantegna.—In L'Arte xxx pp. 31-33 (1 pl.), L. VENTURI publishes and analyzes a St. Jerome in the possession of Mr. Otto Kahn, New York. This painting may be considered the first known work by Mantegna.

Three Pictures in the Pennsylvania Museum.—In Burl. Mag. 1, 1927, pp. 3-7 (3 figs.), O. Siren calls attention to three pictures in the Pennsylvania Museum: the Visitation, by Andrea di Niccolo; Portrait of a Lady, by A. Araldi; and Lady with her Three Sons, by Parmigianino. The very modest artistic merits of the first two works make them hardly worth discussion, except for comparison with the third. Parmigianino does not conventionalize his characters, but penetrates into the thoughts of the sitter and produces living personalities.

Three Views of Rome.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 325-332, J. Tombu studies the views of Rome to be observed in the backgrounds of three Flemish paintings: St. Rombout Taking Leave of Pope Stephen II, by Colijn de Coter, and St. Romold Renouncing his Bishopric, both in the church of St. Rombout in Malines, and St. Roch Kneeling before the Pope, dated 1517, in the church of St. Jacques at Antwerp. The backgrounds of these works are compared with contemporary maps and plans of Rome and special attention is given to the architecture of St. Peter's.

Tintoretto's Technique.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), p. 55 (1 pl.), W. M. MILIKEN discusses the technique of Jacopo Tintoretto as revealed in his Madonna and Child, a representative picture, in perfect condition of pigment, formerly in the collection of Baron Alfred de Rothehild and recently acquired by the Cleveland Museum. This picture is assigned to Tintoretto's middle period (1570–1580). The composition, the linear rhythms and forms, and the subsequent addition of color in three primaries greyed throughout are the artist's own inventions. The technique of this picture supports the view that Tintoretto is the most modern of old masters in form as well as color, the origin of that tradition which leads to El Greco and Velasquez and from El Greco to Cezanne.

A Tondo from the School of Raphael.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 86-91, W. Suida publishes and describes a remarkable picture in the possession of Sig. E. Sardi, Milan, God the Father Accompanied by an Angel. It is the work of the Roman School under the immediate influence of Michelangelo's and Raphael's creations. The color harmonies suggest the work of a Florentine, such as Penni, il Fattore,

Triptych by Marco Zoppo.—In L'Arte iii (1927), pp. 62–63 (2 pls.), A. VENTURI publishes a panel in the Dublin Gallery representing Sts. Mark and Augustine generally attributed to Giusto di Andrea and a panel of the same shape in the gallery in Edinburgh representing Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. According to Venturi, both panels were part of a triptych by the weak painter Marco Zoppo di Squarcione.

Two Sketches by Tintoretto.—L. Dussler, in Burl. Mag. li (1927), p. 32 (2 figs.), publishes two sketches by Tintoretto, one of Samson and two defeated Philistines, the other of a reclining female nude. The purpose is to show the master's pureness of modeling, vibrant sensitiveness of line, and magnificent draughtsmanship.

An Unknown Painting by Antonio da Saliba.—In Boll. d'Arte vi (1927), pp. 556-565 (7 pls.), E. S. VAVALA ascribes to Antonio da Saliba a Madonna and Child in the Museo Civico of Verona assigned by Berenson to Mechele da Verona. The painting appears to be an early work of Antonio da Saliba and it shows mingled reminiscences of Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini.

An Unknown Titian.—In L'Arte xxx (1927), pp. 105-116, A. VENTURI attributes

to Titian a much damaged picture in the Pitti Palace representing Samson killing the Philistine.

Villa Medici.—F. BOYER, in Révue de l'art ancien et moderne li (1927), pp. 2-14 (6 figs.), relates from original documents the building of the Villa Medici in the sixteenth century under the architect, Nanni Lippi. After his death, his son, Annibale Lippi, took his place, and the villa was finished under the son's supervision in 1572. The documents, Italian records of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, have been discovered in both private and public collections.

#### FRANCE

Annunciation of Aix.—P. Jamot, in Révue de l'art ancien et moderne lii (1927), pp. 155-164 (4 figs.), discusses the identity of the master of the Annunciation of Aix. The Amsterdam Museum has recently lent to the Louvre some small panels of still life, French primitives attributed to the master of the Annunciation. The panels are part of a triptych containing scenes from the life of Isaiah. Both the panels and the Annunciation in their drapery, their architectural and sculptural decoration, their color, and their characterization, seem French rather than Flemish.

A Fourteenth-Century Woodcut.—In Gaz. B.-A. xv (1927), pp. 153–158 (1 pl.; 3 figs.), A. Blum questions the attribution made by J. Renouvier of a Christ before Herod (B. Mus. Cat.—fifteenth century) as German. The resemblance of details between the woodcut and a memorial in the abbey of St. Denis in the Church of St. Catherine of the Val-des-Écoliers (1376) are here pointed out and the woodcut claimed as French.

The Franconian and the Mosan School.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 315–322 (7 pls.), M. Devigne dwells upon the artistic exchanges between the Rhine and the Meuse from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Groups of sculpture in the church of Beck in Belgium appear to belong to the school of Veit Stoss, while isolated figures of Christ, the Virgin, and St. John at Exel, near Beck, also show the influence of Tilman Riemenschneider.

Master of the St. Ursula Legend.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 245–251 (2 pls.), Constable attributes to Jacques Daret, master of the St. Ursula Legend, a diptych representing the Virgin and Child with Donor in the collection of Lord Lee of Fareham. Comparison with generally accepted works by the master yields correspondences in detail. A strong resemblance between the Donor and Memling's Portrait of a Young Man in the Uffizi leads Constable to date the Lee diptych at about 1487.

Panels from the Ducal Residence at Dijon.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 234—245 (1 pl.), S. Reinach identifies three paintings recorded in a late eighteenth-century manuscript in the Dijon Library as originally belonging to the Dukes of Burgundy and later to the Chartreuse de Champmol. The paintings in question are: the Van Eyck Annunciation in the Hermitage, a Presentation in the possession of M. E. Pelletier in Paris, and a Christ Carrying the Cross in the Louvre.

PARIS.-Pierre Lescot and the Louvre.—In Gaz. B.-A. xv (1927), pp. 199-218, L. HAUTCŒUR refutes the contention of M. Battifol in Gaz. B.-A., 1910, that the plans in the Destailleur Collection are those of Pierre Lescot. His argument centers around Battifol's assumption that Lescot's new plans to quadruple the size of the Louvre also involved joining it to the Tuileries. Hautcœur believes that, though the Louvre was quadrupled at the end of the reign of Henry II, Lescot did not join it to the Tuileries.

Pierre Montallier.—In Gaz. B.-A. xvi (1927), pp. 12-14 (1 fig.), S. Ernst identifies a picture discovered three years ago in an isolated gallery at the

Hermitage as one called in the catalogue for the sale of the Abbe de Gevigney's collection, Les Œuvres de Misericorde (No. 368) by Pierre Montallier, who was an unknown painter of the seventeenth century working in the genre style of Le Nain but with the color of Bourdon. Since Montallier is not mentioned in any art history and no works are attributed to him, any of his pictures that may exist are probably attributed to one of these men.

TOULOUSE.—The Clock Towers.—In Gaz. B.-A. xvi (1927), pp. 29-42 (11 figs.; 1 map), R. Rey describes the octagonal bell tower of St. Sernin at Toulouse which was the model for many more throughout Languedoc. Variations in style and material found in other bell towers are also discussed.

#### GERMANY

Holbein's Technique.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 67-68 (2 figs.), F. BERTZ gives a description of the methods Holbein used in painting the Schoenborn picture of a young man (Wedeigh family). The description is based on the author's study of the picture with a microscope. It was painted (1532) on oak, on which was first placed a ground of chalk and parchment glue, polished smooth, ready for the drawing made with brush and diluted ink. After painting in the blue background directly on the white surface, he tinted the rest of the background to get rid of disturbing whiteness and to make warm luminous preparation for his blacks, which have a warm glow. By means of painting a series of transparent glazes and using on the same picture two media (quick and slow drier), which required great rapidity and sureness of brush handling, he obtained a light refraction which the mixing of oil paint, as in modern painting, will not give. The microscope shows that special brushes were used for painting the fur-that a pointed instrument was used for making the strong growth of hair on the chin, tiny dots all the same size. For painting the Wedeigh coiffure Holbein used three shades of glazes. When the local color (light chestnut brown) was dry, he put on darker glaze and while wet, with an instrument of wood or bone, ploughed through the paint, removing the upper dark color and leaving the dry paint below exposed. The light side of the hair is painted below the glaze—this is revealed by the microscope. With a special brush abundant single hairs are drawn with fineness of lines of equal thickness. With all Holbein's marvelous skill in painting gold, brocade silks, furs, jewels, he never lost the broad view of the whole of his subject. He knew from the beginning what he wanted to achieve and exactly how to accomplish his aim-hence, his sublime simplicity.

St. Lawrence Proclaims the Poor to the Prefect.—H. BROCKMANN, in Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 133-134 (6 figs.), maintains that this St. Lawrence is part of the St. Lawrence cycle of the Cologne school by the master of the St. Ursula legend. The realism, the use of color, the composition, link this picture to the Cologne cycle of six, some of which are missing.

#### HUNGARY

Contributions to the History of the Relations between Florence and Hungary during the Renaissance.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 189–209, Jolan Balogh writes that the reign of Matthias Corvinus was a period of close intercourse between Florence and Hungary. The king summoned to Hungary such philosophers as Argyropulos. Also, he sent envoys every year to Florence to make purchases. Likewise Florentine artists, such as Camicia, came to Hungary. The king also sent other artists to Florence to study. After the death of Matthias, Wlasislaus II continued the relationship. At this time the Florentine influence on the country becomes marked, with such building as

the Archepiscopal Palace at Gran. After the battle of Mohacs, in 1525, these relations were practically broken, because of the downfall of Hungary.

Paintings from the Studio of Solimena.—In Archaeologiai Ertesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 210–226, Andreas Pigler writes that in Budapest there are copies of two paintings by Solimena, the Farewell of Rebecca, and Barak before Deborah. These are copies of the originals in the Viennese palace of the Counts Harrach and apparently are from the studio of the master. A careful analysis of these and the originals, together with other copies, well illustrates Solimena's methods of using his students for copying his own works.

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Cathedral Plans of Bishop Count Earl von Esterhazy in Eger.—In Archaeologiai Értesitő xli (1927), pp. 156–169, Nikolaus Szmrecsanyi writes that when the Cathedral at Eger was built in 1831–1837, it was still remembered that Bishop Esterhazy had planned a cathedral a century earlier. Two plans for this have since been discovered, one by Jozef Grossmann, the other by Georg Karl Zillach. Both plans are very similar and it seems that both were much influenced by Esterhazy personally. The plans show the result of Esterhazy's visits to Rome and are especially reminiscent of the Church of St. Agnes with certain details from St. Peter's. Both plans are more elaborate than the cathedral which was actually constructed.

#### BELGIUM

Christ as King of the Martyrs by Rubens.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 233–234 (9 figs.), R. R. Tatlock publishes a Christ by Rubens in the possession of Mr. Henry Roche, London. This Christ proves to be the central figure in the Rubens series of the Twelve Apostles in the Prado, as is evidenced by a comparison with the Christ in the Rospigliosi series by the same painter. The recovered panel should be dated around 1603.

Flemish Art at Burlington House.—R. FRY, in Burl. Mag. 1 (1927), pp. 132–153 (12 figs.), traces the development of the Flemish personality in art from Bosch to Rubens as it is seen in the exhibition of Flemish art at the Burlington House. From the fanciful mysticism of Bosch's St. Jerome to the visual-minded Brueghel, who even in his Fall of Icarus is not released from the actual and the contemporary, to the even more realistic Floris, to the local color of Jordaens and to the exquisite tone and color relations of Brouwer; and, finally, through the union of the Italian graces and the Flemish literalness in Rubens, does Flemish art find itself completely. The swaggering Marques de Lepanez, Mme. Arbier and her children, the portrait of Yrsselius, are among the superb examples of Rubens' work found at the Burlington House. Mr. Fry writes a penetrating analysis of the evolution of Flemish art.

Mabuse and Matsys.—P. Jamot, in Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 14–25 (6 figs.), publishes, among other portraits, that of a man in which certain mental characteristics are reflected in the face of the subject, and points out that the attribution of this picture to Mabuse is an impossibility. Mabuse was never a prober into human qualities. Jamot gives evidence to show that the sitter is Peter Gillis, a friend of Q. Matsys, and attributes the portrait to the latter, whose other work shows him to be a keen psychologist.

The Renders Collection.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 261-267 (4 pls.), R. Fry examines the more important pieces in the Renders collection shown at the Flemish Exhibition in Burlington House. Fry analyzes a fourteenth-century Calvary of the French School, a Virgo Lactans attributed to Van der Weyden, and a Madonna and Child with Angel by Memling. In each case he gives exhaustive evidence of the painting's authenticity.

A Tapestry at the Merchant Taylors' Hall.—In Burl. Mag. 1 (1927), pp. 156-162 (1 pl.), R. Fay introduces a description by A. F. Kendrick of a tapestry in the Merchant Taylors' Hall in London, by showing that this tapestry is probably one acquired in 1616 from Mrs. Prockter, the widow of the master of the company in 1593. The tapestry is described as being of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is Flemish, bearing the weaver's mark of Francis Geubels of Brussels. The factory mark is gone, due to the mutilation of the corner in order to make a table cover of it. There is a resemblance between this tapestry and those at Drayton House (which bear the arms of Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Leicester and Warwick), for the oversized birds conspicuously set in the foreground of the latter are like those of the Merchant Taylor tapestry. There must be a common origin for both, or, at least, a very close association.

A Triptych by the Master of the Legend of Mary Magdalen.—In Gaz. B.-A. xv (1927), pp. 299-310 (1 pl.; 7 figs.), J. Tombu reproduces panels in the Figor Gallery in Vienna, the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, and the museums of Budapest, Copenhagen, and Schwerin which represent respectively Mary Magdalen Hunting, Mary Magdalen Preaching, the Feast at the House of Simon, the Resurrection of Lazarus, and the Apparition of Christ to Mary Magdalen. She believes that they originally composed a triptych, perhaps destined for a chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen in the Church of St. Gudule, Brussels.

Van der Weyden and Giradhus.—In Gaz. B.-A. xvi (1927), pp. 15-28 (12 figs.), F. de Mély discusses a painting attributed in the sales catalogue for the Cernuschi Collection (May 25, 1900) to the school of Van der Weyden. The picture is described and the Flemish points of contact acknowledged, but Spanish influence is also noted. An almost obliterated inscription would indicate Giradhus, but it appears impossible to establish him as the painter. The painting seems to have been done in the south by some one acquainted with the north.

#### HOLLAND

Hendrik Terbrugghen and Plein Air.—In Burl. Mag., 1 (1927), pp. 196-202 (7 figs.), C. H. COLLINS BAKER traces the stages by which Terbrugghen reached his final perception of full lit plein air, from his first period of hard brilliance while under the influence of Caravaggio.

Peter de Hooch.—In Gaz. B.-A. xv (1927), pp. 361–380 (14 figs.), C. Briere-Misme publishes some early paintings by Peter de Hooch when he was under the influence of the landscape painter Jacob Ochterwelt. They show little of his later use of lights through open doors and windows. The discussion is concluded in Gaz. B.-A. xvi (1927), pp. 51–79 (19 figs.), with a long list of little known or hitherto unpublished pictures. These are roughly divided into three periods.

The Portrait of Lord Mallory by Van Dyck.—A. C. Bang maintains that the Panshanger version and not the Munich version of the portrait of Lord Mallory is the original version. The history of the Panshanger version can be traced from Van Dyck's time to its auction in 1917, whereas the history of the other is uncertain until the eighteenth century. In general, the Panshanger version is richer in detail, sharper in edge, nobler in characterization. (Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 114–120; 2 figs.)

Some Unpublished Works of Jan Wellens de Cock.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 68–79 (4 figs.), J. G. Vangelder publishes little known works by de Cock, including the Pilgrim Meeting the Devil, owned by Mr. C. M. Bumo, Paris; St. Anthony and St. Paul in the Desert, owned by Ant. von Willie, The Hague; Temptation of St. Anthony, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; Temptation of St. Anthony, owned by Gonestik Ker, Amsterdam.

# GREAT BRITAIN

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Portrait by Teniers.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), p. 272 (1 pl.), C. H. COLLINS BAKER publishes a portrait by Teniers, representing Lady Fanshawe and her Daughter, in the possession of Sir Artbur Fanshawe in London.

Tapestry Weaving in England.—Records of tapestry weavers and work in England may be traced back to the fourteenth century; but the looms set up by William Sheldon are regarded as the first serious venture of the kind in England. M. C. Wallis, in Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 25–26 (1 pl.), publishes examples of tapestries which he claims are of Sheldon origin because of the naïve simplicity which characterizes the figures and the flora, and because of stylistic and technical peculiarities.

### SPAIN

A Drawing by Velasquez and Two Portraits in the Dublin National Gallery.—In Burl. Mag. li (1927), pp. 332–337 (4 figs.), A. L. Mayer identifies a drawing in the possession of Messrs. Wildenstein, Paris, as a sketch by Velasquez for the head of Apollo in the Forge of Vulcan (Prado). A portrait of a Man in the Dublin National Gallery is also attributed to Velasquez. Another male portrait in the same gallery, dated 1519 and commonly given to Aldegrever, is here classified as Southern German School.

# FAR EASTERN

#### PERSIA

An Agate Wine Cup.—In Syria vi. (1925), pp. 274-279 (2 pls.), Armenag Bey Sakisian describes an agate wine cup or bowl, recently found by him in the Bazaar of Stamboul. It is inscribed with the name of the Sultan Hussein Baicara, a descendant in the fifth generation from Tamerlane; and a further inscription on the rim consists of Persian verses in praise of wine.

# AFGHANISTAN

Monuments and Inscriptions of Ghazna.—In Syria vi (1925), pp. 58–60, André Godard calls attention to the importance of monuments at Ghazna in Afghanistan, which he visited in 1923. When the dynasty of the Ghaznevides was established in the tenth century, its culture was purely Iranian. But monuments subsequent to the return of the conquering ruler, Mahmoud, from India, show a combination of Iranian construction with Indian decoration; and Ghazna became an important center and source of Indo-Iranian art. The Indian influence first appears in the tomb of Mahmoud, but is still more apparent in the tomb of Mes'ud; and in that of Ibrahim, belonging to the last days of the Ghaznevides, it is dominant. S. Flurk (Syria vi (1925), pp. 61–90; 20 pls.; 11 figs.) studies in detail the decorative epigraphy of the monuments on this site, analyzing the successive phases of its style and comparing the inscriptions with other examples of Mohammedan epigraphy.

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\*\*Books, pamphlets, and other matter for the Bibliography should be addressed to Professor Edward H. Heffner, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

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#### NEWS ITEMS FROM ATHENS

Open Meetings were held at the various foreign Schools in Athens during the winter. The German Institute celebrated Winckelmann's birthday on December 9 by an Open Meeting with an account of the latest excavations on the site of the Heraion at Samos by the Director, Dr. Buschor. The French School gave two Open Meetings, the first on January 25, when M. Roussel, the Director of the School, told of their excavations at Thasos in the Sanctuary of Dionysos, at Samothrace and at Mallia in Crete. On February 22, M. Chapouthier lectured on Delos and the Sanctuary of the Gods of Samothrace. The British School held an Open Meeting on March 5 at which Mr. Heurtley spoke on his recent excavations in Macedonia and the light they throw on the Dorian invasion, and Mr. Woodward described the 1927 campaign at Sparta. Another meeting was held on March 13, when Sir Arthur Evans lectured on "The Southern and Western Approaches to the Palace of Knossos in the Light of Recent Discoveries." On March 27 the American School held an Open Meeting where four short papers were read. Mr. Meritt gave one on the "Reconstructed Tribute Stelae," Mr. Dinsmoor on "Recent Observations on the Temple at Bassae," Mr. Carpenter on "The Masters of the Frieze from Bassae," and Mr. Bonner on "A Dionysiac Miracle at Corinth."

The 1928 excavation season has already begun at several sites in spite of the unparalleled bad weather. Mr. Shear has been carrying on his third campaign in the Theatre at Corinth, Professor David Robinson of Johns Hopkins has been excavating the site of ancient Olynthus in the Chalcidice and Mr. Heurtley of the British School has been investigating prehistoric mounds in the same region. Mr. Kourouniotis, head of the Greek Archaeological Department, has been excavating at Eleusis just beyond the outer wall of the Sanctuary toward the sea, Sir Arthur Evans has returned to Crete to do some reconstruction work in the Palace of Knossos and to prepare material for his third volume (the second volume is about to appear shortly), and Professor Pernier of the University of Florence has returned to Phaistos to study the palace preparatory to issuing a book on the subject. Professor Herbert Koch has been in Athens studying the "Theseion," a detailed study of which he hopes to incorporate in a book.

The reports of the various 1927 campaigns are of great interest. The Swedish Expedition, in collaboration with the Ephor, Dr. Bertos, carried out a second campaign at Dendra in Argolis and, although their finds were not so sensational as the Royal treasure in the beehive tomb, they were historically valuable. Three rockcut chamber tombs, two of which contained funeral offerings typical of the end of the fourteenth century B.C., were excavated. The third, however, was of unusual size and, although part of it had been plundered in antiquity, the collapse of the roof had protected portions of the chamber. The doorway, which had been blocked with stones in the usual fashion, showed two great stone slabs in the floor forming a kind of sill beneath which was a large pit containing a fine collection of bronzes packed one within another, thirty-three in all. There were six large jugs, seven bowls, four tripods, five lamps, four mirrors, a six-pronged fishspear, a spear head, a sword, two knives and two razors. Several are decorated with delicately engraved designs of flowers or shell fish, while others have geometrical patterns. Many of them have, still preserved, their wooden shafts. A mirror handle of wood carved with two seated women, one holding a mirror and the other, probably, a branch of a tree, is the most remarkable of the finds although a fragment of textile in one of the lamps is also striking. Within the cham-

ber many fragments of limestone were found which, when pieced together, formed four shaped slabs. One, six feet long and nearly three feet wide, is a stone of sacrifice, with square indentations at the angles inside a high rim; two notches opposite one another probably facilitated the binding of the sacrifice on the table. Two other stones have small head-like projections at one end which call to mind some stone figurines from Troy. The fourth is a stone slab smooth on one side but dotted with small indentations on the other. A low hearth or altar was found against the inner wall of the chamber with traces of smoke on the wall and a quantity of charcoal on the floor. Sunk in the floor were two small pits, one emptied by the robbers, the other contained only the bones of oxen, sheep or goats, among which lay a silver cup with a gold rim, an ivory flower and a sacrificial knife. There were no human remains anywhere in the chamber, and this led Professor Persson (the excavator) to suggest that this was a cenotaph such as Homer refers to. This tomb would, therefore, have been constructed and furnished for some chief who had perished abroad or at sea. Other finds in the tomb include three steatite lamps and four vases, three of Cretan and one of Egyptian alabaster, which is similar to a vase from the Royal tomb at Isopata near Knossos. On the floor lay a bronze sword with hundreds of glass beads from the beadwork ornamentation of its hilt, boar's tusks cut and pierced to sew on a leather helmet, gold ornaments imitating shells, an iron stud from a sword hilt, a seal stone engraved with a deer and hundreds of small ornaments in glass paste with gold leaf covering. Finally, quantities of glass paste beads which, removed en masse, show a bead pattern worked in colors, probably part of a garment, a new feature of Mycenaean art. Much pottery was also found, nearly all broken, but serving to date the tomb at about 1300 B.C.1

Several excavations were carried out under the auspices of the German Institute during 1927. Professor Brueckner cleared a new area in the region of the Kerameikos in Athens inside the city wall. He examined the Pompeion southwest of the Dipylon and found it to be a new building of Roman imperial times, but beneath it lies an earlier building with foundations of poros and a gravel floor—the Pompeion of the fifth century B.C. The foundations of this building do not go as deep as those of its Roman successor. Below them remains of walls came to light which can be brought into relation with the Themistoclean reconstructions. There appears also a layer of the Geometric period containing among other things a grave with rich sepulchral objects: pottery and a gold band decorated with figures of animals in relief. Still deeper lies a sub-Mycenean necropolis with many well-preserved graves containing skeletons. Of the personal belongings of the dead there may be mentioned hair clasps, earrings, finger rings, fibulae and pins. Other objects placed in these Mycenaean graves included stirrup vases, small amphorae, small jugs and bowls.<sup>2</sup> In a Themistoclean pillar of the Sacred Gate a fragment of an archaic stele of poros came to light.3 In the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens Professors Dörpfeld and Fiechter carried out small supplementary excavations at various places in the ruins for the purpose of making a new plan. The most important result was the establishment of the curtain arrangement for the Roman stage, while the most beautiful single object found was a fine oinochoe of the period about 425 B.C. with a scene representing a youth lying upon a couch and a female harpist sitting beside him. At Aegina Mr. G. Welter extended the earlier excavations on the eastern part of the Aphrodite hill. The Early Helladic settlement on the western part was laid bare over a

See A. J. B. Wace, "New Finds in Greece," The Times, February 27, 1928.
 Cf. Ath. Mitth., LI, p. 134 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Ath. Mitth., LI, p. 142.

wide area in order to clear up the connection with the great circuit walls on the east and to give a survey of the whole settlement. Rich undisturbed layers were thereby found, from Neolithic down to Late Helladic times. Among the objects found may be mentioned, especially, imported Cretan ware from E. M. III to M. M. II, Cycladic stone vases and numerous Cycladic pots. Built in among the prehistoric walls lay the lowest foundations of two approximately quadrangular treasuries and a circular building of the period of the Temple of Aphrodite. Further objects found include a large early proto-Corinthian skyphos with a frieze of horsemen, a fragment of the thigh of a marble sphinx, a relief of Apollo and the City Goddess on an inscribed stele. Excavations at Tiryns were resumed in September, 1926, after a lapse of many years. They were carried out by Professors Karo, Kurt Müller and E. Kunze. Two areas were examined: the lower town and the upper acropolis. On this latter site west of the eastern wall of the palace and in the midst of the Mycenean ruins was found the offering pit of a sanctuary with Late Geometric and Early Archaic objects: potsherds, terracottas of the already well known type and many fragments of very coarse clay Gorgoneia in relief. The Sanctuary of Hera was therefore certainly in the upper citadel. The walls built within the megaron, which have been attributed to the earliest temple of Hera, were examined without any definite result. At various places in the upper citadel supplementary excavations were made. The most important single object found was an Early Helladic tiny stone pot with a plastic animal head. In the lower town south of the acropolis part of the area was cleared. It was once bounded by a stream on the south and therefore not very extensive. A few remains of walls and many potsherds date from E. H. times, three graves from the immediately succeeding period (M. H.). The Early Mycenaean strata yielded many beautiful sherds but few walls; the height of building operations here, as on the acropolis, came in 'e Late Mycenaean times, of which several sub-periods may be distinguished. The town seems to have been built on a uniform system with parallel walls. A number of Geometric graves were later dug into the Mycenaean ruins.1 The excavation of the lower town was resumed in the spring of 1927. Southeast of the acropolis, directly against the acropolis rock, lies a large megaron of Late Mycenaean times with a front and a back chamber. The main room was divided by three supports in a row, as evidenced by the column bases. In the central line was a rectangular hearth of clay paved with sherds.2 Near this megaron a smaller somewhat earlier house was cleared, consisting of two rectan ular rooms. In the middle of the larger room st of this house were still further remains of was a hearth of this same type. Late Mycenaean buildings, here as in other parts of the lower town, constructed above pre-Mycenaean walls and broken through by late Geometric pithos graves. In the fall the east slope of the mountain of Hagios Elias was examined. More than fifty Mycenaean tombs were discovered by trial trenches in the northern half of the slope alone. Thirteen were cleared. The majority are the usual chamber tombs with dromos, hewn in the soft rock. Two Early Mycenaean graves consist of a vertical shaft upon which a small side grave-chamber opens. The chamber tombs, on the evidence of the objects found in them, were mostly constructed in Early Mycenaean but reused in Late Mycenean times. They were astonishingly poor in valuable objects. The chief finds are a large number of well preserved vases. This extensive necropolis, although so far distant, can only have belonged to Tiryns.

E. P. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Gnomon, 3 (1927), p. 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Blegen, Korakou, pp. 80 ff., fig. 112.

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### GENERAL MEETING

### OF THE

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

### OF AMERICA

THE Thirtieth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America will be held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, December 27–29, 1928.

The Annual Meeting of the Council of the Institute will be held during this period.

Members of the Institute and others who wish to present papers at the meeting, are requested to send the title and a brief résumé of their papers to Professor Rollin H. Tanner, General Secretary, New York University, University Heights, New York; N. Y., before November 15th.

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## American School of Classical Studies at Athens

### CORRESPONDENCES IN I.G., I2, 196 AND 198

Since the publication of our study, A Revision of Athenian Tribute Lists, which was based for the most part on observations made in Athens during the summer of 1925, we have had an opportunity for further study in the Epigraphical Museum, and our attention has been devoted especially to the mutual relationship existing between the two inscriptions I.G., I², 196 and 198. This problem was discussed in our previous publication (pp. 89–91), but some of the details of restoration were uncertain, and several discrepancies could not be satisfactorily explained. The further study of these items has given rise to the present paper, and it may be well to point out some of the considerations which have led to a second study.

On p. 91 of the publication referred to above several comparisons were made between the two inscriptions as restored to show their close correspondence. Two of these instances may be repeated here:

In I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196: from Σπαρ[τόλιω] (Col. II, line 34) to Στόλι[ω]
 (Col. III, line 2) is seven lines (Plate XVII).

In I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198: from  $[\Sigma \pi a \rho \tau \delta \lambda \iota o \iota]$  (Col. II, line 24) to  $\Sigma \tau \delta \lambda \iota o [\iota]$  (Col. II, line 32) is eight lines (Plate VIII).

(2) In I.G., I², 196: from [Βρυ]κόντωι (Col. III, line 17) to N[άχσιοι] (Col. III, line 27) is ten lines (Plate XVII).

In I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198: from  $B\rho[\nu\kappa\delta\nu\tau\iota\iota\iota]$  (Col. II, line 47) to Nάχ[σιοι] (Col. II, line 56) is nine lines (Plate VIII).

The first of these parallels is not entirely satisfactory, because it is only approximate. But a more serious objection to be raised is that three of the names which fill the lacuna in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198 ( $\Sigma \epsilon \rho \beta \nu - [\lambda \iota \tilde{\epsilon} s]$ ,  $\Sigma \kappa a \beta \lambda [a \tilde{\iota} o \iota]$ , and  $M \epsilon \nu \delta a \tilde{\iota} [o \iota]$ ) are found listed elsewhere in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, near the end of Col. IV. If these three names are subtracted from the lacuna in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, the sequence of names can be made the same in both inscriptions (with the exception of these three of course) by assuming five lines between  $\Sigma \pi a \rho [\tau \delta \lambda \iota o \iota]$  and  $\Sigma \tau \delta \lambda \iota [a \iota]$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, and equating these with the eight lines between the same words in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198. To accomplish this, Col. II of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, must be shortened by two lines.

In the second of the parallel cases cited above we were uncertain at the time of our first publication of the sequence of names following  $[B\rho\nu]\kappa\dot{\rho}\nu\tau\iota\omega\iota$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196. We had suggested that fragment 41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXXVII, 1926, pp. 55-98.

should be placed immediately below fragments 27c and 40 (cf. op. cit., Plate XVI and p. 89), but it was not until 1927 that we were able to remove fragment 41 from the stele as reconstructed by Lolling and to make the test of actual trial. The fragment does in fact make a clear join, as we suspected, below fragment 27c, and the sequence of names from these two fragments is correct as given in our publication. Now the item in line 49 of Col. II in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, does not appear in the sequence in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196, and with this item

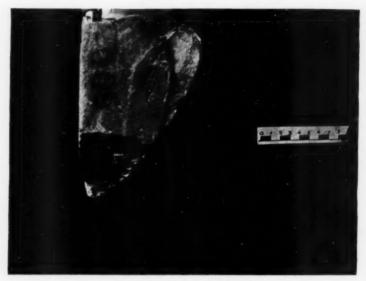


FIGURE 1. FRG. 33, I.G. I2, 196

removed there are only eight lines in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, corresponding to ten lines in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196. To make the correspondence perfect Col. III of I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196, must be shortened by two lines.

Thus in both cases the imperfect parallel of our former restoration can be made perfect by shortening the column length of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, by two lines. If this restoration were carried out in Cols. II and III, it would also be effective in Cols. I and IV, and to test this possibility we have examined again the stones which are involved in the reconstruction of the lower part of Col. I. The obverse face of the large stele into which these fragments are built has been studied with the aid of artificial light, and several items have been discovered which had escaped our attention in 1925.

When fragment 33 was set by the mason in its present plaster bed the marble surface of the fragment was in part covered by the plaster so that a false contour was presented to the eye. We found. in fact, that the fragment had not been broken away since Koehler's time, as stated by us on p. 89 of our earlier publication. On the contrary, the entire surface of the stone is preserved exactly as seen by Koehler (Fig. 1), for the part which we described as having been broken away was covered by a thin layer of plaster. Removing this without injury to the marble was a delicate process, especially where the plaster had been moulded into the broken contour of the edge of In this process, however, one further item of interest ap-The letter which we have given as the initial lambda of Λ[εφσίμανδοι] has the horizontal lower stroke of an epsilon and not the sloping lower stroke of a lambda. This fact appeared only after the plaster had been removed from the upper edge of the fragment. Our suspicions as to the contours of the fragments in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196, were now aroused and we examined fragments 34 and 36, finding there also that the letters represented in our original Plate XVI as broken away were actually preserved under a carelessly applied layer of plaster! In the same way we have found it necessary to change some of the readings of fragment 20 in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, and these corrections will be pointed out below.

The fact that the initial letter preserved on fragment 33 of *I.G.*, I², 196, was an *epsilon* and not a *lambda* allows us to shorten Col. I also by two lines, reading this *epsilon* as the initial letter of 'Ε[ρετριδν ἄποικ]οι in line 36. Col. IV is made shorter by two lines, along with Col. III, by raising the group of fragments EM 4488+34+35+36+*I.G.*, I, 267, to a position two lines higher in the inscription (cf. Plate XVI, *Harvard Studies*, 1926, facing p. 86).

In our previous restoration we found no place in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, for the first five names of Col. II, I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, and lines 42-44 in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, were restored as  $[\Lambda]\epsilon[\varphi\sigma i\mu]\alpha\nu\delta o\iota$ ,  $\Lambda i\gamma[\iota\nu\bar{\epsilon}]\tau a\iota$ , and  $[K]\alpha[\sigma o\lambda\alpha\beta]\bar{\epsilon}s$  on the basis of the parallel group which appeared in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, in the last three lines of Col. I (cf. Trans. Proc. A. P. A., 1925, p. 261). But this parallel is no longer valid, because the item which has always been restored as  $\Lambda[\epsilon\varphi\sigma i\mu\alpha\nu\delta o\iota]$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, must be read as  $[E[\rho\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\bar{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\pi\sigma\iota\kappa]o\iota$ , and we have no assurance that the  $\Lambda i$  — and  $K\alpha$  — following it should be restored as  $\Lambda i[\gamma\iota\nu\bar{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota]$  and  $K\alpha[\sigma o\lambda\alpha\beta\bar{\epsilon}s]$ . Indeed, if we are to follow the example of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, in our restoration here of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, these two names must be restored as two words ending in  $o\iota$  of six and seven letters respectively.

We suggest that I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, Col. I, line 37, should read  $A\tilde{\iota}[\nu\iota\iota\iota]$ 



FIGURE 2. From 48+49+51+20+50+46, I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 198 (This plate is made of two photographs placed together. The upper photograph shows frgs. 48+49)

to correspond with I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 39 [ $\Lambda^*\nu_i$ ] $_{0i}$ , and that I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, Col. I, line 38, should read  $K\alpha[[\nu\nu_i]]$  to correspond with I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 40 [ $K\alpha[\nu_i]$ ] $_{0i}$ . Col. I of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, now corresponds in its entirety with Col. I of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, down through line 40.

A slight additional correction must be made in the restoration of I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, for if [Καὐνι]οι appears in line 40 of Col. I, another name with initial K and a tithe of 50 dr. must appear in Col. II, line 26. We restore K[εδριᾶται] here and make the further correction of reading [Χαλκεᾶ]ται in Col. I, line 31, in place of [Κεδριᾶ]ται. The word [Χαλκεᾶται] should also be restored in place of [Κεδριᾶται] in Col. I, line 29, of I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196.1

We must now review our study of the names in Col. II of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, in their relation to the names of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198. In particular, from Μύνδιοι (Col. II, line 10, I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196) to K[οδαπες] is eleven lines. As we have previously restored Col. I of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, there are sixteen lines between M[ὑνδιοι] (Col. I, line 48) and [Κοδαπες] (Col. II, line 11), assuming that the names in the upper part of Col. II follow after line 56 of Col. I (cf. Harvard Studies, 1926, pp. 90–91).

In order that the correspondence here may be perfect, fragment 20 in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, must be lowered five lines so that the eleven lines of difference between  $M\dot{\nu}\nu\dot{\delta}\iota \iota \iota$  and  $Ko\delta \alpha\pi\dot{\epsilon}s$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, may be paralleled by the same difference of eleven lines in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198.

It will be noticed at once that by this change the letters  $Xa\lambda$ , which are now restored as part of the word  $Xa\lambda[\kappa\epsilon\tilde{a}\tau a]\iota$  in I.G., I², 198, Col. I, line 52, become the initial letters of the word  $Xa\lambda[\kappa\epsilon\tilde{a}\tau a]\iota$  becomes the final iota of  $\Phi a[\rho\beta\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma]\iota$ , and that the initial sigma of line 53 becomes the initial sigma of  $\Sigma[\epsilon]\lambda\nu\mu\beta\rho\iota a\nu\sigma\iota$ . Fragments 20 and 46 are thus brought into such close proximity that we had them removed from the reconstructed stele so that the test of actual juxtaposition could be applied. Our a priori deductions were confirmed by the fact that the two fragments actually fit together to give the text as indicated above (Fig. 2).

The consequences of this change of position for fragment 20 are felt also in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 194, on the obverse face of the stele (cf. Trans. Proc. A. P. A., 1925, Plate II, facing p. 258) where fragments 20 and 16 also make an actual join in such a way that fragment 20 must be lowered four lines in Col. IV of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 194 (Fig. 3).

Now it is obvious that fragment 20 cannot be lowered four lines in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 194, while it is lowered five lines in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, and yet the joins with which we are dealing are absolutely certain. The only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This restoration will be discussed below, p. 291.

solution is that we must lower fragment 20 four lines in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 194 and 198, and then in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, the group of fragments 46+50+51+52 must be raised one line. Fortunately no change is necessary in the published text of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 201, where fragment 52 appears in



Figure 3. Frgs. 20+46+16, I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 194 (This plate is made of two photographs placed together.)

Col. I (cf. Trans. Proc. A. P. A., 1925, Plate III, facing p. 264). The raising of fragment 52 in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, merely eliminates a slope from left to right in the lines of I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 201, which may be ob-

served in our published plate, and our measurements given for I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 201, on pp. 256-260 of the article mentioned above will need revision. But this can be done with greater accuracy after the dismemberment and reconstruction of the stele, a task in which we are now engaged. (This work is now finished.)

Since the lower fragments of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, remain in their original positions, compensation for the line which has been eliminated above fragments 46+50+51+52 must be made by the addition of a line below this same group of fragments. The number of the lines

in the inscription remains unchanged.

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In I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 194, raising fragment 46 one line means that the letters -δριοι follow the initial T of line 31. The word is to be restored as  $T[\epsilon \lambda \acute{a}\nu] δριοι$ . The item . . . . . . . . σιοι falls in line 32, and line 33 must be left unrestored. The letter alpha which we have given both in facsimile and transcript as following the tau in line 31 does not exist on the stone. Since the surface of the marble above the letters -δριοι on fragment 46 is preserved uninscribed, we may be sure that the item Σιλο- of line 30 was a word of at most five letters, and we restore \(\Si\log(\ell)\). In line 28 the restoration \(K\_\ll(\arganu\right)\) is no longer valid, and the initial omicron of line 27 must be read as the initial theta of Θ[ρ]ανιέται. The stroke which we have interpreted as the initial pi of line 26 may equally well represent the initial h of  $h[v]\beta\lambda\iota\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}s$ , and we so restore it. When the surface of the stone was cleaned, a vertical hasta like that of a pi appeared after the sigma of line 20, and in line 28 the letters hitherto copied as tapy took on a different aspect. The iota is too far to the left for an iota properly spaced. It looks more like a lambda. The final nu is also doubtful. We have omitted these letters, since they are uncertain, from our transcript. The end of Col. IV in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 194, must be reconstructed as follows, and we give the following synopsis

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The two letters  $\Lambda\iota$  – – seem rather to have been ' $\Lambda\rho$  – . Since the paragraph above was written, fragments 49 and 51 have been removed from the stele and juxtaposed. They actually join as here determined with a considerable contact surface (Fig. 2).

as a correction of the text as published in the Transactions and Proceedings, 1925, plate facing p. 255.

15				
20		$\Sigma$		
	HA	'Αλ[οπεκοννέσιοι]		
	$H\Delta\Delta$ -	Keio[i]		
	Δ[]-[IIII]	$.\sigma\sigma v \rho \iota$		
	$\Delta\Delta\Delta$  - -[-11]	[Χ]αλκέτο[ρες]		
25	[]-IIII	[h]vôaiēs		
	<b>DITHIII</b>	$h[v]\beta\lambda\iota\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}s$		
	[]- - II	$\Theta[\rho]$ avierai		
	Δ[]-1111	Κιαρ		
	Δ[]-1111	Θυδα		
30	ΔΔΓ	Σίλο[ι]		
	Н	Τ[ελάν]δριοι		
		σιοι		

It will be observed that the tithe of  $\Theta$ panērai shows a variation during the first period, being  $\Delta \square \vdash \vdash \mid \text{in } I.G.$ , I², 192 and  $\square \vdash \vdash \vdash \mid \text{here}$ , though it is possible that neither figure represents the true quota of the city.

On fragment 20 of I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, we have further studied the badly weathered surface with the result that several new readings appear. (Cf. in this connection the published result of our former observations in the Trans. Proc. A. P. A., 1925, p. 260.) The fragment has now been removed from the reconstructed stele and the letters have been read with the aid of different combinations of light and shadow.

The initial alpha of  $\Lambda i\gamma[\iota\nu\tilde{\epsilon}]\tau a\iota$  must be rejected, for when the edges of the fragment were cleaned there was disclosed here on the badly weathered surface of the marble a circular cutting, like that of *omicron*, phi, or theta. The second letter, which was apparently an iota, proved to be epsilon, for traces of the horizontal strokes actually appeared on the surface of the stone. The third letter, gamma, is clear as first represented by us. Directly beneath this gamma is preserved the letter rho. We must restore here the words  $\Phi\epsilon\gamma[\dot{\epsilon}\tau\iota o\iota]$  and  $[K]a\rho[\beta a\sigma vav\delta \bar{\epsilon}s]$  in place of the earlier  $\Lambda i\gamma[\iota\nu\bar{\epsilon}]\tau a\iota$  and  $[K]a[\sigma o\lambda a\beta \bar{\epsilon}s]$ , and these words fall in lines 47 and 48 respectively. It will be noticed that in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, the item  $[\Phi]\epsilon\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\tau\iota o[\iota]$  falls toward

the end of Col. IV, while  $Ka\rho\beta a\sigma vav\delta[\bar{\epsilon}s]$  appears just before  $O\dot{\nu}\lambda\iota\tilde{a}\tau a\iota$  (Col. II, line 6) as it does in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198.

In Col. I, line 46, of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, we now restore the first epsilon of fragment 20 as part of the word  $[T]_{\epsilon}[\lambda\dot{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\iota\omega\iota]$ , instead of  $[\Lambda]_{\epsilon}[\varphi\sigma\iota\mu]\alpha\nu\delta\omega\iota$ , and this item is paralleled by the entry in Col. II, line 5, of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196. Below  $\Phi a[\rho\beta\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\sigma]\iota$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, the  $M\nu\nu$ - of  $M\dot{\nu}\nu[\delta\iota\omega\iota]$  and the  $\Lambda\iota$ - of  $\Lambda\dot{\iota}[\nu\delta\iota\sigma\iota]$  are clear.

There are still left the first three entries of Col. II in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, which must be paralleled by the entries from Col. I of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, lines 41–45 (revised numbering) as follows:

I.G., I <sup>2</sup> , 196	I.G., I <sup>2</sup> , 198
Ναχσιᾶτα[ι]	[Πασανδ]ες
Θασθαρές	[Λεφσίμ] ανδοι
Μυδόνες	[] ται
	$[\ldots^7,\ldots]$ ēs

We propose that the first two of these items from I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, be restored directly above  $[\Phi]\epsilon\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\tau\omega[\iota]$  in Col. IV of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, and that Col. I of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, lines 43–45, be restored:

[Ναχσιᾶ]ται [Θασθαρ]ες [Μυδόνες]

It is true that in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, line 44, there should be seven letters before the final  $\epsilon_5$ , instead of six as in  $[\Theta a\sigma\theta a\rho]\tilde{\epsilon}_5$ , but there may have been some variation in the *stoichedon* order, as was the case with  $\Theta t\sigma[\sigma t]ot$  in line 55 (revised numbering), where the restoration is certain because of the actual joining of the fragments, and where the *stoichedon* order of letters demands six spaces instead of five before the final ot.

The long word  $[K]a\rho[\beta a\sigma var \delta \tilde{\epsilon}s]$  in line 48 reaches to the right as far as the numerals preserved before  $K\iota[a\nu oi]$  in Col. II, and the letters  $\epsilon\lambda$  given in previous publications should actually be read as  $\epsilon s$ , before which part of a delta is preserved. The restoration is  $[K]a\rho[\beta a\sigma var]\delta \tilde{\epsilon}s$ . Notice also that there are six spaces to be filled before the final  $\epsilon s$  in Col. I, line 41. The disposition of the letters is correctly given in Plate VII of our earlier publication, though only five spaces are indicated in the transcript, Plate VIII. This item should be restored in Col. IV, line 31, of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196 (revised numbering). We read  $[\Pi a\sigma a\nu \delta]\tilde{\epsilon}s$  in preference to  $[Ma\delta \nu a\sigma]\tilde{\epsilon}s$  for reasons given below, p. 291.

Below [A] $\delta \lambda [i\tilde{\epsilon}\tau \alpha i]$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 49, the names should be restored as in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, Col. II, lines 7 ff. The restoration  $\Pi \epsilon [\rho \kappa \delta \tau \epsilon]$  must be abandoned in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 54,

in favor of  $\Pi_{\epsilon}[\delta i \tilde{\epsilon} s]$ . The third letter seems to be a delta (though possibly alpha or gamma) and since the item is paralleled by I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, Col. II, line 12, we know that the sixth letter was sigma.  $\Pi_{\epsilon}[\delta i \tilde{\epsilon} s]$  fulfills these requirements. The tithe, however, seems to have been  $33\frac{1}{3}$  dr., to judge from the traces still on the stone. This is large for  $\Pi_{\epsilon}\delta i \tilde{\epsilon} s$ , but since nothing is known of the tithe of  $\Pi_{\epsilon}\delta i \tilde{\epsilon} s$  in the first and second assessment periods it is not an insuperable objection to the restoration. The final H of the regular tithe of 900 dr. for  $Xa\lambda\chi_{\epsilon}\delta \delta i \nu o i$  is also preserved on fragment 20 in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 56.

In order that the correspondence between the two inscriptions may be complete, we must assume also that lines 30–33 of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, Col. II, correspond to lines 20–23 of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. II. The tithe of  $[\mbox{\ensuremath{\square}}$  is, however, perfectly clear on the stone where we should expect the tithe of  $[\mbox{\ensuremath{\square}}$  for  $K\nu i \delta i \omega i$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198. It stands alone and so cannot have formed part of the longer tithe  $[\mbox{\ensuremath{\square}} \Delta \Delta \ensuremath{\square}$  of  $\Gamma a \rho \gamma a \rho \tilde{\epsilon} s$ , even supposing that for some reason the order of the names in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, was here disturbed. We assume that the numeral  $[\mbox{\ensuremath{\square}}$  was a stonecutter's error for  $[\mbox{\ensuremath{\square}}$  and restore Col. II, line 23, as  $(\mbox{\ensuremath{\square}})$  [ $K\nu i \delta i \omega i$ ].

Otherwise we find that I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, is paralleled in its entirety by I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, when the names in this latter inscription are taken in the following order:

- (1) Col. I through line 55 (revised numbering)
- (2) Col. II through line 55 (revised numbering)
- (3) Col. I lines 56-73 (revised numbering)
- (4) Col. II lines 56-73 (revised numbering)
- (5) Col. I lines 74-86 (revised numbering)

This is, in fact, the order which we proposed in our paper in *Harvard Studies*, pp. 89–91, and it may now, we believe, be accepted as an established fact. The correspondence holds true, with slight minor variations in the order within groups of two or three names, except that certain names which appear in the body of *I.G.*, I², 198, were listed only at the end of *I.G.*, I², 196, in Col. IV. These names

[Πασανδές]

[Λεφσίμανδοι]

[Φ]εγέτιο[ι]

Σερβυλιές

Σκαβλαῖοι

 $M\epsilon(\nu)\delta\alpha$   $\tilde{\iota}$   $o\iota$ 

Κύθνιοι

Καρύστιοι

Κεῖοι

It may be observed that these names are listed here in the same order in which they appeared in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198.

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There remains as yet one anomaly in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196, for Col. IV, line 30, finds no parallel in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198. Here the stone is broken away and only the letter mu is preserved in the column of numerals. So far as we know there has been no attempt to explain this letter, which cannot be construed as part of any tithe. It must in fact be considered as part of a special prescript giving the reason why the names listed below it were not included in the body of the inscription We suggest, purely by way of example, the restoration μ[ετὰ τὰ Διονύσια] for the line in question. It has no parallel in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, merely because it does not record the name of a city paying tribute. That the names below were cut later than the body of the inscription is proved by the fact that they are in a different As evidence for this assertion we point to the fact that the nu's following the prescript in Col. IV are more slanting and that the rho's have a tail-stroke, while the other rho's of the inscription have a simple rounding in addition to the upright bar (Fig. 4; cf. Harvard Studies, 1926, Plate XVI, facing p. 86). Since the tithes in the special appendix represent normal amounts of payment, it is doubly clear that the prescript deals with some irregularity in the time of payment rather than in the kind of payment, and the sense of our tentative restoration follows this interpretation.

The names which appear toward the end of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, form a group which deserves special study in itself. We shall note here only that the correspondence between I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196 and I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198 ends with Col. I, line 86, of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, and that the rest of the names in this inscription (Col. I, lines 87–112, and Col. II, lines 74–112) represent for the most part belated payments, or partial payments. Many of the names have already appeared in the main body of the text, a condition which is paralleled by I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, and where this is true the payments are, so far as our evidence goes, fractions of the normal tithe which should be accredited to the city.

For this reason we choose to restore  $[Xa\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tilde{a}]\tau a\iota$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 31, and  $[Xa\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tilde{a}\tau a\iota]$  in the corresponding position in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, Col. I, line 29, although the word  $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tilde{a}\tau a\iota$  fulfills the epigraphical requirements equally well. The name  $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tilde{a}[\tau a\iota]$  appears, however, credited with its full tithe of 50 dr. in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. II, line 103. In a similar way we have chosen to restore  $[\Pi a\sigma a\nu\delta]\tilde{\epsilon}s$  instead of  $[Ma\delta\nu a\sigma]\tilde{\epsilon}s$  in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 41, because  $Ma\delta\nu a\sigma[\tilde{\epsilon}s]$  appears with its full tithe of 100 dr. in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. II, line 102. The restoration of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. I, line 89, should probably also be  $[\Lambda a\mu]\varphi\sigma a[\kappa\epsilon\nu\delta]$  instead of  $[\Sigma\kappa a]\varphi\sigma a[\tilde{\iota}\delta\iota]$ , and



FIGURE 4. FRGS. 34+35+36+ I.G. IJ, 267 OF I.G. II, 196

we suspect a partial payment on the entry in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196, Col. IV, line 3, or I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, Col. II, line 59.

Fragment 15, the lateral face of which appears in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, has also been removed from the reconstructed stele, and the badly weathered surface has been carefully restudied. The numerals which appear in Col. I, lines 28–31, are correct as published, but after the H of line 32 there is a faint but well defined  $\square$ . The numeral must be read as  $\square$  Below this are two numerical signs for 100 dr. They are so spaced, however, that the reading may be either HH or HH[.]. The restoration  $[\hbar \epsilon \sigma \sigma \omega]$  is no longer appropriate after the tithe of 150 dr. in line 32, and we leave both lines 32 and 33 unrestored, as well as the corresponding lines in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, Col. I.¹ Even the numeral  $\square$  in line 32 is not certain, because one or perhaps two figures may have been lost to the left of the numerical sign for 100 dr. The restoration  $[\lceil H \rceil] \square$   $[\lceil E \varphi \epsilon \sigma \omega]$  may be considered as a possibility, though too uncertain to be included in our transcript.

It remains to note the restoration in Col. IV of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 196, lines 26 ff., made possible by the change in position of the fragments of the inscription.

In line 26 read Δ[ [ IIII] [Παισ] ενοί.

In line 27 read  $\Delta \Gamma[\vdash \Pi\Pi] [\Pi \epsilon \rho \kappa \delta] \tau \epsilon$ .

We leave line 28 unrestored.

[Κολοφόνιο] is the only possible restoration for I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196, Col. II, line 20, and the item is paralleled in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198, Col. II, line 9.

In I.G.,  $I^2$ , 198, Col. II, line 99, we restore  $[\Sigma]a\nu\alpha[\bar{\nu}\alpha]$ . The initial letter is not clear and so we have retained the brackets, but it may possibly have been sigma, and the restoration here proposed gives the only plausible explanation for the letters  $a\nu\alpha$  which appear on the stone.

In I.G., I², 198, Col. II, line 100, appears the item HHHH $\Gamma$ [-]++-II  $Topo[\nu a ioi]$ , where there can be no doubt either as to the amount of the tithe or as to the name of the city. It is significant to notice that in I.G., I², 196, Col. IV, line 16, there appears the entry  $\Gamma$ HH $\Gamma$  $\Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta$ IIII  $[\Sigma \kappa \iota o] \nu a ioi$ . In our previous publication we followed earlier editors in keeping this restoration  $[\Sigma \kappa \iota o] \nu a ioi$ , as well as the corresponding restoration  $[\Sigma \kappa \iota o] \nu a ioi$  in I.G., I², 198, Col. II, line 71. But it cannot be a mere coincidence that the partial tithes attributed to Skione in I.G., I², 196, and to Torone in I.G., I², 198, add together to give the round sum of XHH. We restore, there-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Since the quota H of line 30, Col. I, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 198 is more suitable for hέσσιοι than for Οὐναῖοι, we shift hέσσιοι to line 30 and make the necessary change in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 196.

fore, the name [Toρο]ναῖοι in place of [Σκιο]ναῖοι in I.G., I², 196, Col. IV, line 16, and the name [Toρο]ναῖοι in place of [Σκι]οναῖοι in I.G., I², 198, Col. II, line 71, and consider the payment recorded for Torone in I.G., I², 198, Col. II, line 100, as representing the amount still due on the normal tribute of twelve talents which was not completely realized when the payments recorded in I.G., I², 196, were made. In fact we were led to this discovery by the conviction that Skione could not appear in any case in the quota lists of the second period, I.G., I², 195–198, because of the extraordinarily high tithe of Mende. In the first period the Mendaeans are credited with a tithe of 800 dr. (I.G., I², 193, Col. II, line 5; I.G., I², 194, Col. I, line 7); in the second period with a tithe of 1500 dr. (I.G., I², 196, Col. IV, line 36; I.G., I², 198, Col. II, line 31); and in the third period with a tithe of 500 dr. (I.G., I², 2, 201, Col. III, line 5).

These variations in amounts of tithe cannot be explained by the sudden increase and subsequent decrease in the prosperity of Mende itself, but we must conclude from the high tithe of Mende in the second period that the city was paying not only for itself but also for some of its neighbors. Of these, Skione alone was important enough to cause so great an increase of tribute, even though other and smaller cities may also have contributed. We notice that Θραμβαΐοι does not appear in the second period, and since it appeared in the first period always in conjunction with Skione, we assume that the payments made during the second period by the Mendaeans covered the obligations of Thrambe as well as those of Skione. tions proposed above bear out our conclusion as to the tributary status of Skione, and we have an interesting example of group payment under a single name and subsequent ἀπόταξις. The tribute of Mende was reduced in the third period, and Skione and Thrambe both appear as making payment under their own names.

The changes in the texts of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196 and 198, discussed in this paper, together with the possibility of making further restorations by comparing the documents with each other, make advisable the publication of new transcripts, which are given herewith.

Some slight changes also are involved in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 205, on the left lateral face of the large stele, and in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 203 on the reverse face, but these may be presented more briefly.

When fragment 33 was raised two lines in Col. I of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, it was necessary to raise also fragments 33+103+97 and fragment EM 2510 two lines in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 205 (cf. Harvard Studies, 1926, Plate III, facing p. 60). We give here a revision of the list of Caric states in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 205, with the addition of the restoration [Napiσβapē]s in line 81 and [Φασελῖται] and [Κνίδιοι] in Col. I, line 89, and Col. II,

line 72, respectively. Both names appeared, because the tithes of 300 dr. are each certain, and we have thought it best to make the restoration in order to show that both cities paid tribute, rather than to omit the names because of uncertainty as to the order in which they appeared.

CARIC LIST IN I.G., I2, 205.

	K a	[ρ] ικὸ s	Φ 6 [	ρ ο ς]
	HP	'Αστυπαλαιές	["H	
	H	Kıvôvēs	Δ[[-1111]	
70	PED	[Κ]αύνιοι	H	
		[Τ]ελάνδριοι	ΔΔΔΓ	[Χαλκέτορες]
		[Πα]σανδές	ннн	[Κνίδιοι]
		$[K\rho]v\tilde{\epsilon}s$	$HH \triangle \Delta \Delta$	[Χερρονέσιοι]
		[Καρ]βασυαν[δές]		
75		[Α]ὐλι[ᾶται]		
		Καρυανδές	[ΔΔ[-   ]	[Mulaσes]
		Καρπάθο 'Αρκέσσεια		$[\Lambda \epsilon \varphi \sigma v] a v \delta [\tilde{\epsilon} s]$
		Καμιρές	H	[Συα]γγελές
		Kõioi		$[K\tilde{a}] ho\epsilon s$ $h\tilde{o}\nu$ $T\dot{v}[\mu\nu](\epsilon s$
80		$[K\epsilon]\delta ho[\iota\tilde{a} au]a\iota$	HP	Κα[λ]ύδνιοι ἄρχει)
		[Ναρισβαρέ]ς	Δ[-1111	Βα[ρ]γυλιέται
				Παρπαριόται
			HPAP(-IIII)	[ha]λικαρνάσ[σιοι]
				$[T_{\epsilon}]\rho\mu\epsilon\rho\tilde{\epsilon}s$
85				$[\Pi \epsilon \lambda] \epsilon \iota [\tilde{a} \tau a \iota]$
	<b>[[]]</b>	[Πεδιές έγ Λίνδο]		
	AP[HIII]			
	$[\Delta]\Delta\Delta[ - - 1]$			
	ннн	[Φασελῖται]		

It has already been pointed out that the length of the Caric list in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 205, cannot be determined with certainty (Harvard Studies, 1926, p. 86), but we think it probable that the length of our previous restoration should be reduced by at least one line. In the argument of our article here mentioned (p. 85) we assumed that the last column of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 203, contained 38 lines, and by a study of the interrelation of the fragments in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 203, 205, and 196, we reached the conclusion that there was a lacuna of two lines between the words  $[Ka\rho]\beta a\sigma vav[\delta \tilde{\epsilon}s]$  and  $[A]b\lambda [\tilde{a}\tau a\iota]$  in the Caric list of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 205, and that I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, should be restored as an inscription of 40 lines (op. cit. pp. 86–87). We now know that our hypothesis as to the length of the last column in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 203, was not correct, for I.G.,  $I^2$ , 196, is an inscription of 38, not 40, lines.

But the interrelation of the fragments between the three inscriptions is still valid, and we discover that the lacuna of two lines between the words  $[Ka\rho]\beta a\sigma vav[\delta \tilde{\epsilon}s]$  and  $[A]\tilde{v}\lambda_{1}[\tilde{a}\tau a\iota]$  in I.G.,  $I^{2}$ , 205, must be omitted, and that the last column of I.G.,  $I^{2}$ , 203, contains only 36 lines. In other words, fragment 97 is moved up by two lines in I.G.,  $I^{2}$ , 203, as fragment 33 is moved up by two lines in I.G.,  $I^{2}$ , 196. We have tested fragments 96 and 97 for the possibility of a join in I.G.,  $I^{2}$ , 203, without any positive result. The two fragments were certainly close together, but the contact surface seems to be gone.

At the same time, Woodward's fragment (J.H.S., 1908, p. 291) retains its original position in  $I.G., I^2, 203$ , and the lacuna between it and fragment 97 must be shortened by two lines. We eliminate here the names  $K\dot{\nu}\theta\nu\omega$  and  $\Sigma\epsilon\rho\dot{\nu}\omega$  and restore them at the beginning of the Island list. The lacuna at the end of the Caric list is at the same time shortened by two lines.

We give here a revised transcript of the last column of I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 203, to show the changes involved in the above reconstruction.

4		-	_	_	[]	$\Pi_{\epsilon}$	Lei	$[i\tau]$	aı	
	-	-	-	-	[]	Μú	νδυ	01]		
5	_	-	-	***	[]	Ka	λύδ	νιο	[10	
	-	,	_	-	['	Γερ	με	pēs		
	_	_	-	-	-	_	-	_	-	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	_	_	_	
*	_	_	_	-	-	-	_	-	_	
10	_	_	-	-	-	_	-	-	-	
	-	_	-	-	-	-	_	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	_	-	
			1	Νεσ	ιοτικ	òs	Φό	ροι	[3]	
	-	_	_		[1	ζύθ	νιο	u]		
15	-	-	_		[2	E O	iou	أيم		

	[14th X o tot]
	 [Σίφνιοι]
	 [Τέ]νιοι
	 "Ανδριοι
20	 Καρύστιοι
	Γρυνχές
	 Κεΐοι
	 Μυκόνιοι
	 Πάριοι

ripnes 205, ins wo in ssi-'he

ol) it ite inat

I<sup>2</sup>,

	Ναρ[ισβα]ρ[ες]	CHH-II	Ναχσιατα[ι]	[PA]AAHHHI	Στόλι[οι]	н .	Σερί[φιοι]
	Τεν[έδι]οι	[]- - -	Θασθαρές	[[]- -]-	hεδρόλ[ιοι]	PAAATHIII	Λαμφ[σακενοί]
[P+++]ii	$\Gamma \epsilon [\nu \tau] i \nu \iota o \iota$	ΔΔΓ	Μυδόνες	Γ	Pevaies	<b>P</b>	Αἰγά[ντιοι]
5 [A[]-IIII	$\Sigma[\tau a \gamma] \iota \rho \tilde{\iota} \tau a [\iota]$	P	Τελάνδριοι		Πριαπές	ннн	Tévi[oi]
	[Kepa] μes	Δ[-1111	Καρβασυανδ[ες]		heoriaie[s]	ſ™H	Téco[i]
	[Kamip]es	P+++11	Οὐλιᾶται		[ΙΙ] αλαιπερκ[ό] σιοι	ſ <sup>®</sup> H	"Αν[δρ]ιοι
	[hαλικ]α[ρνάσσι]οι	ΔΔΔΗΗΙΙ	Koves		Γαλέφσιο[ι]		Μυκόνιοι
	[Μυριναΐοι]	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Φαρβέλιοι		Φοκ[αι]ες	[ΗΗΔΔΔ]Δ[]-	Θάσιοι
10	[Μεκύβερναῖοι]	CHH-II	Μύνδιοι	(HHHPC)-	Κοιοι	1111	'Αβυδενόί
[ΔΔΔ]	Π[λαγαρές]	X	[Λί]νδιοι		Βαργυλι[ες]	H	Έρετριές
	[Πεδασες]		$[II\epsilon\delta\iota\tilde{\epsilon}]s$		Σαμοθρᾶι[κες]		$B\rho[v]\nu\chi\epsilon\iota\check{\epsilon}s$
[ НННН	[Κυμαΐοι]		[Θύσσιοι]	$\Delta[\Delta\Delta\Delta]$	'Ασσερῖται	[HH]H	Σίφν]ιοι
	[Πιταναῖοι]				[Δ]ίκαια παρ' "Αβδ[ερ]α	Δ[[    ]	[Διδ]υμοτεχ[ῖται
15 ∆['FIIII	Γρυ[νειές]			ΔΔΔ <u>[1]</u>	$[\Delta\iota]\tilde{\epsilon}s$	Δ	['Iāra]ı
ннн	Χε[ρρονέσιοι]			Δ <u>[[-1111]</u>	[Εὐ]ρυμαχῖται	["ΗΗΡ"ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ	[Τορο]ναΐοι
	Πύ[ρνιοι]			[[ II]	[Βρυ]κόντιοι	Δ[Δ]ΔΔΓ-	[Δαρδ ανές
Δ[]-111[1]	Νε[άπολις]			ΔΓ[-1111]	[Kiavoi]		II [pi]aves
нн	Κ[υλλάντιοι]		8	AP-IIIII	$[\Lambda \rho]$		$\Sigma[\tau]v ho\tilde{\epsilon}s$
20 [Δ]ΔΔ11	Κ[υρβισσές]	ннн	[Κολοφόνιο]ι	ΔΔ	h[vô ai es]	$\Delta\Delta\Delta[\vdash]\vdash\vdash$	'Αθεναῖοι
$[\Delta]\Delta\Delta$	X[iot]	AP-IIII	Κ[οδαπες]	Н	'Υ[δισσες]	ΔΓ[-]	Β[ε]ρύσιοι
[H]HH	'Αφ[υταῖο]ι	[]-IIII	Kv	ннн	h[aipaioi]	- - -	Βυζάντιοι
	Συ[αγγελ]ες	Δ[-IIII	Διο[σιρίται]	$[X]\Gamma^{R}H\Delta\Delta$	[Πάριοι]	[.]	Χαλκιδές
	Τ[ερμε]ρες	ΔΔΔΓ	Χαλκ[έτορες]		[Δαμνιοτειχίται]	[A]	Νεοπολίται
25 [Δ][]-IIII	$I[\delta v \mu] \tilde{\epsilon} s$	ΔΔΓ	'Ολοφ[ύχσιω]	T"HPAT-IIII	Ν[άχσιοι]	[A[]-11[11]	[Λ]α[μ]πόνεια
	[Μαρ]ονῖτα[ι]	HP	Κλαζ [ομένιοι]	ГНННН	Χα[λχεδόν]ιοι		Παισ ενοί
	[Θερ]μαΐοι	хнннн	hαβ[δερῖται]	["H	Σε[λυμβρ]ιανοί	Δ[[-1111]	[Περκό]τε
	$[h\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\iota]o[\iota]$	HP	Καλύδ[νιοι]		'Ε[ρυθραῖ]οι	H	
	[Χαλκέᾶται]	ΔΔΔ-[II]	Notie[s]		[ho]ῦτο[ι ἀπ' αὐτον] Ιυπέρ		
	•				[ΙΙ]ολιχναίον : κα[ὶ hυ]πέρ		
30	$[\ldots^6,\ldots^l]$		$\Gamma \alpha  ho \gamma lpha  ho [ ilde{\epsilon}s]$		[Σ]ιδόσιοι Βουθ[ειές 'Ε]λαι Πτελεόσιοι		Διονύσια?]
		HH[H]	Φασελί[ται]		Σίγγιοι		[Πασανδές]
		Н	$\Delta \iota \tilde{\epsilon} s$		Παρπάρι[ο]ι	$\Delta\Delta\Delta$	[Λεφσίμανδοι]
	[7	TRI .	Κνίδι[οι]		Σκαφσαῖο[ι]	ΔΔΓ(-1111)	[Φ]εγέτιο[ι]
	[701]	НН	Σπαρ[τόλιοι]	[HHHI	Σερμές	нин .	Σερβυλιές
5	[Δικαιοπολίται]	(H)	[Σ]τ[ρεφσαῖοι]		"Ικιοι	20	Σκαβλαΐοι
[vaeat]	Έ[ρετριον ἄποικ]οι		[Κεδριᾶται]	ΔH-IIII	Σιγειε[s]	Χľ	$M\epsilon(\nu)\delta a ioi$
	Αἴ[νιοι]		['Ιελύσιοι]	Γ	hαρπ[αγιανοί]	ннн	Κύθνιοι
	Κα[ύνιοι]		['Αστυπαλαιές]	ннн	Πεπα[ρέθιοι]	T <sup>PR</sup>	Καρύστιοι
		eat		cat	,	нннн	Κεῖοι

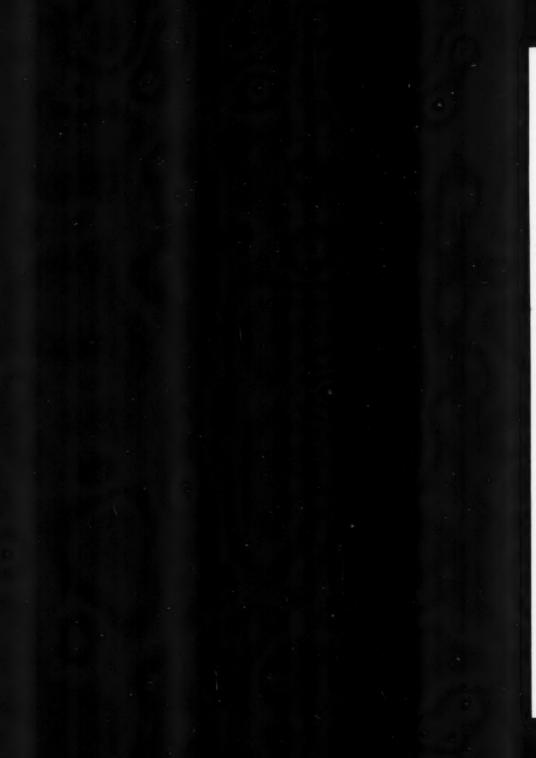
SPICY MICY



	, -, -		
['E]π l τ ε s	D /c	ες δγδό (	
		γραμμά	7 € 0 € ]
[ Π]αιονί	[δ ε s ]		
	Ναρισ[βαρές]		
5 [H]H  <sup>∞</sup> ΔΔΔ	Τενέδ[ιο]ι		
	Σταγ[ιρῖ]ται		
['[- -]-	$\Gamma \epsilon \nu \tau i [\nu] \iota o \iota$	Δ[-[III]	
HE	$Ke\rho a\mu [\tilde{e}]s$	[h[II]	
нннн	$Ka\mu [\rho \tilde{\epsilon}]s$	ннн	[Κολοφόνιοι]
10 HH	hαλι[κ]αρνάσσιοι	Δ	
Н	Μυριναΐοι	Δ[-[[II]]	[Κοδαπες]
H	Μεκυ[βε]ρναΐοι	[-II(II)	[Kv]
$[\Delta]\Delta[\Delta]+++[II]$	$\Pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\alpha[\rho]\tilde{\epsilon}s$	Δ[-1[111]	[Διοσιρίται]
[H]H	Πεδα[σ]ες		[Χαλκέτορες]
15 [ <sup>™</sup> ]HHHH	Κυμαῖοι		['Ολοφύχσιοι]
[Δ][]-	Πιταν[α] τοι		[Κλαζομένιοι]
[Δ][]-1111	Γρυν[ει]ēs		[hαβδερῖται]
ннн	Χερρονέσιο[ι]		[Καλύδνιοι]
	Πύρνιοι	$\Delta\Delta[\Delta + + 1]$	[Noties]
20 [] [-1[11]	Νεάπολις		[Γαργαρές]
НН	Κυλάντιοι		[Φασελίται]
$[\Delta]\Delta[\Delta]++11$	Κυρβισές		$[\Delta \iota \tilde{\epsilon} s]$
[Δ]Δ[Δ]	Xio[i]	(FR)	[Κνίδιοι]
HHH	$^{\prime}\Lambda \varphi v[ au]a$ $\tilde{\iota}o\iota$	НН	[Σπαρτόλιοι]
25 H	$\sum v[\alpha\gamma\gamma]\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\epsilon}s$	Н	Σ[τρεφσαΐοι]
	[Τερμ]ερές	20	Κ[εδριᾶται]
	['Ιδυμ]ες	X	'Ιελ[ύσιοι]
HP	[Μαρ]ονίται	НН	'Ασστ[υπαλαιές]
[ZS]	[Θερμα] ῖοι	ннн	Σερβυ[λιές]
30 H	[hέσσι]οι	PO .	Σκαβλ[αῖοι]
ZO ZO	[Χαλκεᾶ]ται	XITA	Μενδατ[οι]
HP	6	PAAAHHII	Στόλιο[ι]
HH[?]		CHHHI	hεδρόλ[ιοι]
		Г	Peva[tes]
35		[+++II	$\Pi[\rho]\iota\alpha[\pi\tilde{\epsilon}s]$
	ot	Δ[-II	hεσ[τιαιές]
	[Δικαι]οπολίται	HHHPT-	Kõio[i]
[vacat]	[Έρετρ]ιον ἄποικοι	ннн	Φοκα[ιες]
	[Αΐνι]οι	[II	Παλαιπερκ[όσιοι]
40	Καύνι]οι	ΗΔΔ	Γαλέφσιο[ι]
	[Πασανδ]ες	PAPHIII	Βαργυλιέ[s]
		[*H	[Σ] αμοθρᾶικ[ες]
	[Ναχσιᾶ]ται	ΔΔΔΔ	'Ασσερῖτα[ι]
	[Θασθαρ]ες	<b>P</b>	$\Delta[i]$ καια
45	[Μυδόνες]	ΔΔΔΗΗΙΙ	$\Delta \iota [\tilde{\epsilon}]_{S}$
	[Τ]ε[λάνδριοι]	AC-IIII	Εὐ[ρ]υμαχ[ῖται]
	Φεγ[έτιοι]	CH-HI	Βρ[υκόντιοι]
	[Κ]αρ[βασυαν]δές	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Ki[avoi]
	$[\Lambda]\dot{v}\lambda[\iota\tilde{a}\tau a\iota]$	Δ[-IIII	'Λρ
au -•	[K]pv[es]	ΔΔ	hv[δαιεs]
	Φα[ρβέλιο]ι	Н	'Υδι[σσες]



	** > /		[A)
HH	Κυλάντιοι		[Φασελίται]
$[\Delta]\Delta[\Delta]+++11$	Κυρβισές		$[\Delta \iota \tilde{\epsilon} s]$
$[\Delta]\Delta[\Delta]+++11$	Xīo[i]	(FA)	[Κνίδιοι]
ннн	$^{\prime}Aarphi v[ au]$ a $\~{i}$ o $\iota$	нн	[Σπαρτόλιοι]
25 H	$\sum v[\alpha\gamma\gamma]\epsilon\lambda\bar{\epsilon}s$	H	Σ[τρεφσαῖοι]
	[Τερμ]ερές	P	Κ[εδριᾶται]
	['Ιδυμ]ές	X	Ίελ[ύσιοι]
HP	[Μαρ]ονίται	нн	'Ασστ[υπαλαιές]
PED	[Θερμα]ῖοι	ннн	Σερβυ[λιές]
30 H	[hέσσι]οι	JED	Σκαβλ[αῖοι]
253	[Χαλκεᾶ]ται	X	$M\epsilon\nu\delta a\tilde{\iota}[o\iota]$
H	6 6	PAAAFFFII	Στόλιο[ι]
HH[?]		[HH-H	hεδρόλ[ιοι]
		Γ	'Peva[ies]
35		[H-H-11	$\Pi[\rho]\iota\alpha[\pi\tilde{\epsilon}s]$
			heo[riaies]
	[Δικαι]οπολίται	HHHPT	Kōto[t]
[vacat]	['Ερετρ]ιον αποικοι	ннн	Φοκα[ιές]
	$[A \tilde{\iota} \nu \iota] o \iota$	P+++11	Παλαιπερκ[όσιοι]
40	[Καύνι]οι	ΗΔΔ	$\Gamma$ a $\lambda$ $\epsilon \varphi \sigma$ ιο[ $\iota$ ]
	$[\Pi a \sigma a \nu \delta] \tilde{\epsilon} s$	PAT-IIII	Βαργυλιέ[s]
	[Λεφσίμ]ανδοι	[™H	[Σ]αμοθρᾶικ $[εs]$
	[Ναχσιᾶ]ται	$\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$	'Ασσερῖτα[ι]
	$[\Theta \alpha \sigma \theta \alpha \rho] \tilde{\epsilon} s$	P	$\Delta[i]$ καια
45	[Μυδόνες]	ΔΔΔΗΗΙΙ	$\Delta \iota [ ilde{\epsilon}]$ s
	[Τ]ε[λάνδριοι]	Δ[-IIII	$\mathrm{E}\dot{v}[ ho]v\mu\alpha\chi[\tilde{\imath} au\alpha\iota]$
	Φεγ[έτιοι]	P+++11	Βρ[υκόντιοι]
	[Κ]αρ[βασυαν]δες	AP-IIII	Κι[ανοί]
	[Α]ὐλ[ιᾶται]	AP-IIII	'Αρ
au	[K]pv[es]	ΔΔ	hv[δαιέs]
	Φα[ρβέλιο]ι	H	$\Upsilon\delta\iota[\sigma\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}s]$
	Μύν[διοι]	ннн	haip[aloi]
	Λί[νδιοι]	Δ[-IIII	$\Delta \alpha \mu \nu \omega [\tau \epsilon \iota \chi \bar{\iota} \tau \alpha \iota]$
[\D\]\D\	$\Pi_{\epsilon}[\delta_{\iota\tilde{\epsilon}s}]$	XL*HVV	Πάρ[ιοι]
55 H™	θύσ[σι]οι	THE VIII	Νάχ[σιοι]
[Г#ННН]Н	Χαλ[χε]δ[ό]νιοι	THE STATE OF THE S	Καρ[ύστιοι]
	Σ[ε]λυμβριανοί	нннн	$K\epsilon \tilde{\iota}[o\iota]$
	Έρυ[θ]ραΐοι	Н	Σερ[ίφιοι]
vacat	hοῦτοι ἀπ' [αὐτ]ον	P <sup>A</sup>	Λαμ[φσακενοι]
60 H	Πολιχναῖο[ι] hυπέρ [	$\epsilon a[v\tau \tilde{o}v]$	
[25)	Σιδόσιοι	Pas	Αίγ[άντιοι]
Δ	Βουθειές	[HH]H	Τέ[νιοι]
ΔΓ	Έ[λ] αιόσιοι		Τέ[ιοι]
F	[Π]τελεόσιο[ι]		"Αν[δριοι]
65	[Σ]ίνγιοι		[Μυκόνιοι]
	[Π]αρπαρι[οται]		[Θάσι]ο[ι]
	[Σ]καφσα[ῖοι]		[' Αβυ]δενοί
	$[\Sigma]\epsilon\rho\mu\bar{\epsilon}[s]$		['Ερε]τριές
	"Ικιοι		$[B\rho\nu]\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\tilde{\epsilon}[s]$
70 [△□-II]II	Σιγ[ειές]		$[\Sigma i \varphi] \nu i \sigma i$
	[hαρπαγιανοί]		[Τορ]οναΐοι
	[Πεπαρέθιοι]		['Iār]aı
	[Κύθνιοι]		[Διδυμοτ]ειχίται
	$[\Delta a \rho \delta a \nu \tilde{\epsilon} s]$		01
75	[Holaves]		01
	$[\Sigma \tau \nu \rho \tilde{\epsilon} s]$		
	['Αθεναῖοι]		
	Trock menal		



70 [A[-II]II	Σιγ[ειες]		[Σίφ]νιοι
	[hαρπαγιανοί]		[Τορ]οναΐοι
	[Πεπαρέθιοι]		['Iãt]ai
	[Κύθνιοι]		[Διδυμοτ]ειχῖται
	$[\Delta \alpha \rho \delta \alpha \nu \tilde{\epsilon} s]$		01
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	$[\Sigma \tau v \rho \tilde{\epsilon} s]$		
	[ 'Αθεναῖοι]		
	[Βερύσιοι]		
	[Βυζάντιοι]		
80	[Χαλκιδές]		
	[Νεοπολίται]		
	[Λαμπόνεια]		
	[Παισενοί]		
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85	$[\ldots^5\ldots o\iota]$		
	['Αζει]οί		
	$[\Lambda a \mu] \varphi \sigma a [\kappa \epsilon \nu o i]$		
90	$[X]\epsilon ho[ ho]$ ον $[\epsilon\sigma\tilde{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota]$		
	Κδιοι		
	Βεργαί[οι]		
PHHH	θάσιοι		
PAAH	Κυζικε[νοί]		
95 AAAP	$^{\prime}$ E $\varphi$ a $_{i}\sigma\sigma[ au_{i}arepsilon_{s}]$		
$\Delta\Delta\Delta$  + -	$\Lambda \iota \mu \nu(a) \tilde{\iota} o[\iota]$		
ΔIIII	'Αβυδεν[οί]		
PHH	$\Delta a \rho \delta a [v \tilde{\epsilon} s]$		
P20	Έλαιό[σι]οι		$[\Sigma]ava[\tilde{\iota}o\iota]$
100	$\sum_{i} \gamma \epsilon_{i} [\tilde{\epsilon}_{s}]$	HHHHLI-I-I-II	Τορο[ναῖοι]
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ннны	ΒυζάντιοιΔΔΔ	H:	Μαδνασ[ες]
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$105.\Delta\Delta\Delta$ .	[Aïv]ioi  - IIIC	ΔΔΔΔΕΙΙΙΙ	hυρομές
	01		$Ka\rho vav\delta \tilde{\epsilon}[s]$
	Μιλ[έσ]ιοι		έσς Τένεδο[ν]
	Λάτ[μι]οι		έβς Τένεδον
110 (1911)(17)	Μυέ[σσιοι]		Έρυθραῖοι
110 [MHH]	Έφέσ[ιοι]	. 1	Μυριναΐοι
Н	'Iaves		"Ιμβριοι
Н	$K_{\iota\nu}\delta\upsilon\tilde{\epsilon}[s]$	HPAAPH-II	$^{\prime}$ E $\varphi$ [ $\alpha$ $\iota\sigma\tau$ $\iota$ $\epsilon$ s]





[Δ]ιες ἀπὸ Κεν[αίο] 25 -['Aθεναι Δι άδες] ['Ieral] [Peraiou] [Στυρές] 30 HH[H] [ Έρετριές] HHH [Χαλκιδές] ΔΓΙΙΙΙ Σύ[ριοι] HP Μυρ[ιναΐοι] HHH Έφ[αιστιές] 35 H "Ιμ[βριοι] XXX ΑΙ γινέται]

We now see that there was room for 45 Caric names in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 203. There were 43 Caric names in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 202, and 43 Caric names in I.G.,  $I^2$ , 204. We propose, therefore, to restore the Caric list of I.G.,  $I^2$ , 205, with 22 lines in each column of names, making a possible list of 44 names in all. This is the arrangement shown in our transcript above, and it presents a list shorter by one line than that published in *Harvard Studies*, 1926, Plate XIX, facing p. 96. It must be remembered, however, that we consider this a probable, though not a necessary reconstruction. The list may have contained, epigraphically, as few as 36 names.

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### THE ANTIKYTHERA BRONZE YOUTH AND A HERM-REPLICA

In Art and Archaeology of September, 1927,1 the late Dr. Cornelia G. Harcum published several Greek and Roman statues recently acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology at Toronto. Ontario. Among these is a fine marble herm 2 which is described as an early Roman copy of a vouthful Heracles, or athlete, whose original belonged to the fourth century B.C.

While I was engaged, during the summer of 1924, in numismatical investigations in the Royal Ontario Museum, my attention was strongly attracted by this piece of statuary. The face of the herm, I felt, bore a remarkable resemblance to that of the famous Antikythera (Cerigotto) bronze youth that was recovered from the sea more than a quarter of a century ago. A reëxamination which I have recently made of both the Toronto marble and the bronze in the National Museum of Athens has convinced me of a very close relationship existing between the two. This study has been undertaken less with a view to republishing the herm than in the hope of bringing new light to bear therefrom upon the vexed question of the place which the statue should occupy in the history of Greek sculpture.

Few ancient works have been more thoroughly studied than has the ephebe from Antikythera, and few topics indeed have given rise to greater diversities of opinion, particularly in the earlier phases of the investigation. Not only has it been assigned to widely separate schools of art, and sometimes even regarded as an original work of one of the great masters, but it has been furnished with a series of dates that are spread over at least four centuries. It was placed in the fifth century B.C. by the Greek scholar Arvanitopoulos;4 in the fourth by Kavvadias, Waldstein (Walston), Th. Reinach, W.

Art and Archaeology, XXIV, 1927, pp. 55-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 57, 58, with two views.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 57, 58, with two views.

<sup>3</sup> The literature dealing with the statue is most extensive. For its most important publications see: Svoronos, Das Ath. Nat. Mus., 1908–11, Textbd. I, pp. 18, 19; Tafelbd. I, Pls. I, II; Arch. Eph., 1902, Pls. 7–12; A.J.A., Second series, VII, 1903, pp. 464, 465; Ernest Gardner, J.H.S., XXIII, 1903, pp. 152–156; Kavvadias, Arch. Anz., 1901, pp. 17–19; also J.H.S., XXI, 1901, pp. 205, 206; Cooley, Records of the Past, II, 1903, pp. 207–213; Stais, Marbres et Bronzes, 1910, pp. 302–304; Th. Reinach, Gaz. B.—A., XXV, Pér. III, 1901, pp. 295–301. For complete bibliography down to 1921 see Hyde, Olymp. Vict. Mon., 1921, pp. 80–84. More recent articles (e.g., Ernest Gardner in J.H.S., XLIII, 1923, pp. 139–143) deal with the question of the pose and motive of the statue. question of the pose and motive of the statue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Arvanitopoulos, in the monograph, 'O "Εφηβος των 'Αντικυθήρων, Athens, 1903.

Kavvadias, J.H.S., XXI, 1901, pp. 205, 206.
 Waldstein (Sir Charles Walston), Monthly Review, June, 1901, pp. 110–127.
 Th. Reinach, Gaz. B.—A., XXV, Pér. III, 1901, pp. 295–301.

<sup>298</sup> 

Klein,1 and others. As early as 1903, Frost 2 declared the statue to be Hellenistic. This view received little notice at the time, but has more recently been accepted by a majority of critics, including Ernest Gardner, Dickins, Richardson, and Hyde. Bulle regards the work as a Roman copy whose original belonged to the fourth century—a view to which Lippold, in his recent work on ancient copies,8 hesitates to commit himself. Lawrence,9 whose notice is confined to the head of the statue, considers it as representing a comparatively early type, which was "brought up to date" late in the first century B.C. That this very late point of time might be possible in view of the matter of the shipwreck seems now to be quite The catastrophe that sent the shipload of statuary to the bottom was long supposed to have occurred in the time of Sulla, or at the latest not subsequent to the year B.C. 50;10 but recently Leroux 11 has shown that one of the ship's instruments bears the name of a month which is not known earlier than B.C. 30. Finally, von Mach 12 was so displeased with the restoration which the French sculptor André made of the statue that he seems willing to grant it a place in any age or school of art.

In the matter of style—Waldstein 13 first ascribed the work to Praxiteles or his school, but later observed in it strong Scopaic tendencies.14 Th. Reinach 15 thought that it was executed by some sculptor strongly under the influence of Polycleitus, such as perhaps Euphranor or the young Praxiteles. Arvanitopoulos 16 assigned it with some hesitation to a master who has often proved useful in like cases, namely, Alcamenes. Ernest Gardner 17 and Dickins 18 are in essential agreement in recognizing in the statue the presence of various eclectic elements derived from Praxiteles, Scopas, and

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W. Klein, Gesch. d. gr. Kunst, 1904–07, II, pp. 403, 404.
 Frost, J.H.S., XXIII, 1903, pp. 217, 218.
 Ernest Gardner, Handbook of Gr. Sculp., 1920, p. 532.
 Dickins, Hellenistic Sculp., 1920, pp. 55, 56.
 Richardson, History of Gr. Sculp., 1911, p. 276.
 Hydo, Olympa, Vict. Mar. 1921, 232.

Richardson, History of Gr. Scutp., 1911, p. 210.
 Hyde, Olymp. Vict. Mon., 1921, p. 81.
 Bulle, Der schöne Mensch, 1912, pp. 115, 116.
 Lippold, Kopien u. Umbild. gr. Stat., 1923, pp. 72, 127.
 Lawrence, Later Greek Sculp., 1927, pp. 128, 129.
 Cf. Lippold, op. cit., pp. 71, 250.
 Leroux, Lagynos, 1913, p. 102; quoted by Lawrence, op. cit., p. 129.
 Von Mach, Greek Sculpture, Its Spirit and Principles, 1903, pp. 325, 326. Head not boxesser, actually seen the statue. had not, however, actually seen the statue.

<sup>13</sup> Waldstein, l.c.

<sup>14</sup> Waldstein, London Illustrated News, June 6, 1903.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Th. Reinach, *l.c.* The view that the statue is a copy of the Paris of Euphranor is supported by Staïs (*Marbres et Bronzes*, pp. 302–304), Miss M. Bieber (*Jahrb. Arch. Inst.*, XXV (1910), pp. 164 ff.), and F. P. Johnson (*Lysippos*, 1927, pp. 44–45).

<sup>16</sup> Arvanitopoulos, op. cit. <sup>17</sup> Ernest Gardner, Handbook of Gr. Sculp. 1920, pp. 532, 533.

<sup>18</sup> Dickins, l.c.

Lysippus. Lawrence 1 regards the original as a late Polycleitan or Naucydean type. Klein 2 thought the statue to be a sort of fore-



FIGURE 1. BRONZE STATUE OF EPHEBE FROM ANTIKYTHERA IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

runner of the Vatican Apoxyomenos.3 Bulle 4 considers it as standing midway, as it were, between Polycleitus and Lysippus.

Lawrence, op. cit., p. 129.
 W. Klein, l.c.
 See Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler, no. 281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bulle, op. cit., p. 115.

A careful reconsideration of these authorities as well as a reëxamination of the statue itself leads to the following general conclusions:



FIGURE 2. HEAD OF THE BRONZE STATUE FROM ANTIKYTHERA IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

The work belongs to a Hellenistic school which is earlier than the Pergamene schools. The eclectic principle is exceedingly evident. The general conception of the statue is Lysippic, especially in respect

to the bodily proportions which resemble those of the Agias, the stance, and the expression of the eye. The shape of the skull, including the bony structure of the face, may be described as Attic with certain resemblances to the Scopaic Meleager type,2 but showing tendencies towards dolichocephalism that have probably been derived from some Argive school. It may be compared with the head of the Doryphoros of Polycleitus; 3 but those who have seen in the statue as a whole any appreciable Polycleitan element have apparently been deceived by the faulty restoration of the torso, which conveys an impression of stoutness that the newly completed statue must have lacked. They may also have based too much on the droop of the head, which is Praxitelean. The treatment of the hair seems thoroughly Scopaic.4 The nose and forehead and the main lines of the face are mildly Praxitelean.

To return to the herm in Toronto—the marble had been purchased at an auction sale of Messrs. Sotheby and Co., in London, and had originally belonged, as stated by Dr. Harcum,5 to the Earl of Brownlow of Ashridge whose collection, I understand, has been little visited or known. Presumably the herm had been in the family's possession a long time prior to the Antikytheran discovery of 1900. The head has been traditionally called a youthful Heracles apparently from its general resemblance to the type represented in the famous Heracles of Lansdowne House, London Dr. Harcum 7 draws attention to the overcleaning of the marble; but the original surface seems nowhere to be destroyed except perhaps about the lids of the left eye.

The treatment of the hair and the superciliary region shows that the work is a copy of a bronze original. The careful workmanship and the precise modelling of the whole, with the entire absence of the running-drill and the very sparing use of the borer, suggest the age of Augustus as the time of its execution. The head is somewhat above life size, and is so turned that the face is looking directly over

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  See Fouilles de Delphes, IV, 1904, Pls. LXIII, LXIV; B.C.H., XXIII, 1899, Pls. X, XI. It is assumed in this study that the Agias is a copy of a Lysippic original content of the con inal. A recent and most convincing argument in its support is that of Poulsen, Delphi, 1920, pp. 278–290. Contrast F. P. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 117 ff. <sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the type, with illustrations, see Hyde, op. cit., pp. 311–316. <sup>3</sup> The details can best be studied in the bronze bust by Apollonius in Naples.

See Brunn-Bruckmann, op. cit., no. 336.

4 This arrangement of hair, with a series of locks like little flames in front, was probably established by Scopas; it appears on copies of many works attributed to him and there is some indication of the "flame-locks" on the Tegean heads in Athens. But these locks are occasionally seen as early as the fifth century. are used very sparingly by Praxiteles and Lysippus.

Harcum, op. cit., p. 57.
 Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Gr. Sculp., 1895, fig. 125. It is regarded as Lysippic by Michaelis (Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit., 1882, pp. 451, 452) and Hyde (op. cit., p. 298).

<sup>7</sup> Harcum, op. cit., p. 57.

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the right breast. The height of the outer surface of the left shoulder is about a centimetre lower than the right; and as the bust terminates a few inches on either side of the neck, this difference would indicate that the right shoulder of the original statue was very considerably higher than the left. The impression imparted to the observer is that the right arm must have been elevated. The neck is unusually stout, but it is fleshy rather than muscular.

The head is massive and finely proportioned, with broad forehead



FIGURE 3. PROFILE OF HEAD OF THE BRONZE STATUE FROM ANTIKYTHERA IN THE NA-TIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

and rounded crown, and reproduces very closely the lines of the Vatican Apoxyomenos. The forehead is carefully modelled, with clear indication of the *linea temporalis* and with a moderately prominent superciliary ridge. This bar, with the shallow wrinkle above it in the middle of the forehead, is distinctly of the Lysippic type. The lines of the eyebrow are clear-cut and sharp. The extremities of the lids overlap, and the inner ends of the eyes are somewhat deeply placed, but the effect is altogether Lysippic.

The nose is constructed on generous lines, while the upper lip is short. The mouth is modelled with extreme care, and is open to the extent of half a centimetre. The modelling of the lips is continued

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This can hardly be seen on the left eye, where acid appears to have destroyed the surface of the stone.

quite within the mouth itself, and behind is visible the wall of the teeth. Here the individual details are precisely those of the Agias and Apoxyomenos heads, but the general effect is more reminiscent of the Tegea heads.<sup>1</sup> The ears are small and sketchily worked, the execution of the right being inferior to that of the left.

In his treatment of the hair the artist has aimed at great variety.



FIGURE 4. HERM IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Above the forehead appear several rows of little locks whose appearance suggests lambent flames turning this way and that. Behind these we see small compact masses of hair of quite conventional form; towards the back there are longer strands which at the crown itself assume the pattern of a rosette. Over the entire head, each single lock has been finely grooved in imitation of the bronze technique of the original. At the nape of the neck, the surface of the marble is carelessly smoothed off, with no attempt at modelling.

We need but place side by side a photograph of the Toronto herm <sup>1</sup> See Brunn-Bruckmann, op. cit., no. 44.

and of the head of the Antikythera bronze to appreciate their extraordinary similarity. The former is slightly the larger. The height of the ephebe is given as 1.94 m.; the height of the herm is stated by Dr. Harcum to be 0.41 m. A complete figure constructed on the proportions of the marble would therefore be about 2 metres in height. From the point of view of pose—the head of each is turned to the right at precisely the same angle, and the right shoulder of



FIGURE 5. HERM IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

each is higher than the left. To find this combination of features in a herm is in itself unusual. However, the head of the bronze figure is bent forward, while that of the herm is held bolt upright. This point will be dealt with later.

In spite of the rather greater degree of health and vigor manifested in the Toronto face, the close resemblance of the expression of the two is very evident. Particularly is this seen in the case of the eyes, though the bronze has, of course, admitted of a considerably more elaborate treatment. Each face exhibits the same intentness of

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<sup>1</sup> Or, as stated, 161/4 in.

gaze and the same absorbed and slightly pathetic look. the Toronto head I have described in some detail. It is remarkable to observe how closely the fine points of the bronze are reproduced. Each clump of hair is grooved in imitation of the more plastic material, and we see in either case a few stray locks in front of the ears. several rows of "flame-locks" on the forehead, solider masses further to the rear, and longish strands in the vicinity of the crown. It is true that the heads do not correspond lock for lock; but this we should not expect to find. The replica,1 e.g., of the Westmacott statue 2 that stands by its side in the British Museum shows almost



FIGURE 6. REAR AND FRONT VIEWS OF HERM IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

as many departures in this respect, and that too despite their common marble technique. So close, however, is the agreement between the Toronto and Athens heads that one may readily see where the artist has at certain points picked out hair masses of outstanding form, reproduced them faithfully, and then filled in the intervals with greater freedom.

Stylistically compared, the two heads manifest

their several elements of eclecticism in slightly varying degrees. The marble head is, as we have seen, frankly Lysippic in form, while the bronze is essentially Attic with a slight admixture of Argive longheadedness. The bar of Michael Angelo is more pronounced on the herm, and reproduces exactly that of the Apoxyomenos; the bar of the statue is diluted Praxitelean. 3 The mouth of the former has already been described as Lysippic in detail and Scopaic in general effect; the mouth of the latter belongs to no particular school. With its slightly parted lips that droop at the ends, it may be described as a refined edition of the mouth of the so-called Hellenistic Ruler 4 of the Terme Museum. The cheeks and chin of the herm are a little the fleshier. The eyes of both show a Lysippic keepness.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See J.H.S., XXXI, 1911, fig. 1. <sup>2</sup> Cat. of Sculp. in Brit. Mus., no. 1754.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The pure form may of course be studied in the Hermes of Olympia. See Gardiner, Olympia, 1925, fig. 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Arndt-Bruckmann, *Gr. u. röm. Porträts*, Pls. 358–360. The feet and legs of this statue are placed very like those of the Antikytheran.

The stylistic points of divergence as between these two heads are thus comparatively slight. But the features which distinguish the herm-its virility and impressiveness and the closer adhesion to a particular school of art-are the very ones which would mark it as undoubtedly not a copy made directly from the bronze. If it belongs to the first century A.D., as Dr. Harcum thought,1 the business of copying would have been out of the question, the bronze being already beneath the waves. That the statue is a copy of the herm is, of course, unthinkable. The only conclusion is that they have a common antecedent. To this the herm has the more closely adhered: the bronze has, somehow or other, become watered-down.

We may now revert to the little-noticed opinion of Bulle 2 and the recent pronouncement of Lawrence 3 concerning the ephebe. former regards the statue as a Roman copy of a fourth-century original, basing his conclusion largely on the stiff and mechanical treatment of the hair, and he compares it with the Farnese Heracles of Glycon at Naples.4 Lawrence thinks that the work was "brought up to date" towards the end of the first century B.C. By this he appears to mean what is commonly designated a process of adapta-The existence, then, of this Toronto herm 5 together with its distinguishing characteristics proves the essential truth of these theories, though both of our authorities err in placing the date of the original too far back, and in associating it too intimately with the school of Polycleitus.

A final and important point remains to be considered. The head of the bronze is bowed; the head of the herm is upright. for this discrepancy two explanations are possible. With the herm, the motive for inclining the head is altogether lost, and the copyist may have felt that the combined features of a neck rotated to the right, and at the same time bent forward for no reason that is apparent, would have produced a thoroughly awkward effect. This is a sufficiently good reason; but I feel that another suggestion is even more probable. Lysippic figures are noted for the erectness of their heads; Praxitelean heads show a regular tendency to droop. It is

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<sup>3</sup> Lawrence, l.c. 4 Brunn-Bruckmann, op. cit., no. 285.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Harcum, op. cit., p. 57. <sup>2</sup> Bulle, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Antikythera statue has been compared, in one way or another, with such works as the Lansdowne Heracles, the Scopaic Meleager type, the Farnese Heracles, and the bronze athlete of Ephesus. To these I would add, as closer parallels, the Townley Heracles of the British Museum (No. 1732. The bust is modern and the head is somewhat restored); a youthful Heracles of the Richelieu Collection of the Louvre (No. 526); and the so-called Marcellus which was found at Pompeii and is now in the National Museum of Naples. The features of this last are thoroughly Praxitelean. The pose of the statue is also sometimes suggested in small bronzes.

quite possible, then, that the head of the original was upright. Antikytheran artist, who was strongly imbued with the ideas of the Praxitelean school, would naturally have made the head to incline, if he were copying, as Lawrence thinks, somewhat freely. Doubtless many critics may have observed, more or less unconsciously, that the head sags more than is necessary, and the youth almost gives the impression of peering beneath his eyebrows. With the head in this position, the gaze ought likewise to be directed downwards, but from the position of the pupils in the eyes it is seen that the look is very slightly upwards. It is quite probable that the original statue held its head as does the Apoxyomenos or the seated Ares Ludovisi.1

We have now reached a point in the investigation where we may attempt to reconstruct the history of the Antikytheran series. Shortly before the year B.C. 300, an artist of moderate attainments, of the school of Lysippus but influenced to a certain extent by Scopas. executed in bronze a work of more than life size. It may possibly have been of the proportions of the Agias which is 1.97 m. in height.2 The motive of the statue was altogether trivial, as it represented a young man amusing himself with a bandelore.3 The work as a whole could not have been highly esteemed,4 and was apparently little copied. But the fine head of the figure presently attracted the attention of some Augustan artist, who reproduced it in the form of the terminal bust which we see in Toronto.

The relation of the statue in Athens to the original is more obscure. I hazard the conjecture that it is a copy of a copy. This seems to be the only view that will bear analysis. If it be true, the first copyist was probably influenced by Argive tradition, and altered a trifle the form of the head and possibly gave additional bulk to the torso. The later copyist, who may very possibly have belonged to the late first century, was thoroughly steeped in Praxitelean mannerisms, and to him we owe the later alterations—the retouching of the features of the face and the lowering of the head.

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#### ALFRED UNIVERSITY

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  See Arndt-Amelung, *Phot. Einzel.*, nos. 832, 833.  $^2$  Though the head of the Agias is unusually small.  $^3$  This is the belief of Ernest Gardner (*J.H.S.*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 139–143), and is almost certainly correct. The same conclusion has been reached independently by others.

It cannot be denied that there is a possibility that the motive of the original statue may have been much more exalted; the postulation of a Hermes Logios may not be irrational. But I deem it better not to open the question, as it is certain to lead to idle and useless speculation.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bulle, op. cit., p. 115; Lippold, op. cit., p. 72.

# A BIRTH CERTIFICATE OF THE YEAR 145 A.D.

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This waxed tablet, numbered Mich. Pap. 4529, was found in January, 1927, by the Near East Expedition of the University of Michigan in its excavation of ancient Karanis (Kom Washim) in the Fayoum. It came from the house numbered B7 in the excavation plan, in which were found datable papyri of the second century A.D. Everything found there points to the same century, though the basement of the house may well have belonged to an earlier construction.

Professor Kelsey mentioned this tablet briefly in a paper read before the Classical Association of the Middle West and South on April 15, 1927. As he felt that he did not have the time nor the strength to work on it further, he turned it over to me even before he read his paper, and I made a hasty transcript of the text for his use. After his death there were found in his papers an almost complete transcript of the text from Mr. H. I. Bell and partial ones from Professor Kelsey himself, from Professor Westerman, and another, that was unsigned. I have been able to compare all of these with my own reading, but do not need to cite them to any extent as all readings are now practically certain.

The tablet consists of two boards, each 51/4 inches (135 mm.) wide and approximately 7 inches (180 mm.) long. One end of the block from which the tablet was made was not sawed true, so that the actual length is 7 inches (180 mm.) on one side and 73% inches (188 mm.) on the other. There can thus be no doubt that the two leaves of the tablet were sawed or split from the same tablet. The thickness of the boards varies between 3 and 4 mm. (3 of an inch). inner surfaces of both were cut away to the depth of 1 mm. or more, but leaving a raised rim from 18 to 19 mm. (3/4 of an inch) wide about the edge of both. Lines had been scratched with the aid of a ruler and a sharp metal tool in order to show the part of the surface to be cut away. The work was done with a sharp instrument and very accurately except in two corners, where the ruled lines were not quite reached. The depth of the cut is rather uneven. The depressed surface was then covered with a very dark wax, which ran over the edges of the cut slightly on all sides. The wax-covered portions are not as uneven in shape as the boards, but neither one is a true rec-The smooth waxed portion of page 2 is 95 to 96 mm. (33/4) inches) wide and 144 to 146 mm. (5\%\)4 inches) long. Page 2 has a writing surface 96 to 99 mm. wide and 143 to 146 mm. long.

There are three holes through the one long side of both boards and one in the middle of the opposite side. The remnants of the seals show that the binding cord went through the two holes in the middle



FIGURE 1. WAXED TABLET, PAGE 1; END OF TEXT ON WOOD

of each long side of the tablet. The other two holes must have served to tie the two leaves together before they were written on and sealed.

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the wood on the outside. Numbering the pages of the tablet from 1 to 4 as if it were a two-leaved book, the document on the wax begins on page 2, the lines running the long way of the page, and is completed on page 3. Across the middle of page 4, where the binding cord ran, stood the row of seals, each followed to the right by the name of the witness. On the other half of page 4 the copy of the document began in lines at right angles with the names of the witnesses. After the writer had reached the end of the tablet with his copy, he tipped the tablet from him and continued the copy on page 1 with lines across the short way of the tablet as before. The writing was thus continuous from the end of page 4 to the nearest part of page 1. About two-thirds of this page was needed to complete the copy of the document and the rest was used for a summary of the contents in Greek.

I have stated the arrangement of the writing on the tablet thus fully, because there was evidently more than one system of writing documents on diptychs, and consequently misunderstanding has arisen. Bruns (Fontes Juris Romani, 7th Ed., p. 274) describes the diploma of a veteran as having the seals and the names of the seven witnesses with titles running lengthwise of the tablet across the seals on page 1, while the document itself stands on the inner pages 2 and 3, and the outer copy of the document on page 4. In C.I.L., III, 2, fifty-seven military diplomas are published including No. 7 described in Bruns. All with one exception are stated to have the following order: page 1, outside copy of document; pp. 2 and 3, inside copy; p. 4, seals and names of witnesses. Military diploma No. 30 is reversed, probably by error, so that pages 1 and 4 change places, if the order of leaves is determined by the inner writing. Dessau, Inscript. Lat. Select. I, 1986, gives the same arrangement for a military diploma as Bruns, but the description of the same tablet in C.I.L. III, p. 844, X, 769, is different.

Among the Pompeian tablets, C.I.L., IV, Suppl., No. 50 is described as p. 1, blank; pp. 2 and 3, illegible; p. 4, at right of seals the names of witnesses and at the left, written at right angles to the names, are some five lines of the document. Nos. 138 and 139 had the same arrangement. Tablet No. 64, a mere fragment, seems to have had the seals with the names of the witnesses at the right, while the signature of the scribe stood alone at the left. If there was an outer copy it must have come on page 1. Tablet No. 4 has only the second leaf preserved. In this case the outer copy seems to have run over onto page 1. The other possible diptychs are very fragmentary.

Most of the Pompeian and Dacian tablets are triptychs with the writing in the following order: p. 1, blank; pp. 2 and 3, inner copy;

p. 4, seals, names of witnesses and beginning of outer copy; p. 5, end of outer copy, and p. 6, blank. This is the ideal form for such a document, in which both inner and outer copies are protected.

In publishing four waxed tablets of the Cairo Museum, Seymour de Ricci (Nouv. Rev. hist. de droit., XXX, 1906, pp. 483 ff.) stated that seals, names of witnesses and the beginning of the outer copy came on page 1, while the rest of the outer copy was found on page 4, the inner copy on wax being on pages 2 and 3. Professor Kelsey (Trans. Amer. Phil. Assn., LIV, 187 f.) implies the same arrangement for Pap. 766 of the Michigan Collection. This tablet I have reexamined, and the order of writing is exactly as on Mich. Pap. 4529. Also, through the kindness of Professor Dittmann, I have seen photographs of one of the tablets, Cairo No. 29807, which de Ricci published. It has the same order of writing as the Michigan tablets. The documents published in Aegyptische Urkunden, VII, Nos. 1690–1696, are nearly illegible on the exterior or fragmentary. No trustworthy evidence on the order of the writing is given.

Grenfell (Bodleian Quarterly Record, 1919, p. 259) published a well-preserved tablet in diptych form, of which the arrangement was as in the Michigan tablets. He cited two others in the Bodleian, both fragmentary, and claims the same order for them, though he recognizes that it is different from the order stated by Bruns.

If we admit errors in the statements in Bruns and by de Ricci, the evidence is fairly consistent. The seals and names of the witnesses belong on page 4, both in diptychs and triptychs. Diptychs were originally used only for short documents, the entire copy of which could go on page 1. When they were used for longer documents, as the birth certificates from Egypt, the form of the triptych was imitated, except that the copy of the document, begun on page 4, was completed on page 1. This evidently became a favorite system in Egypt, where a Greek summary was needed on the outside, so that the first page seldom sufficed, or rather could not be assumed in advance to be sufficient. We may add also that wood must have been relatively expensive in Egypt.

In Pompeii there was a different imitation of triptychs, in which very short documents were written on diptychs having the seals, names of witnesses, and the whole outer copy on page 4, while page 1 was left blank. This may have been the earliest form of diptychs, when used for documents.

The writing of Mich. Pap. 4529 has on the wax the characteristic forms found on other waxed tablets from Egypt and is very similar to the Dacian tablets. It is larger and somewhat cruder than the writing on Pap. 766 and on the other tablets from Egypt, with which

# SANDERS: A BIRTH CERTIFICATE OF THE YEAR 145 A.D. 313

I have been able to compare it. It is well preserved and easily legible except for a couple of words.

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The writing on the wood is better, and forms a very close parallel



to that on the wood of Pap. 766. One page is, however, too dim for all the letters to be read with certainty, and the other is disfigured by a large hole in the center made by ants or worms. As C. Julius

Saturninus tells us that he wrote the document with his own hand, it is evident that he wrote better on wood than on wax. The other tablets compared, especially Mich. Pap. 766, were probably written by professional scribes. Not only did Saturninus write better on wood, but also he wrote the copy on wood with greater care. For that reason I print the text of the copy on wood preceded by the names of the witnesses in full, indicating letters somewhat doubtful by a dot below and enclosing in square brackets illegible letters as well as those that have entirely disappeared. The text on wax will follow:

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# WITNESSES

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V.B.	T ARIA	A UI	ARV.	PARAGE

# M Holconi Ampissi Text on Wood

- 1 Sempronia Gemella t a C [Iuli]o
- 2 Saturnino testata e[st eos qui]
- 3 signaturi [e]rant s[e] en[i]xam [esse]
- 4 ex inc[ert]o patre X[II] Kal·[A]p[rel]
- 5 q. p. f. natos masculinos g[e]
- 6 minos eosqu[e] vocitari M M
- 7 Sempron[ios Sp fi]lios Sarapion[em]

# Page 1

- 1 et Socrationem. ideoque [s]e has
- 2 testationes. interposuisse dixit
- 3 quia lex [Ae]lia Sentia. et Papia
- 4 Poppaea [spu]rio[s] spuriasve
- 5 in albo pr[ofiteri ve]tat.d.e.r.e.e.
- 6 b.t.s s. a[ctum Alex ad A]eg. III. Kal.
- 7 Maias. im[p Ca]esa[re T A]elio Hadriano
- 8 Antonino Aug. p[io IIII M A]urelio
- 9 Caesare. II. cos. anno [VI]II imp Caesaris
- 10 Titi Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug
- 11 pii mense Pachon die IIII

#### GREEK SUMMARY

- 1 Σεμπρωνια Γεμελλα μετα κυριου
- 2 Γαιου Ιουλιου Σατορνιλου εμαρτυρο

## SANDERS: A BIRTH CERTIFICATE OF THE YEAR 145 A.D. 315

- 3 ποιησαμην υιους δυο δυδυμους γε
- 4 γεννησθαι εξ αδηλου πατρος τουτους
- 5 τε επικεκλησθαι Μορκους Σεμπρω
- 6 γιους Σουριου υιους Σαραπιωνα κ(αι)
- 7 Σωκρατιώνα καθώς προκειται Γαιος
- 8 Ιουλίος Σατορνίλος επεγραφην αυτης
- 9 κυριος κ(αι) εγραψα περι αυτης μη ιδυιας γρα
- 10 циата

### Page 2

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### TEXT ON WAX

- 1 Sempronia Gemella. t. a. C. Iulio Satur
- 2 nino testata est eos qui signaturi
- 3 erant se enixam esse ex in
- 4 certo patre. XII Kal Aprel q. p. f.
- 5 natos masculinos geminos eosque
- 6 vocetari M. M Sempronios Sp. filios
- 7 Sarapionem et Socrationem
- 8 ideoque se has testationes in
- 9 terposuisse dixit quia lex

### Page 3

- 1 Aelia Sentia et Papia Poppaea
- 2 spurios spuriasve in albo profiteri
- 3 vetat. d. e. r. e. e. b. t. s s.
- 4 actum Alex ad Aeg. III. K. Maias imp
- 5 Caesare T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino
- 6 Aug. pio IIII. M. Aurelio Caesare II cos.
- 7 anno VIII imp. Caesare T Aeli Hadriani
- 8 Antonini Aug pii mense Pachon
- 9 die . IIII.

### NOTES ON TEXT

References are to lines on the wax. The scribe inserted dots after letters to indicate punctuation as well as abbreviation. Only those dots that are fairly certain have been printed.

## Page 2

I have expanded the abbreviation t(utore) a(uctore) as the equivalent of κυριος of the Greek, and on the suggestion of Professor Dittmann, citing Thesaurus, II, 1195, l. 31 ff. In the abbreviation for Gaius the dot, which should have followed the C, was carelessly placed in the top of it.

Saturnino: the u is small, angular, and attached to the top of the preceding letter; it is a characteristic form for this hand.

- Aprel as the abbreviation for Apriles is read with certainty on the wax. It is illegible on the wood. The error e for i is common in inscriptions and manuscripts.
- The expansion of the abbreviation q(uae) p(roximae) f(uerunt), first made by A. S. Hunt, is certain; see Trans. Amer. Phil. Assn., LIV, p. 191, and Aegyptische Urkunden, VII, p. 209.
- M M: the second M is added above on the wax, but both are
  on the line on the wood. It is the common abbreviation for
  Marci duo; cf. Dessau, 1550, 4217, 5616, 5775, etc.

Page 3

- 1. Poppaea: the second p was corrected from e.
- spurios: p looks much like an o, as it does not extend below the line, yet it is open at the bottom and o is regularly closed or open at the top.

albo: a was corrected from d.

- profiteri: crowding and an attempted ligature made the last two letters obscure on the wax. The downward turn on the end of the second stroke of the e begins the r, which the following stroke must complete, while at the same time serving as an i. The great length of the stroke suggests this double use.
- 3. The expansion of the long abbreviation will be discussed below.
- Alex(andria) ad Aeg(yptum): this form of the name is common in inscriptions and tablets. We may also compare Alexandria ad Caucasum, Pliny, 6, 46.
  - Imp. is somewhat doubtful because of crowding at the end of the line. It cannot be read im., because the last stroke is too upright for the third stroke of m, and it has a slight addition at the top. The ligature IMP was intended.

Maias: the second a is corrected from s.

- 4-6. In the copy on the wood these lines are partly obscured by the large hole, yet the spaces are exactly right to supply the text each time as on the wax.
  - The date of the fourth consulship of Antoninus Pius and the second of Marcus Aurelius is 145 A.D.
- 6. Aurelio: this is dim and carelessly written on the wax. The u is a small v-shaped letter attached to the a; cf. Saturnino in line 1 of the previous page. At the end the i is followed by a slanting stroke ending deep in the wax. The combination of the last two strokes looks a little like an a, but it cannot be so read, as the copy on the wood has the correct form [A]urelio. The scribe perhaps intended to make a big dot for the o, as he did several times, notably twice in line 7 of the

previous page. Here the slanting scratch formed the beginning of the dot and was not corrected.

 Pachon: the Egyptian month was the same as the Greek Πανεμος, April 26 to May 25. The fourth day of Pachon was April 29 also given by III Kal. Maias.

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## NOTES ON GREEK SUMMARY

- 2. Σατορνιλου is practically certain, and is supported by Σατορνιλος of line 8. The use of Greek o for Latin u is common, but λ for n seems strange, as the scribe is writing his own name. But this Roman name was well known by the Greeks and was spelled in a variety of ways, Σατορνιλος predominating; cf. Meinersmann, Die lat. Wörter u. Namen in d. gr. Papyri, p. 96. The scribe seems to have yielded to what he knew was the more common Greek spelling. The slight indistinctness of the λ in the first case is due to ν having been written first, but the last stroke erased before the following o was written. Faint traces of that upright stroke are still discernible, and the following o is darker because the wood roughened by erasure took the ink more readily.
- αδηλου: η is very indistinct, but the visible remains do not suggest any other letter.
- 6. σουριου is an error for σπουρ:ου, and must be due to carelessness rather than to ignorance. Also on the wax spurios of page 2, line 2, looks much like sourios, as noted above. Here in line 6 on the wax the p does not resemble an o and so cannot have caused the error. Yet the fact is established that the scribe might make a p of that form. As noted below, he would naturally have made a rough draft of the declaration of the birth before copying it on the wax surface. Then the seals would be put on and the witnesses' names written. Next the copy of the document on the outside wood was made, for which the original draft must be used, even if the tablet had not been sealed before the outer copy was made, for it would be most inconvenient to make an exact copy of the document from the wax onto the wood, because it would be necessary to turn the tablet over with every phrase. The Greek summary would be written under the same conditions, so we may assume that it was derived This is the most natural explanafrom the original draft. tion for the error under consideration. The fact that the scribe was copying is probably sufficient to explain an error even in so well known a word. At least there is no better

reason apparent, so it may be considered supporting evidence for the assumption that the document on the tablet was a copy made from a first draft.



 περι is used for the usual νπερ. Preisigke cites no example of such a use in the papyri, and it probably indicates ignorance of Greek.

FIGURE 3. WAXED TABLET, PAGE 3; END OF TEXT ON WAX

### SANDERS: A BIRTH CERTIFICATE OF THE YEAR 145 A.D. 319

The  $\rho$  in  $\gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$  is very awkwardly written, but it can be seen that  $\rho$  was intended.

### TRANSLATION OF THE DOCUMENT

Sempronia Gemella, under the guardianship of Gaius Julius Saturninus, called to witness those who were about to affix their seals, that on the twelfth day before the Kalends of April just past she brought forth twin sons from uncertain father, and that these are named Marcus Sempronius Sarapion and Marcus Sempronius Socration, the sons of Spurius; and she said that she had employed these written testimonies for this reason, because the Aelian-Sentian and the Papian-Poppaean laws forbid that illegitimate sons and daughters be registered in the public record. I, the above-mentioned guardian of her property, have sanctioned the copy concerning this matter. Dated at Alexandria on the coast of Egypt on the third day before the Kalends of May in the fourth consulship of the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius and the second of Marcus Aurelius Caesar, in the eighth year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, on the fourth day of the month Pachon.

#### GREEK SUMMARY

I, Sempronia Gemella, with my guardian Gaius Julius Satornilus, gave testimony that twin sons were born from unknown father and that these are named Marcus Sempronius Sarapion and Marcus Sempronius Socration, the sons of Sourius. I, Gaius Julius Satornilus, her guardian, have authorized the document as given above, and I wrote it for her, since she does not know letters.

#### THE NAMES OF THE WITNESSES

The names of the witnesses are in the genitive case as usual, and all written by the same hand, that of the scribe of the rest of the document. I have not found any of these names mentioned elsewhere. Vibius, Octavius, and Aemilius are well-known gens names and equally well known are all of the cognomina, except the last, Ampissus or Ampissa. I read the name Ampissi at first and Bell's transcript supports in part with Am . . . i, and I have so published it, though later I seemed to see traces of a curved stroke over the last letter. That could give only Ampissa, which would have to be used indeclinably, as there is no sign of a following e. The origin must be from Amphissa, or its eponymous hero Amphissus, the h being dropped in foreign pronunciation.

The fourth family name, Caponius, is not elsewhere attested. Its

STATE OF LEAT UN WAX

derivation from capo, a capon, connects it with the farmyard, and so with the small farmer class from whom the Roman legionaries were in large measure enlisted in earlier times.

The fifth family name I have read Albuti, comparing Albucius Silus, a well-known rhetorician of the time of Augustus. The name is otherwise known. Aebutius is also a well-known name, but the apparent cross stroke, which might cause the second letter to be read e, seems only the end of the preceding a. Aebutii Saturnini are, however, noted in Africa by Dessau, 2446 and 3959. Bell read Arbuti, but corrected it to Asbuti. The latter is a possible reading, but I find no support for such a family name.

The sixth family name I read Vibievii, though Vibiedii is just possible. Bell supports with Y.b.evii. Vibiedius is a family name found in inscriptions; cf. Dessau, 3150, 3545, 6124. This must be the name meant here, whether it had been corrupted in popular speech or one letter has been misread.

The seventh family name, Holconius, was previously known only from Pompeii, where the Holconii were the rebuilders of the large theater and the houses of M. Holconius, M. Holconius Celer, M. Holconius Priscus, and M. Holconius Rufus are mentioned in the Mau-Kelsey *Pompeii*; cf. also Dessau. The witness in our document has the same praenomen, and was perhaps a freedman of the family.

Before leaving the question of text I cannot refrain from noting the superiority of the text written on the wood in so far as it is preserved. This may be due partly to the fact that on the wood there was no necessity for crowding, as there was often on the wax. The differences are:

	wax	wood
2, 6	vocetari	vocitari
,	$M^{M}$	M M
3, 4	K.	Kal
6	Aureli	[A]urelio
7	Caesare	Caesaris
	T	Titi

It is again evident that the copy on the wood could not have been made from that on the wax, but both doubtless came from the same original draft. The fact noted above that the scribe wrote less easily and naturally on wax is a sufficient explanation for the increase in errors, except those due to crowding.

A comparison of Mich. Pap. 766, a most carefully written tablet, shows a similar condition, though there is but one error, Asprenat, on the wax for the correct Asprenate on the wood.

### SANDERS: A BIRTH CERTIFICATE OF THE YEAR 145 A.D. 321

I have also compared the Cairo tablet 29807 by the aid of the photographs, which is a more noteworthy example, the copy on the wax being written by a scribe, who did not know that Latin



is now almost illegible, but that on the wax is perfectly clear. The

script well. In the majority of cases e is written for i, and also numerals are badly mangled in several cases. The copy on the wood

WAXED TABLET, PAGE 4; WITNESSES AND TEXT ON WOOD

previous publications seem to have been based mostly on the copy from the wood.

#### EXPANSION OF THE LONG ABBREVIATION

The abbreviation d. e. r. e. e. b. t. s s. was first found by Grenfell in a diptych containing the record of the appointment of a tutor by the prefect of Egypt for a woman named Mevia Dionysarion (Bodleian Quarterly Record, 1919, p. 258 ff.) Grenfell considered that the tablet was the official authorization of the tutor by the prefect, in which case it might be only a copy of the record kept in the office; cf. Pap. Oxy., XII, 1466. He also noted that in Pap. Oxy., IV, 720, a similar appointment of a guardian seemed to be the original request endorsed by the prefect in person. He was inclined to think that the abbreviation contained an official guarantee of the accuracy of the main text as copied from the official record. Though recognizing that d. e. r. might stand for de ea re, as found in the Lex Rubria (Bruns, Fontes Juris Romani, p. 161, he here favored d(escriptum) e(t) r(ecognitum) e(x), but did not venture beyond that point though calling attention to the possibilities, e(xempla), t(abula), and s(upra)s(criptus).

This tablet was at once discussed by Mitteis in Zeit. d. Savigny Stift. Röm. Abt., 40, p. 358 ff., who supported Grenfell, completing the interpretation thus:  $d(escriptum)\ e(t)\ r(ecognitum)\ e(x)\ e(xemplis)\ b(inis)\ t(abulae)\ s(upra)\ s(criptae)$ , though he expressed grave doubts about his addition.

E. Cuq (Acad. d. Ins. et Bell. Lett. Compt. Rend. d. Seances, 1920, p. 40 ff.) handled the tablet more fully. He noted that the woman requesting the guardianship signed through a substitute, but that the expected signature of the tutor, as well as of the prefect, was lacking. He called this extreme abbreviation, and still thought the document an official copy from the public record. He accordingly followed Grenfell in the expansion of the abbreviation, but completed it, d(escriptum) e(t) r(ecognitum) e(x) e(xemplo) b(revi) t(abulae) s(upra) s(criptae). The exemplum brevi or breviarium was explained as the copy of the official record. A facsimile of the tablet appears in New Pal. Soc., Ser. II, Part V, No. 100, but without complete expansion of the abbreviation.

In spite of this unanimity that whole attempt at expansion must be abandoned. In our document the abbreviation must have the same force as in the Oxford diptych. Yet here it is expressly stated that the document was issued because it was not permitted to enter the names of the children in the official record. This is not a copy of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This reference was given me by Professor Dittmann.

the register, but an official document deriving its legal value from the authorization of the guardian and the attestation of the seven witnesses. Our diptych registers the birth of illegitimate children, the Oxford document records the naming of a guardian for a woman, a civis Romana. What have the two documents in common, that calls for the use of this long abbreviation, which must have been a regular and well-known legal formula? First, it is certain that each document deals with a woman, who has a tutor. We know that every legal act of a woman in tutela had to be validated by her tutor. This would apply perfectly to the Michigan document, but not to the Oxford one, if it is a copy of the original act of appointment of the guardian. Pap. Oxy., XII, 1466, which is such a copy, has a reference to the volume and sheet of the public record. The similar document, Pap. Oxy., IV, 720, is shown by the different hands to be the original appointment signed by the prefect in person. We find no sign that it was ever entered in the public records. Therefore such registration was not necessary for the legal validity of the appointment. Both Oxyrhynchus documents are couched in the first person, one representing the actual appointment, the other a copy of the same. The Oxford diptych is couched in the third person and contains no reference to volume or sheet. Therefore it is neither the original appointment of the guardian nor a copy of one. It is merely a statement of fact attested by seven witnesses. Yet it was prepared as a legal document with two copies, inner and outer, and sealed by the witnesses. This would be the natural way of replacing such a document as Pap. Oxy., IV, 720, which had not been entered in the register, if it were lost or destroyed.

For a woman in tutela it was necessary to have the validation or authorization by the tutor of every legal act. That must be hidden in the abbreviation of the Oxford as well as of the Michigan diptych. Now in the Michigan document the Greek summary contains at this point the following:  $\kappa \alpha \theta \omega s$   $\pi \rho \rho \kappa \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \iota$  Ioulios  $\Sigma \alpha \tau \rho \rho \iota \iota \lambda \sigma s$  inserted in the Greek summary also probably because the tutor and is inserted in the Greek summary also probably because the tutor wrote the whole document himself, as he states in the following sentence.

We return then to Grenfell's first suggestion, d(e) e(a) r(e), which is a fair equivalent of  $\kappa a\theta \omega s$   $\pi \rho o \kappa \epsilon \iota \tau a\iota$ , and at the end of the abbreviation explain t. s. as t(utor) s(upra) s(criptus), replacing thus his name and the title  $\kappa \iota \rho \iota \iota o s$  of the Greek summary. Furthermore we know that  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \gamma \rho a \omega \rho \iota \nu$  is the technical word used in the validation of documents by a  $\kappa \iota \rho \iota o s$ ; see the examples cited from the papyri in Preisigke, Wörterbuch, p. 548; Fachwörter, p. 83, and in Archiv,

IV, 89. Liddell and Scott hint at such a usage by explaining of  $i\pi i \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho a \mu \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \sigma i$  as "the parties who had endorsed the  $\sigma \nu \nu \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa a \iota$ ," but this use of the word was hardly noticed before the study of Greek documents from Egypt. One of the first examples, Pap. Oxy., II, 51, 32, has been often misinterpreted. The phrase in question should be translated "I, [Sarapi] on the son of Sarapion, her guardian, have given sanction, and I wrote in her behalf as she does not know letters."

In Latin there are many expressions for validation or authoriza-Most common are ratum facere (efficere), habere, ducere, none of which seem possible here as the letter r is needed for d(e) e(a) r(e). The form exercagn in the Greek shows that the verb was in the first person and presumably in the perfect tense. We may therefore suggest e(xhibui), e(didi), or e(xscripsi). I prefer the last because of the analogy of the Greek and from the fact that the making of an official copy is implied in the form of many ancient documents. This idea of official copies is very plainly stated in Cicero, Verr., 2.2.77, 189, tabulas in foro summa hominum frequentia exscripsi, for below he adds, haec . . . . . recognita et con'ata et ab hominibus honestissimis obsignata sunt. Plautus, Rudens, 21, bonos in aliis tabulis exscriptos habet, is also to be noted. In both cases there is the association with tablets and with legal language and the implication of careful copying or writing. This usage could easily have been extended from legal copies to all legal documents, in which naturally a rough draft would be made first and after all changes and corrections had been made, it would be copied as the official document. I have used exscripsi in expanding a different abbreviation in Classical Philology, 22, p. 410, where the case was much less clear. I consider this a strong confirmation, as in both cases the making of an official copy is implied in the form.

The Greek summary on the outside of the Oxford diptych is also helpful. There one reads Μηονία Διονυσαρίον αιτησαμην κυρίον επιγραφομένον Ιουλίον Αλέξανδρον ως προκείται. This should be interpreted: "I, Mevia Dionysarion, asked for Julius Alexander as my guardian," the one validating the above statement. This is followed by the declaration of Gaius Julius Hercules that he wrote for the woman, who did not know letters. The expression ως προκείται corresponds to καθώς προκείται of the Michigan tablet, and επιγραφομένον in agreement with the name of the guardian matches επεγραφην, which is used in the first person by the guardian in the Michigan document. This extreme condensation is found also in the first part of the Greek summary in the Oxford document. We may note also that this reference to the authorization by the tutor is omitted in the Greek title on the outside of the tablet.

There are two letters left of the abbreviation, e. b. My first thought was e(t) and another verb, as legal phraseology is often overexact, but the only verb beginning with b that would pass at all is b(reviavi), which does not seem in point here, as we have shown that neither of the documents can be a copy or abstract from the official records. All compounds of bene are excluded as legal Latin treats them as two words.

The other alternative is to consider that the two letters contain a description of the guardian. In the Greek summary autres is added to κυριος, which suggests e(ius), but I find nothing to support any additional word, except that the Greek summary is confessedly a shortening of the Latin document throughout. An early guess was e(ius) b(onorum), and I have returned to that because of the lack of any more plausible suggestion. This designation of a tutor seems justified by Digest, 26, 2, 4, quasi in rem potius quam in personam tutorem dare videatur. Examples of a genitive of a word meaning property with tutor are not rare; cf. Digest, 26, 2, 15, tutor . . . rei Africanae; 26, 5, 27, rerum . . . provincialium tutorem. To these Professor Dittmann has added tutor opum . . . largitor bonorum from Prudentius, Contra Symm., 2, 435, and bona tueri, Ulpian in Digest, 26, 4, 1; Cod. Theodos., 9, 43, 1, 2. Bonorum tutor is not cited in the apparatus of the Thesaurus, yet on the analogy of the evidence just cited it may be considered as possible. The whole abbreviation is therefore expanded, d(e) e(a) r(e) e(xscripsi) e(ius) $b(onorum) \ t(utor) \ s(upra) \ s(criptus).$ 

The importance of our document lies more in its implications than in its actual subject matter. First we note that the Aelian-Sentian and Papian-Poppaean laws forbade the registration of illegitimate children in the public record. The Papian-Poppaean law of 9 A.D. was passed to strengthen and extend the lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus of 3 A.D., which was the continuation of the lex Julia de adulteriis of 18 B.C.

The lex Aelia-Sentia of 4 A.D. contained regulations restricting manumissions, but with the aim of preventing undue increase in Roman citizens. It is easy to see why both of these laws should forbid the registration of illegitimate children, but the law calling for the registration of children of Roman citizens must have preceded both of these. It seems most natural to refer it to the lex Julia of 3 A.D., or even of 18 B.C. Scholars have previously cited the passage in the life of Marcus Aurelius, chapter 9 in the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, for the order that the births of Roman citizens should be registered within 30 days. The last sentence of that reference has however not been given due weight: "atque hanc totam legem de

adsertionibus firmavit aliasque de mensariis et auctionibus tulit." It is thus evident that in the first case Marcus Aurelius was strengthening a well-known law, while the other two are treated as independent edicts. Apparently the places of registry and the limit of time had been established before his reign, for the birth tablets from earlier reigns confirm these requirements.

Our tablet implies that the Aelian-Sentian law was the first to forbid the registration of illegitimate children, but that law did not deal directly with the marriage question. It forbade the manumission of certain classes of slaves with the purpose of preventing those unfit from becoming Roman citizens. Two of the classes restricted, slaves under thirty and those freed by masters under twenty, might well include women freed for the purpose of marriage. Manifestly the law could not prevent a master from allowing slaves to live in a free state whatever their legal status. So the lex Junia Norbana of 19 A.D. made such freed slaves Latini. Even before this time they could not have exercised the rights of Roman citizenship, as the Aelian-Sentian law prevented by denying the right to free, unless certain conditions were complied with. The marriage of such illegally freed women with Roman citizens was impossible. there was no marriage, the children were illegitimate and therefore were denied registration. We now for the first time learn that this full implication of the restrictions was contained in the law, which must have denied the legality of the marriage as well as refused registration of births.

In lines 3 and 4 of page 2 of the tablet we learn that the twins were born ex incerto patre and in accordance with this statement Spurii filios is inserted in their names just below. These expressions mean that the children were illegitimate and not necessarily that the father was unknown; cf. Gaius, Inst., 1, 64; Ergo si quis nefarias atque incestas nuptias contraverit, neque uxorem habere videtur, neque liberos; itaque hi, qui ex eo coitu nascuntur, matrem quidem habere videntur, patrem vero non utique, nec ob id in potestate eius sunt, sed sunt quales ii, quos mater vulgo concepit; nam et hi patrem habere non intelleguntur, cum is etiam incertus sit; unde solent spurii filii appellari vel a Graeca voce quasi σποραδην concepti, vel quasi sine patre filii.

This legal interpretation is important when we consider the reasons for the certificate of birth and especially for the meaning of the word *interposuisse* in line 9 of page 2. The explanation given in a parallel declaration (*Aegyptische Urkunden*, VII, p. 205) certainly does not apply to all cases. Here there can be no question of a preliminary registration nor even of using an intermediary. Registration in the official records was forbidden because of illegitimacy,

and this is a substitute. The verb interposuisse tells us that fact only.

Sempronia Gemella, who had this certificate of the birth of twin sons made out, was a freed woman. By a lex Claudia the agnatic tutela of women was abolished; thus the tutela perpetua of freeborn women disappeared. For freedwomen, however, it continued for a long time; cf. Gaius, Inst., 1, 115; 171; Ulpian, XI, 8. Naturally the freedwoman took as tutor her former master, but in case of his death or incapacity the law provided for the appointment of another; cf. Ulpian, XI, 18; Justinian, Inst., 1, 20, 3; Digest, 26, 5, 1.

Sempronia Gemella as a slave had the name Gemella, presumably because she was a twin, so the tendency to twins was inherited. She took the *gens* name of her former master, Sempronius. But in this document her *tutor* is Gaius Julius Saturninus. Therefore her first guardian was dead or otherwise hindered from acting, and she had been given another *tutor* by the *praeses* of the province or by some magistrate at his command. According to the passage from the *Institutes* just cited, the method of appointment varied with the amount of wealth possessed by the *pupilla*.

There are various reasons why the woman should wish the birth of the children legally attested. An illegitimate child followed the status of the mother, and was the nearest heir for inheritance both ways: Paulus, IV, 10, 1; *Inst.*, 3, 4, 3; 3, 3, 7; *Digest*, 38, 17, 2.

A freedwoman, Latina Juniana, attained Roman citizenship after bearing children three times: cf. Ulpian, 3, 1: Latini ius Quiritium consequuntur his modis . . . praeterea ex senatus consulto mulier quae sit ter enixa. Dead children counted with the living: Paulus, IV, 9, 9. So, also, an illegitimate child; Inst., 3, 3, De senatus consulto Tertulliano; especially 3, 3, 7. Further a freedwoman attained the ius liberorum if she had borne children four times: Paulus, IV, 9, 1; 7; and this freed her from tutela legitima; Gaius, 1, 145; 194; 3, 44; Ulpian, 2, 9, 3.

We do not need to take up the possibilities of legitimatizing an invalid marriage, if contracted in ignorance, nor of a Latin attaining Roman citizenship by marriage either with a Latin or a Roman, if thereafter he had a son one year of age. There is nothing in this document to suggest the immediate hope of Roman citizenship or even of marriage.

A choice between the above reasons for registration is perhaps not possible, and all may have had weight, but further consideration of the condition in which the freedwoman was living may assist our understanding. The first assumption would naturally be that she was a woman of the camp without permanent cohabitation with any

In that case the designation of the children as ex incerto patre was literally true. Against this may be urged the distinguished sounding name of the guardian, C. Julius Saturninus. A certain T. Julius Titi filius trib, Fabia Saturninus was a procurator Augustorum et Faustinae and later collector of revenues under the Antonines; Dessau, 1382-1384, 1859. He was of equestrian rank. Perhaps of the same family was L. Julius C. f. Fab(ia) Saturninus, who as heir joined in erecting a tombstone in Mauretania to a retired officer of the classis Aug. Alexandrinae. A connection of the family with the military force in Egypt is thus suggested. There was a C. Julius Saturninus in the army in Numidia in 253 A.D., and C. Julius C. f. Saturninus Chius retired as a centurion in Egypt in 83 A.D. (Dessau, 1996). The latter might be an ancestor of the Saturninus of our document, but if so, the connection with the equestrian family must be abandoned. Whatever the rank or family of our Saturninus he was doubtless associated with one of the legions in the Roman camp at Alexandria, for all seven of the witnesses have Roman names also. It is not likely that such a group of friends or acquaintances could be found at Alexandria except in the Roman camp. Neither is it probable that they would witness a document for a camp prostitute nor their most distinguished member act as her guardian even though she possessed property.

The other alternative is that she was a concubine. While this was a permanent status not dishonorable to a freedwoman, her children took her name and rank and in legal documents were designated as Spurii filii, though unofficially the father might call them filii naturales or filiastri; cf. P. Meyer, Der Römische Konkubinat, p. 34–51. When the military reforms of Augustus forbade the marriage of soldiers, illegal associations took its place. Such seems to me to have been the connection between C. Julius Saturninus and Sempronia Gemella. To be sure concubinage as well as marriage was forbidden between guardian and ward, but this rule did not appear in the law until the second century, and even then did not apply, if the association came before the guardianship, or if the woman was twenty-six years of age; cf. Buckland, A Textbook of Roman Law, p. 129; Meyer, p. 61.

Saturninus accepted the guardianship of Sempronia Gemella because she was his mistress. Both are interested in having a legal record of the birth of their children, as this improves the status and financial possibilities of both concubine and offspring. Any less honorable position of the woman in the camp would make the procuring of such a document as well as of such a guardian most difficult.

In a parallel document (Aegyptische Urkunden, VII, No. 1690) a

common soldier announces the birth of a daughter from Arsus, daughter of Lucius, his hospita. I have referred above to the interpretation of interposuisse in this document. It is a Latin birth record and so a substitute for the regular Latin birth certificate, which also is always on a wax tablet. The ultimate aim seems to have been in general the securing of Roman citizenship or defending it in the future. I see no occasion for connecting them with the epicrisis, or with the registration of non-Romans with the prefect or other official, which might be made at any time before the census, or with the records of entry among the ephebi of a city with special rights as Alexandria. The form of such records is quite different and they are in Greek; cf. Bell, Jour. of Egypt. Arch., XII, 245 f.

Tablet No. 1690 was a Latin document to be preserved in the family. When Epimachus secured his discharge after twenty-five years of service his wife and children would become Roman citizens also.

Further comparison of these parallel documents suggests some slight emendations in No. 1690, which is not well preserved. Of the second line little was read by the editors, though they felt sure that professus est must have stood there. They indicate space for 29 letters. Wilchen, Archiv, VIII, p. 293, supplied the lacuna "[professus est Philadelphiae apud]" because of the following idcirco. His reasoning was correct, but the Michigan document offers a formula "testatus est eos, qui signaturi erant," which will just fill the space. Also this will imply that on the outside of the missing tablet stood the names and seals of the seven witnesses. These would occupy fully half of the surface, while the remainder would be large enough to contain the beginning of the copy of the document not found on the outside of the half of the tablet that is preserved. In that case the arrangement of seals, names of witnesses, and copy must have been the same as on the Michigan tablets, which have been discussed above.

In line 6 the editors expand the abbreviation "propter districtionem mil(itum)" and explain "wegen der Inanspruchnahme der Soldaten." But we have seen that there was no possibility of registration of the birth in Alexandria by the soldier, even if he had been able to go there. This phrase takes the place of the reference to the Aelian-Sentian law in the Michigan tablet. Therefore I should expand the abbreviation propter districtionem mil(itiae) and interpret "on account of the limitations imposed by military service." This would mean the prohibition of marriage. Wilchen, Archiv, VIII, p. 293, seems to have the same view, for he supplies propter districtionem mil(itarem).

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#### COLOR AT CORINTH

Among the more notable discoveries made in the excavations in the theatre district of Corinth in 1926 were several pieces of marble sculpture on which red color was preserved to a greater or less extent. This is especially noticeable in the case of a colossal male figure whose cloak is covered over a large area with a pigment of a light red color shading to pink. These objects were lying at a depth of twenty-five to thirty feet below the surface of the ground and were surrounded by very damp earth, but in spite of this subjection to moisture for many centuries the color still remains. It is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss the arguments for the age of these sculptures, but it is my opinion that they belong to the Greek rather than to the Roman period and that they may be tentatively dated in the fourth or the third century B.C. Very little marble sculpture of this time has been found with its colors preserved, and it is an interesting phenomenon that this should be the case at Corinth where the burial conditions seem particularly unfavorable because of the dampness of the soil due to the natural drainage from the acropolis. Is it possible that the preservation of the color at Corinth may be explained by the fact that the Corinthians employed an unusually good quality of paint, or is the preservation purely the result of chance?

Some information on the nature of color used by the Corinthians is furnished by another discovery made at Corinth in the same campaign. In the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis, which adjoins the theatre, a rude pot was found at a depth of 5.25 m. This is a vessel of coarse clay, and is of bowl-shape with only one handle. It does not resemble any Greek pottery of Corinth, and, moreover, the evidence secured at the time of its discovery is against an early date. Objects so far found in the area of the Athena sanctuary do not antedate the eighth century B.C., and those lying in the vicinity of the pot belong to the end of the fifth and to the beginning of the fourth century. As, also, the clay of the vase is not of the local Corinthian type, the conclusion seems to be inevitable that this is a product that has been imported from some place where such rude ware was still being manufactured in the fifth and fourth centuries.2

 $<sup>^1\</sup>mathrm{See}$  A.J.A., XXX, 1926, pp. 456, 462.  $^2\Lambda$  crude one-handled pot of somewhat similar shape and clay was found at Sardis in association with characteristic fine Lydian ware that dates from the beginning of the sixth century, B.C. Compare the vase found by D. M. Robinson at Sizma, A.J.A., xxxi, 1927, p. 46, Fig. 33.

Further light on this problem is supplied by the contents of the vase, which consisted of a small quantity of pigment of a light red color. The lumps of this matter are composed of crystals of columnar shape, and when the mass is crushed with a pestle the color changes to a reddish orange. A specimen of this pigment has been chemically analyzed by Professor William Foster of the Department of Chemistry of Princeton University, who finds that it reacts perfectly to the usual tests which prove that it is sulphide of arsenic, chemically expressed as either As S or As<sub>2</sub> S<sub>2</sub>. This matter is known by mineralogists as realgar from the Arabic word rehj-alghar, meaning powder of the cave or mine. Our specimen agrees exactly in appearance with the description of realgar given by Henry Watts in his Dictionary of Chemistry, I, p. 386, as "crystallized in oblique rhombic prisms of the monoclinic system, having an orangeyellow or aurora-red colour, resinous lustre, and more or less translucent: streak varying from orange-red to aurora-red; fracture conchoidal, uneven; sectile." On the evidence of descriptions given in ancient writers realgar has with reasonable certainty long been equated with the Greek σανδαράκη and Latin sandaraca. Theophrastos, De Lapidibus, 50, says that this is a red color used by painters. Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXV, 39, states, on the authority of Juba, that it is found on the Island, Topaz, in the Red Sea. According to Vitruvius, De Architect., VII, 7, 5, it was found in many places, but the best quality came from Pontus. Approximately the same source is, also, given by Strabo, Geog., XII, p. 562, who says that it was mined in shafts near the city of Pompeiopolis, Paphlagonia, which is not far from Sinope. Only slaves and condemned criminals were used as laborers in the mines because of the hazardous nature of the working conditions due to poisonous vapors rising from the earth. The mortality from this cause among the workmen frequently necessitated the complete cessation of opera-As Blümner points out,1 the ill effects were probably produced not by vapors but by the constant inhalation of fine poisonous The poisonous nature of sandarake is attested by ancient authors, as, for example, Aristotle, who says in De Animalium Historia, VIII, 604b, that horses and other beasts are killed by this drug. Galen, Geoponica, XIII, 9, 3, recommends that it be used in a mixture with butter and a sweet substance against scorpions, just as gardeners now use arsenic mixed with something sweet on bread to destroy cutworms in the garden. Theophrastos, De Lapidibus, 40, specifically describes the material as dust, κονία, in contradis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern, IV, p. 484.

tinction to earth or sand. The constant inhalation of dust in the process of mining such an arsenic compound as our color is revealed to be might possibly have the deleterious effects described by Strabo.

Sinope and its neighborhood had close commercial relations with Greece, as D. M. Robinson has emphasized in his study of Sinope. 1 and that port would have served as a shipping point for the mineral product of the inland mountain mines as well as for the red earth for which Sinope was famous. Arrian, in his Periplous of the Black Sea, 13, locates a harbor for small ships, named Sandarake, on the coast of Bithynia between the Oxinas River and Krenides. much farther distant from the mines than is Sinope, but commercial rivalry between the producers of Sinopis and of sandarake may have forced the latter to seek their own harbor for export. The name, in any case, suggests some association with the mines. Sandarake, because of the hazards and difficulties of production, must have been a comparatively rare and expensive substance. Such an inference, at least, is justified from Pliny's statement, Nat. Hist., XXXV, 39, that it was found in an island of the Red Sea but was not imported. He then describes an artificial substitute which went by the same name and was sold for five asses the pound. The discovery of this imitation was made by accident when white lead was burned in a fire at the Peiraeus, according to Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXV, 38.2 Pliny further adds that the first person to use this synthetic color was Nikias, the artist who painted some of the marbles for Praxiteles, ibid., XXXV, 133.

The conclusion that I draw from this little study is that our color, sandarake, at Corinth was probably imported from the mine in the mountains southwest of Sinope. The rude pot may be explained as a cheap container made locally at the mine for the transport of the pigment. At Corinth the red powder in its original package was dedicated as an appropriate and valuable offering to the Goddess Athena. Is it too fanciful to conjecture that perhaps the drapery of the Hermes of Praxiteles has lost its color because synthetic paint was used, whereas the mineral color is still well preserved on the cloak of the statue at Corinth?

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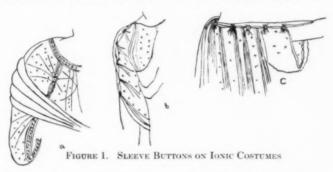
 $<sup>^1</sup>A.J.P.,~\rm XXVII,~1906,~pp.~135~ff.$   $^2$  See also Vitruvius, VII, 12, 2.

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### BUTTONS AND THEIR USE ON GREEK GARMENTS

The scarcity of fibulae of proven Greek provenance has suggested the possiblity of some other means employed by the Greeks for fastening their costumes. That fibulae were always used in Italy is evident from the great numbers found there beginning in the Bronze Age and lasting well into the Early Christian era, but this is not the case in Greece. The earliest known examples from Greece are of Mycenaean date 1 and of the simple safety-pin type with a single twist of wire for the spring. This variety is followed by the spectacle brooch. Homer gives evidence of the use of the twisted fibula in speaking of the peplos which Antinoos gave to Penelope with its twelve golden fibulae provided with κληίδες εξηναμπτοι.2



In other literary sources it is more difficult to determine the type of fastening intended since in neither Greek nor Latin is there a word which is restricted in meaning to "pin" in the sense of the modern safety-pin. In Latin, fibula "signifies that which serves to fasten two things together—a buckle, a clasp, a pin, etc." 3 Buttons or even strings might thus be included. In Greek περόνη means more definitely something with a point for piercing or pinning, but also refers to the brooch or clasp itself.<sup>5</sup> From that inclusive meaning it seems possible that περόνη may have come to be applied to anything which took the place of a brooch, such as a button. This is particularly likely as there seems to be no Greek word for button.

Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, fibula, p. 2004, fig. 2977.
 Od., XVIII, 293.

<sup>3</sup> Harper's Latin Dictionary, fibula. <sup>4</sup> For the use of strings to tie two sides of a sleeve together see below, p. 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, περόνη.

It is not fair to argue from the absence of a special word that the Greeks did not use buttons.

The word "fibula" in modern times, at least, is used to designate a clasp of which the pin of metal is an essential element,1 and archaeologists generally have used the word in this limited sense when discussing the fastenings of Greek garments. It has been assumed that such fibulae were the invariable rule throughout Greek times for the Doric and Ionic chitons alike. Dickins, in his discussion of the costumes of the Archaic Maidens,2 speaks of sleeves fastened with brooches or sewn. Lechat, in an article on archaic statues from the Acropolis,3 says the two borders of the sleeve were fastened at regular intervals by fibulae in the form of small round buttons. Reinach agrees with Lechat.4 Heuzev 5 believes that fibulae were used for the peplos and chiton. An ancient authority for the use of the fibula, Aelian,6 says that it was with the aid of fibulae that the Greek women of ancient times fixed the sleeves of their chitons around their arms. There is nothing in the context of Aelian's statement, however, to clarify the meaning of this ambiguous term. He may have been using it in the broadest sense to include all types of fastenings. It would seem, then, that archaeological evidence rather than literary must solve the problem.

Excavations in Greece have yielded numerous fibulae of the safety-pin type from Mycenaean times through the geometric and early archaic periods, but save for a very few scattered examples the fibula ceases to appear in the late sixth century. Of the fibulae found at Olympia 7 by far the greater number are of the Mycenaean and geometric periods. The spiral and bow forms are all early, and several with large clasp-plates decorated with engraved designs are to be dated in the Dipylon period corresponding with similar examples from Dodona.9

Fibulae from the Argive Heraion 10 are found in great numbers, both the stick-pin and safety-pin varieties. The sequence of style

Daremberg et Saglio, fibula, p. 2001.
 Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, I, pp. 42–49.
 Statues Archaiques de l'Acropole, B.C.H., 1890, p. 308. Lechat, in his later works, Le Sculpture Attique avant Phidias and Sculptures Grecques published in 1925, while he does not repeat the statement of his earlier article implies it again and again in describing the costumes of statues. In his opinion the fastenings are always pins of some kind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, fibula, p. 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Histoire du Costume antique, see especially pp. 62 and 63. Var. Hist., I, 18? and Daremberg et Saglio, fibula, p. 2003.
 Furtwängler, Olympia, IV, nos. 342–379.
 Nos. 362, 362a, 365, 365a, 366a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For another illustration of the Dipylon type see Daremberg et Saglio, fibula, p. 2005, fig. 2982

Waldstein, The Argive Heraeum, I, p. 62 f., nos. 919-944.

may be traced through the early archaic period. The latest type found is the circle or ring fibula which de Cou places in the archaic period. The simplicity of these clasps and the meagre detail on the few which show decoration would seem to indicate that they belong early in the archaic period, possibly before 550 B.C. The decoration consists of engraved circles and a simple tongue pattern resembling a series of horseshoes, not unlike geometric designs. One fibula 2 is in the form of a recumbent lion with pin attachment. This is crudely modelled and most archaic in style. Here again evidence for the use



of fibulae is largely wanting after the early archaic period, though a few finds of later date do occur on the site.

There are a number of early fibulae from Dodona,2 and in addition a lovely leaf-shaped fibula which is probably later than the sixth century.3 It is interesting to note that in the Catalogue of Bronzes in the British Museum no fibulae or brooches of Greek workmanship are listed later than the geometric period.

The last type of pin in common use is not the safety-pin fibula, but the stick-pin. This may be seen fastening garments over the right shoulder on the François vase.4 It appears similarly used on a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No. 946.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Carpanos, Dodona, pls. L and LI. <sup>3</sup> Ibid., pl. L, 10. In the Mon. d. Inst., II, p. XVI a fibula of this shape is represented on a red-figured vase of free style, where it is shown fastening the Doric chiton on the left shoulder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, peplos, p. 383, fig. 5558.

bronze figurine in the Metropolitan Museum which Miss Richter dates in the late sixth century.\(^1\) A third example of the stick-pin is on a red-figured vase from Vulci by Andokides dating about 525 B.c.\(^2\) Occasionally the stick-pin appears after the sixth century. There is a krater from Falerii in the Villa Giulia Museum\(^3\) which shows such pins fastening the Doric chiton at the shoulders. Another interesting example is to be seen on a cup with white ground in Munich representing Europa on the Bull. Her peplos is fastened with four golden stick-pins, one on each shoulder and one half-way between the elbow and shoulder.\(^4\) It is an important fact that in no case is there an example where the stick-pin is used with the Ionic costume.

The rare appearance of the stick-pin after the sixth century is explained by Herodotos  $^5$  when he tells the story of the defeat and destruction of the Athenians—all save one man—at Aegina. This man upon his return to Athens was set upon and slain by the indignant wives of his unfortunate companions, who stabbed him to death with the pins  $(\pi\epsilon\rho\delta\nu\eta\sigma\iota)$  from their garments. Herodotos says that as a result a law was passed compelling them to change their dress for the Ionian that they might not use pins. Whether Herodotos is historically accurate, or is merely inventing a story to explain a change in fashion, at least he does make it clear that fibulae were no longer the rule. Certainly his story is plausible, for the stick-pin could have been a most deadly weapon when used as a stiletto. Such a pin must have been most inconvenient, and even dangerous for the wearer, since the sharp ends were entirely exposed, as may be seen on the vases mentioned above.

The event of which Herodotos writes, the defeat of the Athenians by the Aeginetans and Argives, took place shortly before 560, a date which accords well with the archaeological evidence for the discontinuance of the fibula. The few isolated survivals of the stick-pin in art after that date show, however, that the law was not strictly enforced, or else that Herodotos did not adhere strictly to the truth, but that he was merely attempting to give a logical explanation for the Ionic vogue of the time of Peisistratos.

The Ionic costume is generally worn by the archaic maidens of the Acropolis, and a careful study of these statues and vases of the sixth and following centuries shows that the Ionic costume was without

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum, figure on p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hoppin, Red-Figured Vases, I, pp. 40-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, pl. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pl. 114, 1 and Text, Series II, p. 284.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotos V, 87 ff.

clasps, in spite of the opinion of Dickins, and of Reinach, who quotes the story, but disregards the evidence of Herodotos. To be sure, Ionic chitons were sometimes sewn and hence free from dangerous pins, but this interpretation of Herodotos does not fit all cases.

The real explanation is to be found in the fact that the common method of fastening Ionic costumes was not by brooches, but by buttons,2 and that a part of the statement of Herodotos is correct, namely, that the Ionic costume did not use pins.3 The buttons were



Denkmäler-Griechische und Römischer Sculptur, no. 295 FIGURE 3. DANCER FROM HERCULANEUM BUTTONING THE DORIC CHITON: NAPLES MUSEUM

placed along one side of the sleeve at intervals. The number of buttons on a sleeve varied from two to eight (Fig. 1).4 The other

<sup>1</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, fibula, p. 2003. Reinach refers in n. 21 to black-figured vases which show the lonic chiton fastened with what he considers pins.

<sup>2</sup> For buttons on Ionic chitons in the sixth century see a black-figured vase of

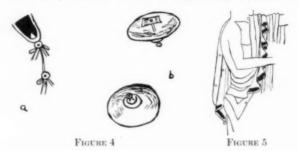
Andokides, Pfuhl III, p. 69, and a black-figured vase of Pamphaios, Hoppin, Black-Figured Vases, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Meyers, Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus, p. 484, says that in Cyprus fibulae passed out of use about 700 B.C., earlier than in most parts of Greece and that they were superseded in part by buttons.

<sup>4</sup> Figure 1a is from a crater from Bologna, Mon. d. Inst. X, pl. LIV. Figure 1b = Mon. d. Inst. I, pl. XI and Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 137. Figure 1c is from a Tyrrhenian Amphora, Mon. d. Inst. I, pl. LIV and Furtwängler-Reschhold, pl. 113.

side of the sleeve was furnished with loops, not buttonholes, since the two edges of the sleeve meet, but do not overlap. When one looks for sleeve-buttons one may find them again and again both in vase-painting and in sculpture, where they appear in relief, circular and slightly convex on top. These vary in diameter from .7 to about 1.3 cm.

Nor were buttons confined to the Ionian costume. The advantage of buttons over the old stick-pin was immediately apparent and the Doric dress was soon influenced by the Ionic to the extent of substituting buttons for the original fibulae. After the middle of the sixth century the Doric costume is generally represented with



large round buttons, one on each shoulder. These usually appear to be 2.5 cm. or more in diameter. They were attached to the fold of material in front of the shoulder and the back fold was fastened over the button as this layer of cloth appears overlapping the front and in some cases is visible beneath the button (Fig. 2). In sculpture a clear example of the use of buttons on Doric chitons may be observed in the bronze dancers from Herculaneum in the Naples Museum. They all have buttons on the shoulders, but one (Fig. 3) is particularly significant since she is in the act of buttoning the chiton on the With the left hand she holds the button (not right shoulder. visible) while with the right hand she draws the fold of material over the shoulder from behind preparatory to fastening it over the button. A button of rosette form with a central knob is to be seen clearly on the left shoulder. That it is a button and not a pin is evident from the action of the hands as they fasten the garment. If she were about to use a pin the folds of the chiton from the front and the back would be seen overlapping and held in one hand while she prepared to insert the pin with the free hand.

The fastening was accomplished presumably by means of a button-

Figure 2a is from a mirror from Praeneste. Mon. d. Inst. IX, pl. LVI, 2.

hole, though a loop or string tie would be possible, as a mirror from Praeneste in the Tyskiewicz collection shows (Fig. 2b). Short strings without any buttons must have been used occasionally, at least for sleeves. Such fastenings are to be seen on two of Hieron's vases,2 where the strings are not to be confused with the delicate lines which indicate the folds of material. A dancing Maenad on a vase by Nikosthenes shows groups of short strings at intervals along the sleeves.3 The strings are drawn more heavily than the other details and overlap the folds diagonally. On an Attic red-figured amphora representing Croesus on the funeral pyre,4 the sleeve of Croesus shows a combination of buttons and strings (Fig. 1c). In addition to the strings a small loop is visible beside the first button above the elbow.

Buttons were also used on armor in Greek and Roman times to fasten the shoulder straps to the cuirass. In many instances there were no buttonholes, but cords or thongs of leather were wrapped around the buttons and tied, as in Figure 4a.5 An example of the late sixth century occurs on a vase by Nikosthenes which has a warrior represented on one handle. The shoulder straps are fastened to a button.<sup>6</sup> Another instance is on a vase of Brygos.<sup>7</sup> The Etruscans also used this method of fastening armor, as may be seen in the two Etruscan bronze statuettes of Mars in Combat, which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.8 Buttons with a central hole and string ties are clearly indicated.9

The cherished belief that the Greek costume consisted of a single folded piece of material is in no way impaired whether fibulae or buttons were the rule. The garment might still be quickly removed by unfastening the buttons on the shoulders or along the sleeves, and would at once be resolved into a single piece of cloth easy to fold and lay away in a chest. The advantage of this method of fastening is that after the costume had once been carefully draped, the buttons attached, and loops made at the proper places it would be a simple matter to don the garment again and to produce the same becoming effect with a minimum of effort. The permanent attachment of buttons to a garment does not mean that it must always be worn in

Figure 2b = Mon. d. Inst. IX, pl. LVI, 3.
 Hoppin, Red-Figured Vases, II, p. 84 and p. 85.
 Hoppin, ibid., II, p. 226, left-hand figure at the top of the page.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 113.

From Mon. d. Inst., X, pl. LIV. Hoppin, B.F.V., p. 287c.

<sup>7</sup> Pfuhl III, p. 138. <sup>8</sup> Babelon et Blanchet, Catalogue de Bronzes Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, figs. 184, 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For additional examples of buttons on armor see Furtwängler-Reichhold, IA, pl. 6, and pl. 15.

the same way. For instance, the himation thrown loosely around the body and over one arm might at another time be differently arranged and buttoned on the shoulders like the Doric chiton. example of a garment used as an himation, but with the possibility of use as a chiton, seems to be represented on the vase from Caere showing the Ransom of Hector. The attendant behind Priam wears the himation (Fig. 5), but near the upper edge of the material two button-like objects are attached about equidistant from the tassel ends of the garment, so that if the himation were rearranged and put on as a chiton the buttons would come on the shoulders.2

It is impossible to see the under side of these buttons which are drawn on vases or carved in relief on statues, and so the question may arise whether or not pins were attached to the back. answer is that excavations do not yield such circular fibulae, whereas numerous buttons of glass, bone, and bronze have been found.

Glass buttons are by far the most common, though their purpose has not been generally recognized. An article by G. Eisen<sup>3</sup> gives excellent colored plates of many beautiful glass buttons.4 These vary from .7 to 3 cm. in diameter. He does not believe that they are buttons, but calls them button beads, in spite of the fact that none is spherical. All are flat or slightly concave on the bottom and convex on the top. The design in the glass, often very colorful and intricate, appears only on the convex side—the side intended to be seen. Many of these buttons have a central perforation from front to back. A few oval ones have holes pierced lengthwise near the back, but the majority have no visible means of attachment. It is for this reason that Eisen rejects the possibility that they are buttons and suggests that they may have been strung as beads by placing two of equal circumference back to back and joining them with a section of cement through which a hole was made.<sup>5</sup> The chief difficulty with this awkward arrangement is that such a necklace would be far from beautiful. The layers of cement would be very obvious and the tops of the "beads" bearing the color and design would be concealed by the adjoining "beads" on the string. But if they were used as buttons the decorative surfaces would be visible. The next point to consider is the method of attaching such buttons to the costumes.

Mon. d. Inst., VIII, pl. XXVII. Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 84.
 It is possible that the drawing of this vase is misleading and that the two button-like objects are in reality meant to indicate the border on the reverse side of the material. Even if this is the case, there seems to be no reason why certain costumes of the Greeks might not have done double duty in just this way.

A.J.A., 1916, pp. 299-307, pls. IX and X.

<sup>4</sup> Eisen dates some of these glass button beads as early as the fifth century B.C., and thinks that they come from Egypt, ibid., p. 305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A.J.A., 1916, pl. X, figs. 27-28.

The buttons with a central hole 1 could be fastened to garments by means of a cord or thin leather thong, or possibly even a slender wire knotted at the top so that it would not slip through the button. This seems to be indicated in Figures 1c and 2a where the buttons are drawn with black centers. A Tanagra figurine in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>2</sup> has a button on the shoulder with a central hole clearly shown. The bronze statue from Herculaneum of a maiden fastening her chiton (Fig. 3) shows a button with a central knob which probably represents the knotted cord that served to hold the button in place. The buttons with a longitudinal hole 3 near the back are not unlike buttons of glass today and would be attached in the same way. The difficulty comes in determining the method of fastening the buttons without perforations which are flat or slightly concave on the back side.4 Some of them have traces of a bronze attachment by which Eisen explains as a bit of the rod with which the glass blower twirled the button in the process of decoration. Is it not more likely, however, that the glass blower would have employed a glass rod for this purpose? The traces of bronze mentioned are very likely a part of the loop for fastening the buttons to the cloth.

In the Metropolitan Museum are a number of glass buttons of Greek provenance dating from the fifth and fourth centuries. Among those of the fifth century seven are pierced with a central hole. These are convex with flat backs and the diameters of the openings vary from .1 cm. to .3 cm. There are others which have central depressions in the back where an attachment could easily have been inserted in cement or possibly resin.6 One button actually has the hole in back filled with cement,7 another8 has traces of something like glue (resin?) in the hollow. Evidently the depression, which is fairly well rounded and flattened inside, is due in part to the breaking off of the rod of the glass blower, but it looks as if in addition some smooth object of regular shape had been thrust in while the glass was still soft. In these depressed hollows attachments of metal or of bone may have been inserted which have disintegrated and disappeared. Some other examples in the fourthcentury collection at the Metropolitan Museum have perfectly

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pl. IX, nos. 5, 11, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acc. no. 13.227.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 39. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. IX, nos. 6, 14, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., pl. IX, no. 3, and pl. X, no. 37; see also p. 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A good example of this type is acc. no. 17.194.826, having a diameter of 1.9 n. The diameter of the depression is .5 cm. and its depth is about .4 cm.

<sup>7</sup> Acc. no. 17.194.818. 8 Acc. no. 17.194.605.

smooth backs and are more difficult to explain, as they were not twisted on a rod, but were poured in a mould. If used as buttons they must have been held in a frame of some kind. Of course there is the possibility that they were covered with cloth, but it seems unlikely that the beauty of the glass would have been concealed. It does seem likely that buttons covered with cloth were used in ancient times, particularly by those in humble circumstances, but these doubtless had a wooden core and so have disappeared as completely as the garments.

Many bone objects which seem to me to be buttons are labelled "spindle-whorls" in the museums. The number of so-called spindlewhorls is enormous, for these have been found in abundance at Trov and in all later excavations in Greece and the islands. The tendency seems to be to call any object with a central perforation, not suitable for a necklace, a whorl. The whorl was attached to the lower part of the spindle to make it balance and to keep it twirling rapidly. For this purpose a rather heavy substance was necessary, such as terracotta or stone.1 This explains the larger whorls with holes of considerable size which fitted over the spindle rod. The smaller ones may have been loom-weights rather than spindle-whorls. A spherical weight would have been appropriate for this purpose, and numerous examples of such weights made of terracotta are known. There are also many weights made for suspension with a perforation at the top. These are particularly suitable for loom-weights One type of spindle made of bronze had the lower end of the rod inserted in thin, flat discs of bone. Examples are known from Italy.2

There seems no reason, however, for supposing that the ivory and glass buttons with convex obverse and flat reverse have anything to do with either the loom or the spindle. Moreover, this type is abundant and occurs frequently in graves. One whorl would presumably be enough for a spindle and one spindle would probably last a lifetime. We should, therefore, not expect to find whorls in great numbers. However, numerous buttons might be expected on the garments placed in the tombs. A great many buttons of colored glass and bone are listed from the tombs of Myrina.3

Seven of the so-called spindle-whorls of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman date are in the Metropolitan Museum.4

They are all convex with flat backs and vary in diameter from 1.8 cm. to 4 cm. All have a central hole and are decorated with incised concentric circles, dots, and parallel crescents. The larger ones

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, fusus, p. 1425.

Daremberg et Saglio, fusus, p. 1426, figs. 3384, 3385.
 Pottier and Reinach, Myrina.

Acc. nos. c.s. 1669, c.s. 1588, c.s. 1665, c.s. 1667, c.s. 1659, c.s. 1662, c.s. 1592.

would be appropriate for the shoulder fastenings of the Doric chiton. Another type is larger 1 still, having a diameter of 7.2 cm. It is flat and rather thin, decorated with an incised rosette and with concentric circles used for the border. If it is a button it could have been used only for the chlamys, owing to its great size. For a button of this type see Figure 6d which is from a bust of Hadrian.<sup>2</sup> A number of others in the Metropolitan Museum of similar appearance on the top have no central hole, and on the back are carved with a projection of .5 cm, and of slightly smaller diameter than the top. These are surely not buttons, but would make excellent stoppers for jars or bottles, since the projection could fit snugly inside a rim.

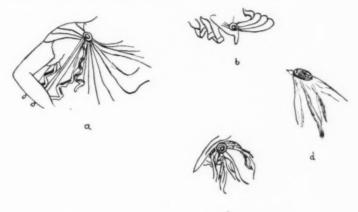


FIGURE 6. BUTTONS USED TO FASTEN THE CHLAMYS

From the Argive Heraion come a number of circular bone objects with small central hole.3 They are generally flat and have the surface decorated. Common designs are birds of somewhat archaic appearance on the obverse and rosettes on the reverse. No satisfactory explanation of their use has been offered. If strung in succession as beads the designs would be concealed and only the plain edges would be visible. They are well suited for use as buttons, with a knotted cord to hold them in place and in position to reveal the entire design of one side. Moreover, they might be reversed for variety. The size is suitable since they vary in diameter from 1.5 cm. to 2.5 cm. Bone buttons continued in use for some time after

<sup>1</sup> Acc. no. c.s. 1642.

Hekler, Greek and Roman Portraits, p. 247, fig. b.
 Waldstein, Argive Heraeum, pl. CXXXIX, nos. 9-20.

the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods. The same convex type decorated with circles for the most part and having a central hole occurs in the Coptic period.1

Buttons must also have been made of metal in Greek times, though these in the nature of the case have mostly disappeared. Two bronze buttons with convex tops having loop attachments on the back are in the Metropolitan Museum.2 These are fairly large, having a diameter of 4.8 cm. and 5 cm. They are decorated with a central boss and a series of concentric raised bands, six in the first and five in the second example. In appearance they are like the buttons which fastened the chlamys in Greek and Roman times (Fig. 6, a, b, c).3 A button similar to the bronze ones in the Metropolitan with a raised boss, but with a stem and square guard on the back instead of a loop, was found in a tomb at Corneto (Fig. 4b).4 Such a button would not have been sewn on the garment, but would have been slipped through two small buttonholes in the manner of a cuff link. Another example of a double-headed button having the upper half in the form of a bull's head is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>5</sup>

Buttons of gold would have been too expensive for the majority, but might have been imitated in gilded glass or terracotta.6 A possible example is the lovely terracotta figurine of Nike from Myrina,7 with its well-preserved color. "One can distinguish the 'agrafe dorée'  $(\pi\epsilon\rho\delta\nu\eta)$  which fastens the two borders of the material in place on the left shoulder." 8 The "agrafe dorée" is circular and of the proper shape and size for a button.

The fourth-century marble statue of a goddess from the Giustiniani Collection in the Metropolitan Museum has six holes about .3 cm. in diameter pierced at intervals along the sleeve for the insertion of buttons of some more decorative material, possibly of gilded bronze or of gold. In the case of some of the statutes of the Archaic

Strzygowski, Koptische Kunst, pl. XIX, nos. 8905–8918. These are erroneously called spindle-whorls. In the British School of Archaeology Publication, Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa, pl. XLIX, 29, an ornamented button is published. The author (p. 43) calls it a whorl, but as he goes on to say that the type usually found was an unornamented disc of ivory with the remains of iron in the hole, it is quite certain that they were buttons, not whorls, as the whorl was slipped on the spindle rod without any need of a metal attachment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acc. no. c.b. 424 and c.b. 419.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Figure 6c, with a boss and two concentric bands, is from a Roman relief. ta and 6b are from figures of Hermes on Greek vases. In the original of 6a the thong from the hat of Hermes crosses the button. This I have omitted for the sake of clarity. Figure 6a = Mon. d. Inst. I, pl. XX; figure 6b = Mon. d. Inst. IV, pl. XXXIII; figure 6c = Mon. d. Inst. IV, pl. IV.

Figure 4b = Mon. d. Inst. X, pl. X b, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Catalogues des Bronzes Antiques, fig. 1937.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In Pottier and Reinach, Myrina, catal. no. 542, there is mention of two buttons of gilded terracotta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

Maidens of the Acropolis, holes were made for the insertion of metal buttons.<sup>1</sup>

It was customary to use only buttons of small size for the sleeves of the Ionic chiton and to reserve the larger buttons for the shoulders of the Doric chiton. This is evident in all periods. In the Metropolitan Museum the archaic statue from Paros of the sixth century wears an Ionic dress with buttons along the sleeves which are about 1.2 cm. in diameter. In the same museum a sixth-century statue from Sunium wearing the Ionic costume shows the edge of the sleeve caught together six times, but in this case no buttons are modelled. Apparently they were added in paint. Two examples of draped figures with painted buttons are described by Dickins.<sup>2</sup> In the first the "pins," or buttons—if the evidence set forth in this paper is correct—are painted green, and in the second the "pins" are picked out in red. Even where the buttons were modelled in relief paint was still applied. It was evidently customary to enhance the beauty of the Greek costume by means of colored buttons, and what more decorative or colorful than buttons of glass?

Examples of the use of buttons might be multiplied indefinitely were we to list the innumerable representations on vases, but it is hardly necessary for the sake of proving the point in question. The use of buttons was widespread for all types of Greek costumes, including armor. It is particularly difficult to understand why in contradiction of the evidence of Herodotos the belief has persisted so long that brooches were used on the sleeves of the Ionic chiton, since such tiny, circular fasteners, if furnished with a spring and clasp on the back, would not only be most difficult to fashion, but almost impossible for fingers to manipulate.

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<sup>2</sup> Cat. of the Acropolis Museum, I, no. 670, p. 206, and no. 675, p. 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Holes for buttons remain in the following statues, Cat. of the Acropolis Museum, I, nos. 679, 669, and 694.

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## A REVISION OF I.G., I2, 302 1

For students of Athenian history and finance great interest attaches to a much mutilated and badly weathered inscription which contains records of payments made by the treasurers of Athena for public purposes during the years from 418–7 to 415–4 B.C. The five fragments of Pentelic marble which comprise this series of accounts were found at different times on the Acropolis. With the exception of one piece containing about half of the fourth year, which was carried to England by Lord Elgin and is now in the British Museum, the extant fragments are to be seen joined together as one stele in the Epigraphic Museum at Athens. Since the year 1842, when Rangabé first demonstrated that all five pieces belong to the same inscription, 2 various restorations have been suggested, many of them not based on a careful examination of the stone.

In this paper we intend to deal only with the payments made during the first two years, 418–7 and 417–6 B.c., recorded in the first thirty-four lines of the inscription.<sup>3</sup> They are inscribed  $\sigma \tau o \iota \chi \eta \delta \delta v$ . The Corpus gives the number of letters in a line as eighty-six, but the editors have been forced by the difficulty of restoring lines of this length to assume in nine lines an uninscribed space at the end. Other inequalities in their restorations also tend to discredit their assumption of eighty-six letters in a line. Consequently, our first task is the determination of the exact number of letters.

This may be accomplished in two ways: first, by counting the number of letters in lines where the restoration is absolutely certain; and secondly, by fixing the relative positions of fragments a and b, as lettered in the first edition of the Corpus. Fragment a contains a few letters from lines 19–22 and the left-hand portion of the accounts for 417–6. Fragment b contains a part of the first line of the accounts of 417–6 and about sixteen letters from the centre of lines 10–20, with smaller portions of lines 6–9, 21, and 22. Measurements show that the spacing of the accounts for 418–7 and 417–6 is identical and that the same  $\sigma \tau oi \chi \eta \delta \delta v$  arrangement is maintained throughout both years. Therefore, since the first iota of  $Kv\delta av \tau i\delta \epsilon u$  in line 20 is directly above the last iota of ' $\Lambda \theta \epsilon v a \delta v$  in line 23, the Corpus must be right in restoring seven letters between the left edge of the stone and the iota. Again, since the tau of  $\tilde{a}\rho \chi ov \tau os$  in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I.G., I, 180–183; Dittenberger, Sylloge <sup>3</sup>, 94; Hicks and Hill, Greek Hist, Inscriptions, 70; Michel, Receuil, 563.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Antiquités Helléniques, 119–122. <sup>3</sup> The third year is discussed separately.

line 23 is directly below the *omicron* of  $ho\hat{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$  in line 20, and since there can be no doubt whatever as to the correctness of the restoration of line 23, we know that the number of letters between the first iota of  $K\nu\delta\alpha\nu\tau i\delta\epsilon\iota$  and the omicron of  $ho\bar{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$  must be twenty-two, just as between the last iota of ' $\Lambda\theta\epsilon\nu\alpha\bar{\iota}\iota$ oι and the tau of  $\check{\alpha}\rho\chi\sigma\nu\tau$ os. The restoration of the lacuna we shall discuss later.

It is a simple matter now to determine the number of letters missing to the left of fragment b. Since the *omicron* of  $ho\bar{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$  is the thirty-first letter of the line, and since in fragment b there are twelve letters up to and including the *omicron* of  $ho\bar{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$ , there must be nineteen letters to the left of the first alpha of line 20 in fragment b. In lines 18 and 19, we must likewise restore nineteen letters; in lines 14–17, 12, and 11, twenty letters; in lines 13, 10, and 8, twenty-one; in line 7, twenty-four, and in line 6, twenty-seven (before the omicron).

The width of the lacuna between fragments b and c can be determined exactly in lines 10 and 11, where the restorations are certain. There are, we see, twenty-seven letters missing in line 11, twenty-eight in line 10. The right edge of the stone has been preserved in fragment c, except that in lines 6–13 the surface has been broken off so that the last letters have disappeared. The position of the last letter, however, can of course be determined exactly by comparison with the lines immediately above and below. Now by a simple process of addition in line 10 we can ascertain the number of letters in a complete line—21 (the number of letters to the left of fragment b) + 13 (the number of letters in fragment b and c) + 23 (the number of letters in fragment c, line 10) = 85, the number of letters in a line.

We come to exactly the same conclusion if we restore line 1 in such a way as to leave blank for the name of the secretary seven letter spaces, the number which must be restored here to make it conform with I.G.,  $I^2$ , 370. The Corpus, since it uses a line of 86 letters, leaves a blank of eight letters for the secretary's name in line 1, although in the other set of accounts the name of the secretary for this year contained only seven. We may then consider it established that in the accounts for 418–7 the lines were 85 letters long, and since the accounts of 417–6 follow the same  $\sigma \tau o \iota \chi \eta \delta \delta \nu$  arrangement, they too contained 85 letters in a line.

The following changes in the Corpus transcript are now made necessary by this shortening of the lines.

In lines 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 30, and 31 the letter v, which is used to indicate an uninscribed letter space, must be deleted, and in lines

8

28 and 29 the final v should likewise be removed. Line 28 is the only one where the stonecutter left an uninscribed letter space at the end of a line to avoid dividing a word. In line 1 where the Corpus prints v, the first stroke of H is visible upon the stone. Thus the h of hιερον must be shifted from the beginning of the second line to the end of the first. At the end of line 6 the initial tau of too is clearly visible. This must be removed from the beginning of the seventh line. In line 7 we end the line with the nu of παραδοναι, taking it from the line below. At the end of lines 8 and 10 it is impossible to tell what letters should be supplied in place of the omitted v's. At the end of line 11 there is room for two letters, where the Corpus prints one v, and here we restore the letters  $-\chi_0$  of συνάρχοσι. Line 13 ends with the last epsilon of παρέδομεν. In lines 30 and 31 omission of v is sufficient, for the final letters lambda and kappa are on the very edge of the stone below the final letters of lines 23-26, and there is no possibility of an extra letter beyond.

In line 3 the number of letters can be reduced from 86 to 85 by writing  $\sigma vv\acute{a}\rho\chi o\sigma\iota$  instead of  $\chi\sigma vv\acute{a}\rho\chi o\sigma\iota$  on the analogy of line 11. In line 4 the Corpus has anticipated us in omitting the chi of this word, and in line 2 we suggest its omission for the sake of conformity. We can substitute for it the h of  $ho\~{i}s$  which the Corpus omits. In the middle of line 7 the fact that there is room for only thirty-two letters in the lacuna between fragments b and c shows that here too the chi must be omitted.

The lacunae in lines 1, 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25, 26 should be shortened one letter. Thus the name of the secretary in the first line contains seven letters, as it should; for the name of the prytanizing tribes in lines 4 and 10 there are blanks of ten letters instead of eleven. Line 11 begins with a lacuna of seventeen, not eighteen letters, and in the following line there is a blank of nineteen letters for the date. Several restorations are possible here, ranging from the twenty-second to the thirty-sixth day of the prytany. Line 13 begins with a lacuna of twenty-one spaces. In line 15 between the sigma of res and the -es, the last syllable of the number of the prytany, there are fourteen spaces for the name of the tribe and the rest of the number. In line 16 a space of eighteen, not nineteen, letters is left unrestored, and the lacuna of line 18 numbers nineteen letters. The blank for the secretary of line 23 contains nine letters. In line 25 between the nu of παρέδοσαν and the sigma of στρατεγοι there is room for twenty-nine letters, and in line 26 between the sigma of τes and the pi of πρυτανευόσες we leave place for seventeen letters.

In a number of places careful examination discloses letters, or the

traces of letters, which have not appeared in published transcripts heretofore. We have mentioned the H of line 1 and the tau of line 6. In line 17 the letters  $-\tau\epsilon$ — of  $-\tau\epsilon$ s in fragment b are still visible, and in fragment c one need have no hesitation about printing the letters  $-\rho\nu$ — of  $\pi\rho\nu\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon i\alpha$ s as legible. For the number of the prytany and the name of the tribe we have seventeen letter spaces. In line 23 the letters  $-\chi o\nu$ — of  $\tilde{a}\rho\chi o\nu\tau os$  are still visible. In line 22 the third and fourth numerals are partially preserved. Following  $\mathcal{A}$  we find a horizontal stroke which must be the cross bar of a tau, and in the next space the upper strokes of a chi are to be seen. Beneath the numerals XXXX at the end of line 12 careful study of the stone discloses four sigmas, indicating a payment of four thousand staters.

In line 20, the name of Nikias' colleague contains twelve letters, not eleven, as we have shown above. Furthermore, where the Corpus restores the upsilon of Λ[νσιστρά]τοι, one can clearly see the lower part of an alpha (or gamma), and where the Corpus reads lambda, the strokes of a kappa are distinguishable. The name is not Lysistratos, but Kallistratos, the son of Empedos. This name is well known as that of an Athenian hipparch who became famous for his heroic death in Sicily a few years later. The name Lysistratos should be deleted from all lists of Athenian generals.

In line 14 the *Corpus* places after ἄδειαν a solitary sigma followed by sixteen dots to indicate that the line was originally inscribed. But examination shows that the last fifteen spaces were uninscribed. Consequently, a sigma standing alone would be meaningless. If anything was inscribed here, it must have been a figure indicating the sum paid. Since this was recorded in the line above, we must assume that the stone was uninscribed after ἄδειαν.

In line 19 the initial sigma of  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\gamma\sigma\tilde{\iota}s$  appears on the stone as an alpha, obviously a stonecutter's error. In line 25 the name of the general on the stone is unmistakably  $Ka[\iota]\rho[i\nu\sigma\iota, \sigma dinarily]$  restored  $[X]a[\iota]\rho[i]\mu\sigma\iota$ . Are we to assume that the stonecutter made three errors in the spelling of one name, or shall we accept this as a peculiar name otherwise unknown to us?

Another name in this line should be changed, that of the  $\pi \acute{a}\rho \epsilon \delta \rho \sigma s$ . Since it now contains eleven letters, not twelve, the restoration  $X\sigma = \epsilon \nu \sigma (\kappa \lambda \epsilon i \delta \epsilon t)$  is too long. As there are a number of possible restorations for this place, we suggest no substitute. After ' $\Lambda \theta \mu \sigma \nu \epsilon \bar{\nu}$  we leave only five spaces unrestored, and we print the h of  $h \sigma \bar{\nu} \tau \sigma t$ , following the precedent set by the stonecutter (suggested in the Addenda et Corrigenda,  $I. G., I^2, p. 303$ ).

At the extreme left in line 32 the tops of several letters are still

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Paus., VII, 16, 4; Plutarch, De vit. X. Or. 844 b; cf. Prosop. Att., 8143.

preserved. Since the horizontal stroke of a tau appears in the fifth letter space instead of H, we restore the line thus: \(\alphi\_{\tau}\elle{\ell}\elle{\ell}\) \(\tau[\vec{\ell}{\ell})\) πρυτανείας, φσεφισαμένο το δέμο τέν άδειαν - - - - vacat.

In line 21 the Corpus (Addenda et Corrigenda, p. 303) supplies the article το after ἀναλόματος. In the following line there should be dots for eight numerals to correspond with the eight letters above.

It may be worth noting that Aiantis (line 28) held either the eighth or the ninth prytany, for the generals of the Melian expedition, to whom this payment was made, sailed in the summer of 416.1 and only six letters are available for the number of the prytany, ὀγδόες or ἐνάτες. Then Antiochis held either the ninth or the tenth prytany, and the letters - áres of the numeral are to be supplied. We have left for the name of the Hellenotamias nine or ten letters.

An interesting historical problem is connected with the restoration of lines 5 and 6. Where was Demosthenes stationed and what was the purpose of transferring to Euthydemos in Thrace money that had been assigned to him? The first payment has always presented a vexing problem. When we turn to Thucydides for enlightenment, we find Demosthenes during this year mentioned only in connection with the evacuation of Epidauros in the winter,2 whereas the first payment was made during the first prytany, and the second payment, which was actually made to Demosthenes, was in the second prvtany.

In line 14 the letters PAO≤ of "Apyos make it certain that Demosthenes was in charge of troops at Argos at the time of the second payment, and it is natural to suppose that he was sent to take command of the troops who had taken part in the battle of Mantinea and who were left without leaders after the death of Laches and Nikostratos,3 or else that he was in charge of the Athenian reinforcements consisting of one thousand hoplites, who after the battle shared in the attack on Epidauros.<sup>4</sup> The battle of Mantinea was fought not long before the Karneia which was celebrated in the month Karneios, corresponding with the second month of the Attic year. Thus a payment on the thirty-second day of the first prytany can scarecly be separated by more than a few days from the battle

By a coincidence, the letters O\ appear on the stone in line 5 just before the words τοις μετά Δεμοσθένος, and the similarity between

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thuc., V, 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., 80. <sup>3</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For Merritt's restoration of this line, see his Athenian Calendar, p. 117. The dates of the first two payments of this year deserve careful study, for they may possibly throw new light on the Athenian calendar.

lines 5 and 14 has tempted scholars to restore in this place also, es "Appos. They assume that the expedition for which the first payment was intended was delayed for some unknown reason until the second prytany, and that meanwhile the funds which had been voted for it were diverted to the prosecution of the campaign in

About the campaign Thraceward we have no further information. Müller-Strübing has suggested that Demosthenes was active in the north during this year. and the possibility of restoring  $\epsilon \pi i$  'Eióplos lends color to his view,2 for Eion would naturally be the naval base of operations against Amphipolis. If Demosthenes was campaigning there, as is not unlikely, the money voted to him during the first prytany must have been intended for these operations. Is it too much to assume that he was recalled suddenly after the news of Mantinea to take the place of Laches and Nikostratos, who had been slain? A formal vote would then have been necessary before the money intended for the northern campaign could be given into the hands of the generals who succeeded Demosthenes, namely Euthydemos and his unknown colleague. If we suppose that the first payment was voted to Demosthenes while he was still ἐπὶ Θράκης, line 5 might be restored thus: [έραι καὶ τριακοστει τες πρυτανείας . . . . . . hόστε δοναι τριεράρχοις έπὶ 'Εϊόν os τοις μετά Δεμοσθένος. ε-.

The Corpus restoration of line 6 is certainly wrong, for an omicron occupying the twenty-eighth letter space, preceded by a perpendicular stroke still visible (cf. I.G., I1, 180), makes the word δοναι impossible. We suggest the following reading which will at the same time meet the physical requirements of the stone and harmonize with our restoration of line 5: [δοχσεν τει βολει καὶ τοι δέμοι ά] πο[καλέσαι μέν τούτον, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον παραδονα ι τὸς heλλενοταμίας καὶ τ-. Where the Corpus restores ἀποδοναι, the word παραδοναι seems to be required because of the phrase πάλιν παραδοναι in the next line.

Any reading for these two very difficult lines must be at best conjectural, but we believe that our restoration is preferable to that given by the Corpus, since it does not assume that money voted for an Argive expedition was transferred to an expedition operating Thraceward. On the contrary, we hold that the sum of money in question was from the first intended for use Thraceward and that it was used as planned, although it passed through the hands of a different general. Nevertheless, the expression τοῖς μετὰ Δεμοσθένος, used twice in place of the regular phrase στρατεγοι, presents difficulties of interpretation. It suggests that Demosthenes was not a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rh. Mus., XXXIII, 78. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., 93; Boeckh, Staatsh., II, 24.

# PLATE IV.

	1	['Αθεναίοι ἀνέλοσαν ἐπὶ 'Αντιφόντος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τες βολές hει
	2	[ιερον χρεμάτον τες 'Αθεναίας Πυθόδορος 'Αλαιεύς και συνάρχοντες, hois
	3	
		ύς εγραμμάτευε, παρέδοσαν hελλενοταμίαις Έργοκλεῖ 'Αριστείδο Βεσαιεί
	4	[ιεροκλεῖ 'Αρχεστράτο 'Αθμονεῖ καὶ συνάρχοσι, ἐπὶ τἔς ίδος τ
	5	έραι καὶ τριακοστει τες πρυτανείας
	6 7	[δοχσεν τει βολει καὶ τοι δέμοι ἀ] το καλέσαι μέν τοῦτον, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον
	8	ος παρέδρος τοις ταμίαις τες θεο Πυθοδόροι haλαιεί και συνάρχοσι και αι τοις heλλενοταμίαις και τοις παρέδροις, τούτος δε δοναι στρατεγοίς έ
	9	
	10	ἐπὶ τēs
	11	[
		19
	12	[σι ]ι τες πρυτανείας π[αρέδομεν
	13	$[ \dots \dots ]$ ἀργύριον τούτον [γίγνεται
	14	[ν τοῖς τριεράρχοις ἐπὶ "Λ]ργος τοῖς μετὰ Δεμ[οσθένος φσεφισαμένο το δέρ
	15	$[\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{\iota}\ \tau\ddot{\epsilon}s\\dot{\iota}\delta os\]$ ες πρυτανευόσες $\dot{o}[\gamma\delta\dot{o}\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\dot{\iota}kοστ\tilde{\epsilon}\iota\ h\epsilon\mu\dot{\epsilon}ρα\iota\ \tau\tilde{\epsilon}s\ \pi\rho\nu]$ τα
	16	[εν ]δει Λὐτοκλεῖ ᾿Αναφλ $[νστίοι$
	17	[έπὶ τέςίδος]τες πρυτανευόσες τ[ρίτει καὶ δεκάτει hεμέραι τές π]
	18	[
	19	[έδροις] ενο[ $h$ ι] εροκλεῖ ' $\Lambda$ ρχεστράτο [' $\Lambda\theta$ μονεῖ $h$
	20	[ο Κυδαντ]ίδει Κα[λλιστρ]άτοι Έ[μ]πέδο hοεθεν Ι []
	21	[Κε] φάλα [ι] ον ἀναλ [όματος
	22	[a] ρχες PP TX PHHI
117-6	23	'Αθεναΐοι ἀνέλοσαν ἐπ[ὶ Εὐφέμο ἄρ]χοντος καὶ [ἐπὶ τες βολες hει
	24	ρον χρεμάτον τες 'Α[θεναίας 'Αναχσικράτες Λαμπτρεύς και χσυνάρχοντες,
	25	ιος έγραμμάτευε π[αρέδοσαν
	26	αρικλέος Παιανιε[ι έπὶ τεςίδοςς πρυτανευόσες hεμέραι δευτέ]ρα
	27	νείας φσεφισαμέν ο το δέμω τέν άδειαν
	28	έπὶ τες Λίαντίδο ς ες πρυτανευόσες παρέδομεν στρατεγοίς ès Μελο
	29	Κλεομέδει Λυκο[μέδος Φλυεί
	30	έπὶ τές ᾿Αντιοχ[ίδος -άτες πρυτανευόσες hελλενοταμίαις παρέδομεν
	31	λενεῖ καὶ στρα τεγοῖς ἐς Μέλον Τεισίαι Τεισιμάχο Κεφαλέθεν, Κλεομέδει
	32	άτε[ι] τ[ες πρυτανείας, φσεφισαμένο το δέμο τεν άδειαν
	33	[Κεφάλαιον άναλόματος τδ
	34	a x ê s

```
TE IV.
h\tilde{\epsilon}\iota . . . . . . . \dot{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\dot{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\nu\epsilon . \tau]\alpha[\mu]\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\iota \dot{h}-
res, hois Φορμον 'Αριστίονος Κ] νδαθεναιε-
ο Βεσαιεί καὶ συ νάρχοσι καὶ παρέδροις h-
. . ίδος πρότε πρυτα]νευόσες καὶ hεμέραι δευτ-
εράρχοις έπὶ Εϊόν ος τοις μετά Δεμοσθένος. Ε-
ιργύριον παραιονα]ι τὸς heλλενοταμίας καὶ τ-
χοσι καὶ τὸς -α]μίας τες θεο πάλιν παραδο[ν]-
ατεγοίς έπι Θράικες Εύθυδέμοι Εύδέμο[.]
Αλενοταμίοις 'ρ]γοκλεῖ 'Αριστείδο Βεσαιεῖ[.]
ὶ παρέδροις Αφοκλεῖ 'Αρχε]στράτο 'Αθμονεῖ: καὶ συν[ά]ρ[χο]-
ομεν . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . χρυσί]ο Κυζικενδ στατέρ[a]s XXXX [ . . ]
ένο το δέμο το άδειαν vacat
ες πρυ τανειαιστρατεγοίς παρέδομ-
rios --- | vaut
αι τές π]ρυτα ίας παρέδομεν τὸ έχσ-
ις Έργοκλεί Ιριστείδο Βεσ]αιεί και χσυνάρχοσι και παρ-
----
ος το έπι τες
. . . .
             1 1 vacat
ι . . . . . . . . . . προ τος έγραμμάτενε · τ α μίαι hιε-
άρχοντες, hοις είχσενος Ευφάνος Προσπάλτ-
. . . . . . . . . . . . στρατεγοι ές] τὰ ἐπὶ Θράικες Κα[ι]ρίνονι Χ-
ιι δευτέ ραι κο είκοστει τές πρυτα-
ς ές Μέλον Τρίαι Τεισιμάχο Κεφαλέθεν,
τες πρυτανεί φσεφισαμέν]ο το δέμο τεν άδειαν, Δυνυν
εν ----- οι Α[ὐρ]ίδει, Τιμάρχοι Παλ-
Κλεομέδει Λυμέδος Φλυεί, τρίτει καί δεκ-
--- vacat
s tô èt l tës
               vacat
```

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# ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS 1

# NOTES ON RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; OTHER NEWS

EDWARD H. HEFFNER, Editor University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

## NECROLOGY

Alexis Bobrinskoy.—One of the most distinguished amateur archaeologists of prerevolutionary Russia, Count Alexis Bobrinskoy, died at Grasse, September 2, 1927, at the age of seventy-five years. A great landed proprietor in the Ukraine, he excavated numerous tumuli at Smiéla, near Kiev, and published the results with admirable illustrations (1887–1901). He also wrote on the Tauric Chersonnese and was for a long time president of the Imperial Archaeological Commission. He often took part in archaeological congresses outside of Russia and received many honors in his own country. (S. R., R. Arch. xxvi, 1927, p. 281)

Rudolph Ehwald.—The librarian, Dr. Rudolph Ehwald, died at Gotha in 1927 in his eightieth year. He published the works of the Anglo-Saxon Aldhelm in the *Monumenta Germaniae*, a facsimile of the *Biblia Pauperum* of Gotha, etc., but was best known as the foremost Ovidian scholar of Germany, especially through his "Jahresberichte" on Ovid. (S. R., R. Arch. xxvi, 1927, p. 282)

Paul Foucart.—In B.C.H. l, 1926, pp. 261-262, there appears an anonymous tribute to Paul Foucart, who died in 1926 in his ninetieth year. His connection with the French School at Athens began in 1859, when he became a member, remaining till 1861, during which time he made some trial excavations at Delphi. He revisited Greece in 1868, and in 1878 was appointed Director of the French School, holding this post until 1890. He was primarily an epigraphist, and his term as Director is known in the history of the School as "la renaissance epigraphique."

Gustave Fougères.—Archaeology suffered a great loss by the math, December 6, 1927, of Gustave Fougères. He was born in 1863, became a minber (1885) and director (1912–1918) of the French School at Athens, Professor of Archaeology (1918) at the Sorbonne, and (1922) member of the Académie des Inscriptions. He conducted excavations at Mantinea, where he discovered the Praxitelian reliefs of Apollo and Marsyas, and other excavations in Arcadia. The results were published in a monograph in 1898. He also conducted excavations in Thessaly and Asia Minor and at Delos. Under his directorship the French School returned to the scenes of earlier work in Thasos and Asia Minor. Among his works are a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor Heffner, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor Samuel E, Bassett, Professor C. N. Brown, Miss Mary Buckingham, Professor Sidney N. Deane, Professor Robert E. Dengler, Mrs. Edith Hall Dohan, Professor Hardld N. Fowler, Dr. Sfephen B, Luce, Professor Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Professor Clarence Manning, Professor Elmer T. Merrill, Professor Lewis B. Paton, Professor Homer F, Rebert, Professor John C. Rolfe, Professor John Shapley, Professor Frank G. Speck, Professor Axel J. Uppvall, Professor Shirley Weber, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after June 30, 1928.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see Vol. xxx, 1, p. 124.

monograph (with Hulot) on Selinus, a revision of the Guide en Grèce, a book on Athens, and a considerable part of Vol. I of the Histoire des civilisations et des peuples. He was an admirable scholar and a man of noble character. (S. R., R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, p. 200)

Georges Lafaye.—Born in 1854, Georges Lafaye died September 29, 1927. He was educated at the École Normale and the École Rome (1878), before teaching at Aix, Lyons, and (1893) the Sorbonne. His published work is chiefly concerned with Latin literature and Roman antiquities. He was an important collaborator in the Dictionnaire des Antiquités and in the collections, directed by Cagnat, of the Greek inscriptions ad res Romanas pertinentes and of mosaics (1909). (S. R., R.

Arch. xxvii, 1928, p. 201)

Basil Parvan.—Eastern Europe lost one of its foremost scholars by the death at Bucharest, in June, 1927, of Basil Parvan. Born in 1882, he studied at Bucharest, Jena, Berlin, and Breslau. In 1909, after obtaining his doctor's degree at Breslau, he was made Professor of Ancient History and Epigraphy at the University of Bucharest, then director of the Museum of Antiquities, and, in 1913, member of the Academy, of which he was secretary at the time of his death. He was also director of the Roumanian School at Rome, the rapid progress of which was in great measure due to him. (S. R., R. Arch. xxvi, 1927, p. 280, with partial bibliography. See also Andriescu, Rev. Hist. du S. E. Européen, 1927, pp. 230-241.)

B. Lewis Rice.—The director of the archaeological department of the state of Mysore, the eminent Indianist B. Lewis Rice, died in July, 1927, at the age of ninety years. He had published more than nine thousand inscriptions (Epigraphia Carnatica) and, in Bibliotheca Carnatica, a great number of works, some of which go back to the ninth century. In the Imperial Gazetteer of India the articles "Mysore" and "Coog" are by him. He was one of the chief contributors to the Indian Antiquary and the Journal of the Asiatic Society. (X., R. Arch. xxvi, 1927, p. 282; London Times, July 12, 1927)

# ORIENTAL AND CLASSICAL

## EGYPT

SAKKARA.—In The Illustrated London News, January 7, 1928, pp. 8–9 (6 figs., one in colors) are shown reconstruction drawings of the very unusual buildings recently excavated by Mr. Cecil M. Firth at the Step Pyramid, Sakkara, and belonging to the Third Dynasty. The architecture of these structures is characterized by an appearance of striking modernity, though the buildings are perhaps the oldest stone structures in Egypt. One of the tiled chambers in the tomb is shown with its actual colors, work that belongs in the period around 3000 B.C.

Excavations at Thebes.—In B. Metr. Mus., Section ii, February, 1928, pp. 1-58 (55 pls.), H. E. Winlock reports on the Museum's Egyptian excavations at Thebes from 1925 to 1927. Work on the sandstone burial crypt in the tomb of Queen Neferu, the best burial crypt of the Eleventh Dynasty (about 2000 B.C.),

was completed.

As a result of finds in the Theban necropolis, the guess is hazarded that the terracotta cones found in many places in this area, and formerly thought to be representations of loaves of bread, are really the ends of the poles or logs of an ancient Egyptian house.

Most interesting for shedding light on Egyptian history and warfare of the Eleventh Dynasty are the cheaply buried corpses of sixty soldiers in whose bodies were found the arrow heads and shafts with which they were wounded and evi-

ASSYRIA, ETC.]

dences of the death blows dealt by the victors. This evidence substantiates the battle pictures and monuments to Egyptian victories.

The names and titles of Mentuhotep and his courtiers were found cut in the rocks by a professional sculptor near Silsileh on the bank of the Nile, probably a memorial of the King's presence at that spot during the return of an expedition to the Sudan.

A complete statue of Mentuhotep III was found in the avenue leading up to his temple.

There were found two hundred and ninety-nine scarabs, the most beautiful specimens of lapidary work of the Eighteenth Dynasty (about 1500 B.C.), deposited on the day of the founding of the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri. Of these two hundred and ninety-nine scarabs, one hundred and fifty-three give the names and titles of the Queen, a fact which may help to clear up any doubt that she was the founder of the temple. The founding of the temple can be dated early in the reign of Thutmose III, as is indicated by the spelling of his praenomen "Menkheper-en-re," in the fashion current only during his first years on the throne. Further evidence on the dating of the temple is given by a jar of food labeled "Year 7, Third Month of Winter, 15th Day," found buried under the embankment along the temple avenue. Since the road to the temple site was probably the first thing constructed, the foundations of the temple could not have been laid before that date. On the other hand, as food was probably not stored in such a way for any length of time, it is probable that the jar was thrown away and buried under the embankment soon after the seventh year.

The unfinished tomb of Senmut, architect of the temple of Queen Hatshepsut, showed one decorated room of unusual beauty with one of the earliest and best astronomical charts ever found, and two unfinished chambers. This tomb is suggestively like the Queen's own.

Many fragments of statues were found from Queen Hatshepsut's temple, but because of their sadly mutilated condition much time will be required in studying and assembling their parts.

Pp. 59-72 (15 figs.), N. DE GARIS DAVIES makes a report on the graphic work of the Egyptian Expedition. The Museum has obtained from the Egyptian Exploration Society at El Amarna a copy in color of the remains of a fine painting of geese, nearly life-size and in the peculiar style of the Northern Palace.

C. K. Wilkinson, working at Thebes, has completed his great copy of the Nubian tribute in the tomb of Huy and the enterprise undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. N. de Garis Davies on the tomb of Rakhmire is nearing completion.

The author publishes some interesting graphic pictures made from the temples at Thebes which indicate the wide range of moods and movements represented in the Egyptian dance.

Pp. 73–75, A. M. Lythgoe publishes a list of private Tombs at Thebes recorded by the Egyptian Expedition of the Museum during the years 1907–1927.

## ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

The Amorites.—In R. Bibl. xxxvii, 1928, pp. 63–79, P. Dhorme begins an elaborate study of the origin of the Amorites, their presence in Babylonia, and the alleged early Amorite Empire in northern Mesopotamia. The discussion is called forth by the recent claim of T. Bauer, approved by Landsberger, in opposition to A. T. Clay, E. Meyer, and others, that there never was an Amorite empire west of Babylonia in the third millennium B.C., and that the region called (KUR) MAR-TU (KI) in inscription of the period of the first dynasty of Babylon was a mountainous

region situated to the Northeast of Babylonia. The MAR-TU=Amurri people came originally from this country, but the name soon became a professional one applied to other Akkadians. The East Canaanite (West Semitic) names in the period of the first dynasty of Babylon belong to a new race that began to enter Babylonia in this period, and they have nothing to do with the Amurri. The much later (mat) Amurri in the Lebanon has nothing to do with the ancient Amurri. This position Dhorme regards as untenable, and begins his attack upon it by a thorough examination of the West Semitic personal names in tablets of the First Dynasty.

#### SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The Inscribed Jar-Handles from Jerusalem.—The recent excavations on the temple-hill in Jerusalem have revealed numerous jar-handles with brief alphabetic inscriptions. Attempts to read these have failed because the sign  $\odot$  at the beginning of most of them has been treated as a letter of the alphabet. In Pal. Ex. Fund, lix, 1927, pp. 216–217, A. H. Sayce suggests that the first sign is not a letter, but is the well-known ideograph for the Sun-god in Egyptian and Hittite. In most of the inscriptions this sign is followed by the letters hry, that is, "of the mountain." In one inscription the alphabetic letters are replaced by the Hittite hieroglyphs  $\odot$   $\Delta$   $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  which have the meaning, "The Sun-god, king of the mountain-land." The letters of these inscriptions vary little from those of the Phoenician inscription from Gebal of the thirteenth century B.C. And they raise the question whether these jar-handle inscriptions are not much older than the sixth century, to which

they are commonly assigned.

UR.-In Ant. J. viii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 385-404 (8 pls.), C. LEONARD WOOLLEY reports on the work carried on at Ur by the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, from October, 1926 to February, 1927. The report deals with the excavation of building sites (E M) under a mound lying against the southwest wall of the temenos, where there were found ruins from the time of Abraham. A large building of the Larsa period also was uncovered. The north corner of the temenos was dug out revealing a new gateway in the wall. Further excavations were made on the temple of E-Nun-Mah and an important royal building to the northeast of the temenos was cleared. Valuable information on the history and character of the enciente wall of the Ziggurat terrace was discovered through work done on the southeast and southwest faces of the Ziggurat. The site close to the southwest wall of the Nebuchadnezzar temenos revealed a well preserved quarter of a town, dating between 2100 and 1900 B.C. The streets were narrow and paved with mud, running roughly at right angles. The house doors opened directly on the streets. The houses were often of two stories with walls of brick, burnt below and mud above. The essential feature of the ground plan of these houses was an open court, paved with burnt brick, which supplied air and light to the surrounding rooms. On the ground floor might be found a reception room, kitchen, lavatory, sometimes a private chapel, and a lobby. Under the chapel floor usually there was a burial vault, but human remains might also be buried under the floor of any room. The discovery of a standing arch in one of the houses is an important fact in Sumerian architecture. A staircase led to the second floor, the rooms of which were almost identical in plan with those below. A wooden balcony, over which the roof extended, afforded means of passage from one room to another. Repairs and rebuildings of these houses were effected frequently and there were some deviations from this type.

Pp. 404-406 (1 pl.), E. Burrows writes about the inscriptions discovered: a set of ten tablets containing inscriptions of kings of Akkad, Ur, Isin, and Larsa; date lists; land-plans; business documents; school exercises; texts; a score of important archaic tablets with several apparently new signs; a clay cylinder seal; a duckweight (5 mna) with inscription; an ivory box-lid with a Phoenician dedication to Astarte; clay cones, and brick inscriptions.

After a discussion of certain reconstructions of ruins previously excavated (pp. 407–410), there follows a report (pp. 411–413) of the work done on site S M (the area bounded by the Temenos Wall, E-Nun-Mah, the Nin-Gal temple called Gig-Par-Ku, dwelling houses attached to the temple and by Dungi's palace of E-Harsag. A Larsa reconstruction of a Third Dynasty building and remains of other buildings, which proved of little interest, were uncovered.

Pp. 413–415 contain the report of the discovery of the largest of all the Temenos gates—the gateway leading to the great neo-Babylonian temple of Nannar, the principal shrine of the Sacred Area. This completes the plan of the Temenos Wall.

Pp. 416–423 (1 fig.), M. E. L. MALLOWAN reports on the discoveries made on the mound lying one mile to the northeast of the Temenos Wall. There was unearthed one end of a heavily buttressed building of burnt brick, whose corners were orientated to the cardinal points of the compass. By means of the stamps on the bricks the building can be dated 201 B.C. The groundplan of the building shows a long, narrow hall with two flanking rooms at either end. It is supposed, judging from the thickness of the walls and the solidity of the buttresses, that the building had a three-arched vaulted ceiling. Decorated bricks found in several places can be attributed to Sin-idinnam. Two of these bricks had an eighteen-column inscription. The inscriptions, certain objects found, the vaulted ceiling, and the fact that the building adjoins the Third Dynasty cemetery of Ur, lead to the suggestion that the building was a mortuary chapel erected in honor of Nur-Adad, the father of Sin-idinnam.

In ibid. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 1-29 (9 pls.), C. LEONARD WOOLLEY continues his report. Three superimposed cemeteries, lying at the southeast end of the temenos enclosure, were dug, and were provisionally dated 2700-2500 B.C., 3200-3100 B.C., and 3500 B.C. In these cemeteries two types of burial existed contemporaneously, with certain modifications: larnax burials, in which a clay coffin was used; and inhumation, in which the body was wrapped in matting and placed in the matting-lined grave-shaft. Graves of the earliest period contained clay vessels for food and drink, offering-tables, stone vases, instruments of stone, copper, gold, or silver, such as axes, spears, arrows, chisels, bows, drills, etc. Beads and toilet articles were also found. Clay boats used for religious purposes and laden with offerings were commonly found. The graves of the second period are smaller and neater and are distinguished by their pottery. The third period is also distinguished by its pottery and by its cylinder seals. The author next gives a brief description of some of the individual objects found. The results of the year's work at Ur confirm the facts that the Sumerian civilization was a prosperous one, already far advanced, and that it doubtless influenced Egyptian civilization considerably.

In The Illustrated London News, March 3, 1928, p. 337 (7 figs.), additional recent discoveries at Ur are described. A large pit was excavated on the slope of which lay the bodies of six soldiers sacrificed as guards of the tomb. Two four-wheeled wagons were also found together with the remains of the oxen and the grooms. Fifty bodies of persons had been thrown into the pit, a sacrifice to their master. The discovery of a true arch of baked brick is important for the history of architecture; the true arch as well as corbel vaulting and the dome were all employed at Sumer. The tomb of Queen Shub-ad produced about 150 objects

consisting of jewelry and personal ornaments as well as bowls, tumblers, drinkingtubes, lamps, brazier of gold, silver, copper, and lapis lazuli.

In ibid. June 23, 1928, pp. 1171–1176 and 1200 (9 figs.), C. LEONARD WOOLLEY writes about human sacrifice as evidenced by the discoveries in the royal graves at Ur. The article is illustrated by means of reconstruction drawings setting forth the scene in the grave shaft immediately before the sacrifice, when the king's attendants, the oxen that drew the wagons, the food and drink, and everything else that he was supposed to enjoy after his death, were drawn up. Perhaps all the persons and animals were struck down in death just as they here stood. A bull's head of gold with beard and hair of lapis lazuli illustrates one type of remains found. Mosaic inlay work constructed out of shell, pink limestone, and lapis lazuli gives a remarkably vivid picture of Sumerian life. "As a work of art it is unparalleled: as a historic document, invaluable."

Gold-Work.—In The Illustrated London News, January 21, 1928, p. 91 (9 figs.) is a brief report of the discovery at Ur of four gold vessels which are reported to be the "finest examples of gold-work ever yet unearthed in Mesopotamia." Near the place where these vessels lay were found a saw and chisels also in gold and presumably intended for ceremonial purposes. A twelve-stringed harp and chariot were also found. The harp is richly ornamented with gold and its keys are of copper. The elegantly decorated chariot shows gold lions' heads and a very realistic figure of a donkey. The grave from which these remains were taken is dated around 3500 s.c.

Royal Tombs.—In Mus. Journ. (Univ. of Penna.) xix, 1 (March, 1928), pp. 4-34 (11 full-page plates, 15 plates in text), C. Leonard Woolley notes the Royal Tombs of Ur of the Chaldees, with an introductory page by L. L. (Leon

Legrain).

The discovery of these royal tombs is the outstanding feature of the sixth campaign of the Joint Expedition of the British and University of Pennsylvania Museums.

The first finds—splendid gold jewelry, beads, pendants, fine cylinder seals, etc., were in the grave in which the gold dagger was found last year. The next discovery was the grave of Mes-Kalam-Dug, rich in vessels of stone, clay, copper, and silver, and one magnificent fluted bowl of yellow gold. Weapons and tools were also found in this grave, as well as jewelry of exquisite workmanship. Most remarkable was a life-size solid gold peruke, "the finest discovery yet made in Mesopotamian archaeology."

At more than six metres below the surface was found a two-chambered, corbelvaulted tomb that was undoubtedly royal, but it had been plundered. The inner room still yielded some gold and silver ornaments of the better class. This tomb and other discoveries of this dig go to show that in the very early period a certain number of retainers and slaves were slaughtered and buried with the king at his funeral.

A unique shaft grave was next revealed, a large trench forty by seventeen feet in extent. In it was found an elaborately inlaid harp, with sounding box, keys, etc. Buried in the shaft were several persons without funerary furniture, a chariot of inlaid wood with magnificent realistic gold decorations, and the asses and grooms were lying beside it. Many precious small objects were also dug up. In all this large area, however, the tomb and body of the principal person had so far failed to appear. Upon removing a box, which presumably had contained clothing, a hole was found, revealing bricks of the under structure. This was a tomb of vaulted stone and brick which had been plundered from above. A few small objects in gold and a remarkable silver model, 60 cm. long, of a boat com-

plete with oars, etc., were with the more normal finds the interesting things there.

Behind this, and abutting on it, was a stone-walled, brick-roofed tomb. In its large shaft area were buried fifty-eight persons sacrificed to the man in the tomb proper. Much gear and decorative jewelry accompany these bodies; two ox carts, with one ox completely preserved are there also. The chamber is that of a queen, Shub-Ad, and in it were many gold objects—vessels, toilet utensils, ornaments, and work in other costly materials. The queen's body was literally covered with jewelry (which is listed in the article), and her enormous and elaborate headdress makes it appear that here again, surely, "uneasy rests the head. . . !"

Below the tomb of Mes-Lalam-Dug was found another with the ramp entrance, slain soldiers, etc., and, although it lay forty feet beneath the modern level and immediately under the spoil heap of last season, the force was put to work and the whole cleared in one week! Three apsidal corbelled vaults occupy the whole shaft (twelve by eight metres). This stone building is one of the earliest yet found by the Joint Expedition, and the stone must have been brought at least 110 miles. Unfortunately the tomb had been plundered, but some valuable work was left. An important find was a mosaic stela, which can easily be restored, showing scenes of Sumerian life. This may well turn out in interest ranking above any other Sumerian antiquity known.

#### ASIA MINOR

EPHESUS—Excavations in 1926.—In Jh. Oest. Arch. I. xxiii, 2 (1926), Beibl., col. 247–300, J. Keil gives a preliminary survey of the work of the Austrian Archaeological Institute during the autumn of 1926. He gives a plan of the neighborhood of the Stadium, a plan of the Nymphaeum, three inscribed Mother-reliefs, photographs and a drawing of the cemetery near the grotto of the Seven Sleepers.

#### GREECE

Archaeology in 1926.—In B.C. H. l. 1926, 536-581 (15 figs.), there is the usual summary of the work done in Greek lands during the year. Especial attention is paid in Attica to the restoration of the north colonnade of the Parthenon; in the Peloponnese, to the American excavations at Corinth and Nemea, to the extraordinarily fruitful campaign of the Swedish expedition at Asine and Dendra, many of these finds being illustrated, to the work of the British School at Sparta, and to short campaigns by members of the French School in various places. It is of interest to record that one of its members is engaged in making plans and drawings of many of the Frankish castles in the Morea and elsewhere in the Greek peninsula. In Northern Greece should be particularly noted the exploration of Haliartus by the British, the campaign of Frederik Poulsen at Kalydon, and the excavations conducted by the Greeks in Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, in which latter region the British School also worked. In the islands, the French have done some work at Thasos and Samothrake, but their principal efforts during the year were at Delos, where the sanctuary of Asklepios was uncovered. In Crete, especial attention is paid to the continuation of the investigations of the French at Mallia, a plan of the palace being given. In Asia Minor the Germans worked at Samos and Ephesus, the latter excavation being in conjunction with the Turkish authorities at Smyrna. A short note on the finds of the Italians in the Cyrenaica concludes the summary.

Archaeology in Greece, 1926-1927.—A. M. WOODWARD'S annual summary of recent archaeological work in Greece and once-Greek lands, based largely on re-

ports received from the excavators, appeared in J.H.S. xlvii, 1927, pt. ii (pp. 234–263; 7 figs.). It follows the work of the various schools in Athens and includes that of some privately supported enterprises. Most of the ground has been covered in recent "News Items from Athens" in this JOURNAL.

ATHENS.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste.—Remains accidentally discovered in 1922 in digging for the foundations of a building to be erected on Ceramicus Street, Athens, proved to be a series of three tombs. This site thus aroused the interest of the government, and further excavations were conducted, revealing the presence of a sanctuary not far off, and adjoining the cemetery, of which the three tombs were a part. These excavations were in charge of A. PHILADELPHEUS, Ephor of Antiquities in Attica, who reports the results and gives an inventory of the finds in B.C.H. li, 1927, pp. 155-163 (pl. VIII; 4 figs.). Most interesting is a relief, dating apparently in the third century B.C., showing a man and his wife invoking a goddess, who stands behind her altar, carrying a torch, and in front of two large pithoi. This goddess appears to be identified by a dedicatory inscription on another stone as Kalliste. Most of the other objects are ex-votos, for the most part offered by or for women, as they represent parts of the female body, and two of which bear the name of the same goddess. Pausanias (I, 29, 2) records a sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste in this neighborhood, which is near the ancient Street of the Academy, and this is undoubtedly what has been discovered here. The function of the goddess appears to have been as a protector of the virginity of maidens, a goddess to whom women desiring to become mothers prayed for help, and an attendant in the actual period of childbirth. As a result, she shares the rôle of Eileithyia, with whom she is often confused.

The Relief of Kalliste.—In B.C. H. li, 1927, pp. 164-169, P. ROUSSEL comments on the relief of Kalliste published by Philadelpheus in the article immediately preceding. His interest is in determining the significance of the two pithoi behind the goddess. It is first suggested that, as Kalliste was the patron divinity of women desiring children, she assumed also a function of presiding over the fertility of the soil, and the pithoi might therefore symbolize rich and fruitful crops. But there may be a deeper significance; for it is also pointed out that, according to the ancient texts, Pandora's box was in reality a pithos. The original Pandora is not the creature described by Hesiod; she is the personification of the Earth herself, and her "box" gives to mortals their prosperity or adversity. But the pithos has also a funerary character, as a burial jar. In view of these things, the suggestions are made, first, that the two pithoi in the relief might be those, that, according to Homer, held, the one, the good fortune, the other the ill, of mankind; and second, that it may have something to do with the doctrine of palingenesis, or the reincarnation of the soul in a different body. The goddess may well have been worshipped in this connection, especially in view of the fact that her sanctuary was adjoining a cemetery.

Note-books of Sir William Gell.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925–1926, pp. 67–69, A. M. Woodward briefly describes six note-books of Sir William Gell recently acquired by the British School at Athens. Pp. 69–78, R. P. Austin publishes or discusses thirty-one inscriptions from Notebook 1 and gives references, with brief notes, for other inscriptions which have been satisfactorily published elsewhere. Twelve inscriptions are here published for the first time, but none is of great importance. Pp. 79–80, A. M. Woodward gives references for fifteen Attic inscriptions which have been published elsewhere and publishes three inscriptions from Eleusis, two of which are epitaphs, the third a dedication in honor of a hieromantis. These eighteen inscriptions are from Note-book 2.

A Corinthian Krater.—The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired a

black-figured Corinthian krater, produced near the beginning of the sixth century B.C. In the principal scene of the vase the *dramatis personae* stand in a frieze, confronting each other in heraldic fashion. The scene seems to represent the return of Alexandros to Troy, bringing Helen with him. (Christine Alexander, B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 48–49 (2 figs.))

CYPRUS.—In The Illustrated London News, April 7, 1928, pp. 576–577 (14 figs.), EINAR GJERSTAD reports on the results achieved by a Swedish Archaeological Expedition in Cyprus, whose objective was to ascertain the rôle played by Cyprus as the link between Eastern and Western civilization. Lapithos, on the northern coast, and Karavostassi, ancient Soli, on the west coast, were chosen for special investigation. Twenty-three tombs of the Early and Middle Copper Age, c. 3000–1600 B.c. were opened. Two of these tombs are especially significant. In one of them were the bodies of the aristocratic warriors, and the other has been regarded as a royal tomb. A collection of 133 copper weapons was found in the warriors' tomb. These discoveries tend to confirm the belief that colonists from Asia Minor came into Cyprus in the Early Copper Age. The examination of Early Iron Age tombs reveals many Mycenean features, and the conclusion is reached that the Greeks colonized this island before the close of the Mycenean Age and continued the burial practices of that age in Cyprus after a change had taken place in Greece at about 1100 B.c.

Clay Lantern from Cyprus.—In the Bull. Roy. Ont. Mus., No. 7 (March, 1928), pp. 2–3 (1 fig.), J. H. ILIFFE announces that that Museum has recently acquired a clay lantern from Cyprus of the type used by the poorer classes who could not afford decorated bronze ones. The lantern is barrel-shaped with a footstand and conical top surmounted by a vertical handle. The barrel portion is perforated to allow the smoke to escape and to ventilate the lantern. In addition to these holes there is an opening on one side about two inches square, to allow the insertion of the lamp and to direct the beam of light. This opening was never covered. The lantern was originally of a dark brown color, but it has been reduced to a smoky blackness by exposure to smoke and soot.

Bronze Head of Septimius Severus.—The Illustrated London News, April 21, 1928, p. 675, shows a photograph of the head of a statue of Septimius Severus recently discovered at the town of Kythraea in Cyprus. Fragments of a nude statue were found with the head, which is heroic in size. The emperor was probably represented in the form of some divinity.

DELOS.—In R. Ét. Gr. Oct.—Dec. 1926, pp. 448–461, MAURICE LACROIX notes the appearance of Dürrbach: Inscriptions de Delos, Comptes des hiéropes (Nos. 290–371), Paris, 1926, and discusses certain of the inscriptions, suggesting conjectural emendations. Much of the material deals with prices and measures of building materials and with the proper names of the inscriptions.

A New Votive Relief.—R. Demangel contributes a note (B.C.H. l, 1926, 523–526; 1 fig.) on a relief of two fragments which join, in the museum at Delos. These two pieces have been known for some time; the fragment at the right, in good preservation, was found in the sanctuary of Apollo in 1880, and was described and published, B.C.H. xii, 1888, p. 318 f., and pl. XIV; the other and more poorly preserved piece was not discovered till 1903, when it was found among the heap of stones surmounting the ruins of the so-called House of Kerdon. It is described in B.C.H. xxix, 1905, p. 47. As joined together, this relief represents Artemis crowning a mortal in the presence of Apollo. The suggestion is made that the mortal may perhaps symbolize the city of Delos itself, though it is not considered the probable solution. A date at the end of the fourth century B.C. is assigned.

DENDRA.-In The Illustrated London News, June 9, 1928, pp. 1036-1038 and

1072 (17 figs.), A. J. B. WACE reports on the recent excavations conducted by the Swedish Archaeological Expedition under Professor Persson at Dendra, near Midea. which, like Mycenae and Tirvns, is one of the prehistoric Argolid fortresses. In 1027 a tomb of unusual type was opened. An entrance passage six feet wide and sixty feet long leads straight into the hill-side where the tomb chamber is cut out of a solid rock seventeen feet beneath the surface. At the doorway of the chamber, which had anciently been broken into by robbers, two large stones covered a pit measuring about five feet long, one and one-half feet wide, and three feet deep. In this were discovered thirty-three implements and vessels: bowls, jugs, lamps, tripods, mirrors, spear-head, sword. Some of these most beautiful remains still show the wooden handles attached. In the tomb chamber were a hearth of stone and plaster, stone vessels, steatite lamps, alabaster vases, pieces from a leather helmet, thousands of glass beads, and other objects. No human bones were found. Thus this was apparently the tomb of a hero who had perished away from home and whose relatives had fitted up an unusually elegant abode for his soul, had performed all possible ceremonies of burial, placing in it menhir stones to symbolize The tomb belongs around 1300 B.C.

EASTERN MACEDONIA.—Greek Epitaphs.—In B.C.H. 1, 1926, 463–468 (3 figs.), M. Niedermann supplements the article of Gavril J. Kazarov (B.C.H. xlvii, 1923, p. 275 f.) by publishing three stelae with funerary inscriptions discovered and copied near Prilep in 1924. These inscriptions belong in the Roman period

Greek Funerary Vase.—GISELA M. A. RICHTER reports that the Metropolitan Museum has just acquired a black-figured loutrophoros 29½ inches high, in an exceptionally good state of preservation. It has a slender egg-shaped body, a wide funnel-shaped neck, and two curving handles. The vase is decorated with the ceremonial scenes which preceded a Greek burial—the laying out of the dead and the lamentations of the mourners. The loutrophoros dates in the sixth century B.C. (B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 54-56 (3 figs.))

A Greek Marble Head of a Horse.—The head of a horse, of fine-grained marble, of unknown provenance, now belonging to Mrs. Chester Beatty, is published for the first time by R. Hinks in J.H.S. xlvii, 1927, pt. ii (pp. 218–221; pl.; 4 figs.). With its flat cheeks, characteristic of fifth-century horses, and its concave profile, it appears, when compared with the horse of Selene on the Parthenon and that of Dexileos in the Ceramicus, and with others from Rhamnus and on the "Talos" vase at Ruvo, to be the work of a pupil or follower of Phidias, made somewhere between 420 and 400.

HALIARTUS.—Excavations in 1926.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925–1926, pp. 81–91 (5 figs.; cf. pp. 268–270), R. P. Austin describes excavations which he conducted at Haliartus, March 30 to April 28, 1926. The Acropolis is roughly rectangular, with sides between 200 and 300 metres in length. Remains of fortification walls of five styles exist, the earliest being of the Mycenaean period, the latest of perhaps the Roman Imperial time or even later. The intermediate styles appear only in patches. A Mycenaean entrance was uncovered in the southwest angle. The early Hellenic wall, of squared blocks, may be assigned to the seventh century, the polygonal wall to a time not far from 500 b.c. The most important remains of the later Hellenic (?) wall consist of the foundations of a tower near the southwest angle and a gateway in the west wall. The latest wall must have made almost, if not quite, a complete circuit of the Acropolis; there are remains of several towers on the south and west sides. Near the highest point of the Acropolis considerable remains of a peribolus-wall, of polygonal masonry, in the form of a flattened semicircle, whose greatest length is about 36 metres, were

found. Of the temple within the precinct four courses of the foundation of the west end were found. These show that the width of the temple was just over seven metres. Near the precinct, and approached from it by a flight of four descending steps, are remains of a rectangular building, also built in polygonal style, about 29 m. long and 9 m. wide. It may have been a storehouse. Of the sanctuary itself, pieces of a Doric column-drum of poros with a stucco facing, and of mutule-andgutta fragments in the same material, with traces of paint, give some idea of the style. The date of the temple may be shortly before or after 500 B.C. The evidence from pottery and other small objects indicates an occupation lasting at least from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. This site would repay further excavation.

Hellenistic Epigraphy.—Louis Robert contributes the third of his series of articles on this subject (for references to the previous papers, cf. A.J.A. xxx, 1926, p. 496) in B.C.H. l, 1926, 469–522. Eleven groups are given, numbered XIII-XXIII, both inclusive, the numbers following those previously discussed. These inscriptions are none of them new, but a new rendering of the text, or of parts of it, is given in every case. They include decrees of Kolophon, of the Thessalian Confederation, of the Magnesians and the inhabitants of Demetrias, a decree found at Messene, decrees from Athens, an inscription found at Koulakly in the Troad, and decrees from Skepsis and Ilion. Of these the greatest interest is shown in the decrees from Kolophon and Messene, the inscription from Koulakly and the two from Ilion, which are discussed at great length, particularly the text from Koulakly.

Icarus in Vase-Painting. - A few new instances of pictures of Icarus on vases are noted by J. B. Beasley in J.H.S. xlvii, 1927, pt. ii (pp. 222-233; pl., 7 figs.). Beside the somewhat elaborate scene of Daedalus fastening wings to the shoulders of Icarus in the presence of Athena and possibly Creta, on a very poor, late fourthcentury Italiote volute crater at Naples, and the early sixth-century black-figure inscribed fragments found on the Acropolis of Athens, which show Icarus in a sort of flying stride, there is in Oxford a fragment of a red-figure cotyle, also Italiote, and dating about 400 B.C., on which a young man, standing with head turned over his shoulder, is having wings fastened on by another man who is seated behind him; and in New York is a small Attic red-figure lecythus of about 470, showing a winged youth falling or fallen into the sea, and a bird flying down above him. A possible fifth picture of Icarus can be conjectured only, on a fragmentary Apulian calyx-crater, now in the possession of Dr. Scheurleer at The Hague. Here an old man, presumably Daedalus, is kneeling before a king named MINOS, while the queen stands by. Of the two olive branches with fillets, the sign of a suppliant, which lie on the ground, the second one may belong to an Icarus kneeling behind his father, on the missing portion of the vase.

Inscription Regarding Herodes Atticus.—This inscription, first published from a squeeze by P. Graindor in Musee Belge, xvi, 1912, was rediscovered by N. Svensson in the little village of Bey, near Marathon, and forms the subject of an article (B.C.H. l, 1926, 527–535; 1 fig.). The presence of a statue and various architectural remains in the near neighborhood suggests the possibility that Bey may be built on the site of the ancient village of Marathon, birthplace of Herodes Atticus. A photograph of the inscription is given, with a transliteration and commentary. It is composed in elegiac distichs, and commemorates the solemn reception in Athens of Herodes, after his return to Greece, referring to his origin at Marathon.

Miscellaneous Greek and Roman Antiquities Acquired by the Metropolitan Museum.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 3 pp. 78-82 (10 figs.), GISELA M. A. RICHTER reports on the recent acquisitions of the Classical Department of the Museum.

Among the bronzes are the following: a statuette of a youth wearing a himation-an Etruscan piece dated probably in the fifth century B.C.; a handle of a jug of Greek or Etruscan origin; a rare statuette of a horseman of the late archaic period; part of a statuette of a bearded man wearing a diadem, perhaps representing Zeus; an Etruscan mirror of the fifth or fourth century B.C., with an engraving illustrating the story of Perseus and the Graiai (this mirror is published in Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Vol. V, pl. 66); a statuette of a girl wearing a Doric Chiton; a large statuette of a nude bearded man of the Hellenistic period, probably intended to represent Poseidon or a river-god; part of a statuette of Herakles of the Hellenistic or Roman period; and a statuette of a cock also of the Hellenistic or Roman period. The newly acquired terracottas comprise three statuettes: a seated deity of primitive type, from the Schliemann Collection; a graceful Tanagra statuette of a girl dressed in chiton and himation of the second century B.C.; a statuette of a girl, evidently a doll, and a diminutive oinochoë, also a toy. The acquisitions also include three terracotta antefixes from roofs of buildings. Three examples of Millefiori bowls of the Roman period were added to the Museum's collection, also several noteworthy fragments of mosaic glass, a gold plated bracelet (a typical piece of Greek jewelry of the third century B.c.), a beautiful Roman cameo of sardonyx and a carnelian ringstone previously published by Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen, pl. XXII, 48.

OLYNTHUS.—In The Illustrated London News, May 26, 1928, pp. 948–949 (10 figs.), C. T. Seltman reports on the excavations at Olynthus in Chalcidice begun in February, 1928, on behalf of the Johns Popkins University by Frofessor David M. Robinson, assisted for some time by Mr. Seltman. An agora, a factory for terracottas, and a considerable residential district have been excavated. The agora is a large rectangular market containing cisterns and pits lined with cement which were used to store water and grain. In the terracotta factory were found many moulds as well as finished ware. The residential area proves to be very interesting. The houses of the wealthy citizens of Olynthus consisted of a court paved with cobble stone in the centre, around which were numerous rooms. Some of these houses probably had two stories. The central room was very elegant. Remains of terracotta water pipes, pottery bath tubs, and other features of bathrooms are abundant. More than a thousand coins have been found of which about 70 per cent are reported to be Olynthian. Also many leaden sling-shots have been discovered.

The Progress of Greek Epigraphy in 1925-1926.—In J.H.S. xlvii, 1927, pt. ii (pp. 182-217), M. N. Top gives a very complete summary of discoveries and discussions of Greek inscriptions for the years 1925 and 1926, with full references to the places of publication. The sections are: General; Attica (three periods); the Peloponnese; Central and Northern Greece; Macedonia, Thrace and Scythia; the Islands of the Aegean; Western Europe (including Italy); Syria and Palestine; and Africa, the section on Egypt being reserved for the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Among the important pieces of work noted are: West and Meritt's studies of the Athenian tribute quota lists of the fifth century; A. Wilhelm's restoration and discussion of fourth- and third-century Athenian documents; the publication by A. M. Woodward of the inscriptions on the theatre at Sparta; additions to the inscriptions of Boeotia, by N. G. Pappadakis; the publication of a large number of inscriptions from Delphi, which include a signature of the sculptor Ergotimus and a revised text of the much-debated Roman law about the suppression of piracy (whether of the time of Marius or of Pompey); A. Maiuri's Sylloge of the inscriptions of Rhodes and Cos, which include references to a Rhodian Library and a partial list of works contained in it; an epigraphical study of Greek legal matters

in Sicily and Lower Italy by V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri; B. Haussoullier's publication of the accounts of the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Didyma; the collection by various persons of inscriptions in Phrygia (both Old and New Phrygian), Galatia, and other districts of Asia Minor; the publication of the inscriptions found by F. Cumont at Douro Europus on the Euphrates, together with some documents on parchment and a list of Black Sea towns written on a leathern buckler; and a rich series of inscriptions from Cyrene, dealing with constitutional, economic, religious, and topographical, as well as personal matters.

SPARTA.—Excavations in 1926.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925–1926, pp. 173–254 (4 pls.; 12 figs.; cf. pp. 262–266), A. M. Woodward describes the excavations carried on at Sparta in the spring of 1926 by the British School at Athens. The work in the theatre is described and discussed in detail. The main results in 1926 are: (1) the completion of the uncovering of the stage-buildings, and the location of the street running east and west behind them; (2) the excavation of the area east of the stage, down to its marble pavement, by uncovering a wide strip from the east wall of the stage to the foot of the external staircase previously described; (3) the clearance of a strip along the west parados as far as the east face of the projecting bastion—which did not, as had been assumed, carry a staircase similar to that in front of the east retaining wall—and the partial clearance of the outer southwest angle of the western retaining wall. Some previous assumptions have been modified, and many details of construction have been made clear, by these excavations. After the Pre-Roman period alterations or additions were made in the theatre at eight different times. The theatre was probably not used later than about 400 A.D.

The most interesting single object discovered is a splendid archaic pithos which was found in the building behind the scaenae frons. It is about 0.80 m. in height, and the ornamentation falls into two parts: a heavily moulded neck and shoulder, with rows of beads, tongue patterns, and channels, and a frieze in relief on the belly of the vase. Below a band of vertical hatching is the main frieze representing in low relief two two-horse chariots driven at a walk to the left, with an armed hoplite walking behind each. The charioteer is bare-headed and beardless; his hair apparently falls in long plaits in front of his shoulders; his short chiton and his himation are decorated with a finely incised maeander. The hoplite behind each chariot is bearded and wears a crested helmet, carries a spear and round shield, and is girt with a sword. The legs and feet are missing, as is the near wheel of each chariot. This decoration covers only the front half of the pithos, the rest at this level being blank. Below the frieze is a hatched strip, then a band of inverted tongue pattern, then a triple horizontal line, below which the surface is damaged. Similar pithoi from Sparta are known from fragments only. There is now no doubt that they are of Spartan workmanship.

The inscriptions published include fragments from the east parados wall which join inscriptions already published (C 6, 7; E 9; E 15; E 20), new inscriptions or fragments from the east parados wall (E 28– E 46), inscriptions in situ at the east end of the external staircase (F 1–4), other lists of magistrates, statue-bases, etc., from the theatre (31–34 and a new fragment of 20), miscellaneous dedications (35–37), and, from the Acropolis, three inscriptions, all, apparently, of the sixth century B.C. (38, a stele bearing a dedication to Athena; 39, a halter bearing a dedication to Athena; 40, a fragmentary list of names). The content of the inscriptions found in the theatre is similar, and complementary, to that of those previously published. One of them (F 3) furnishes the first certain epigraphical evi-

dence for the priesthood of Zeus Olympios at Sparta.

The work on the Acropolis is briefly described on pp. 264-266. The excavation

of the area between the Chalkioikos Sanctuary-wall and the back wall of the carea was almost completed, and just to the south of it the foundations of a building were discovered which seems to have been in use from the seventh to the fifth century B.C. Much Laconian pottery was found just to the north of these foundations. Other interesting "finds" are: a piece of archaic terracotta relief representing Odysseus and the ram; a small, gaily painted votive shield of terracotta; two marble halteres (one with dedication to Athena); piece of a marble arm almost certainly from the statue of "Leonidas"; small pieces of drapery, of a shield, and a snake's head, all showing traces of paint, which suggest a marble Athena statue of the early part of the fifth century; and a small fragment of marble relief showing a charming archaic head of Athena. A few pieces of Mycenaean pottery and of a coarse local ware were also found here. East of the Chalkioikos several fragmentary inscriptions and remains of many houses of later Imperial times were found, but no definite evidence for a direct entrance from the Acropolis to the theatre appeared. An incomplete ivory relief, showing a man leading a horse, is the first ivory relief found on the Acropolis. Still farther east the plan of the Byzantine basilica was successfully elucidated.

VARDARÓFTSA.—Excavations, 1925, 1926.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925-1926, pp. 1-66 (22 pls., 41 figs.; cf. pp. 266-268), W. A. HEURTLEY and R. W. HUTCHINSON report on the excavations at the Toumba and Tables of Vardaróftsa, Macedonia, carried on by the British School at Athens. This part of the report deals with the Toumba. Here remains of twenty-two successive settlements are distinguished, which are divided into five periods, A, B, C, D, E. Comparison of objects (chiefly pottery) found here with those found at other sites in Macedonia and in more distant regions lead to the following approximate dates for these periods: A, 3000-2000 B.C.; B, 2000-1700; C, 1700-1050; D, 1050-350; E, 350 to some time after 250 B.C. Until the place became thoroughly Hellenized in the fourth century, the changes in the pottery show continuous development, though this is affected at various times by Danubian and southern influences. In addition to pottery, objects of metal, stone, bone, and terracotta were found, and every period is represented by some indication of buildings. The origins of the culture were The people were pastoral, agricultural, and peaceful. They were also In Period B the influence of the Danubian culture is noticeable, and in Period C there seems to have been extensive emigration due to the pressure of Mycenaeans from the South and Danubians from the North; but a remnant remains to occupy (or reoccupy) the site. The various stages of Hellenic influence are reflected in the pottery. The excavations of the 'High Table' will form the matter for a later report, but a brief statement by W. L. C (uttle) (pp. 267-268) tells that the earliest settlement was post-Mycenaean, that above this were two more pre-Greek settlements distinguished by remnants of daub-and-wattle houses, and that above these was a thick layer of clay, laid down not far from 400 B.C. After this the objects found are Hellenic, except that a local variety of pottery, called 'scraped ware' held its own for a time against the imports from Attica.

#### ITALY

Archaeological Work in Italy in 1925–26.—A very complete summary of archaeological discoveries and studies in Italy in the year 1925–1926, based both on published material and on personal communications, is given by G. KASCHNITZ-WEISBERG in Arch. Anz. 1927, pt. 1–2 (cols. 83–161; 11 figs.). The sites explored and discussed range, as usual, from Neolithic times to late antiquity, and are classified geographically from Istria and Gallia Transpadana west and south through the peninsula to Sicily, Sardinia, and Tripolitana. Improvements in many

museums through rearrangement are noted. An important step toward systematizing work in Etruria and safeguarding the monuments, is the formation of a "Comitato permanente per l'Etruria" which has begun the publication of its Studi. Etruschi. In Pompeii, beside the Greek bronze ephebus (see A. J. A. 1927, 1, p. 112), the Oscan wall-paintings and inscriptions in another house on the via dell'Abbondanza are noteworthy. At Girgenti, excavations on the south side of the temple of Olympian Zeus have recovered five telamones, which with the one already lying above ground are found to have stood against the outer wall between the half-columns of the pseudo-peripterus, as conjectured by Puchstein. Among the objects illustrated are a bronze statuette of a warrior and two bronze grotesques from the Casa dell'Efebo di Bronzo in Pompeii, and a fine marble head of Zeus from the temple at Cyrene identified by an inscription as the temple of Zeus, which is published in the first number of the new periodical Africa Italica.

Epigraphic Bulletin.—In R. Arch. xxvi, 1927, pp. 347-409, R. CAGNAT and M. BESNIR give a review of epigraphical publications in 1927 relating to Roman antiquity. They publish the text of one hundred and eighty inscriptions, thirty-four of which are in Greek, the rest in Latin, with brief comments. Indexes are added, pp. 410-424.

COMMACHIO (Reg. VIII).—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 143–198, A. Negrioli, continuing the account in Not. Scav. for 1924 (see p. 282, fig. 1), gives a preliminary report of the campaigns of 1924 and 1925 in the great Etruscan necropolis at Valle Trebba. In those two years 239 tombs were found, making a total of 460. Of the new ones, 129 were for inhumation, 96 for cremation, and 14 contained no remains from which a conclusion could be drawn. Among the numerous finds were several fine vases with representations of the combat of Polydeuces and Amycus (on a badly damaged pyxis), the slaying of Cassandra, the myth of Peleus in an unusual form, the birth of Dionysus, the myth of Talos and the Argonauts, and Amazons. There were also vases in the form of animals and birds, and a "flesh-fork" of an unusual form with eight prongs.

ETRURIA.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 198–204, E. Gasperi-Campani gives an account of sundry chance discoveries in 1926 at Florence in the Piazza S. Giovanni, Via del Corso, Piazza S. Firenze and elsewhere, including the remains of an arch.

Roccalvecce.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 368–369, R. Paribeni reports the discovery of a lead water-pipe with the name of King Theodatus (534–536), which was taken to the National Museum in Rome. The course of the aqueduct to which it belonged could not be traced.

Fiano Romano.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 370–371, R. Paribeni reports the discovery of a vase with simple line-decoration and the Faliscan inscription tulate tulas urate, which he takes to be personal names.

FORMIAE.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 434–449, G. Spano reports the discovery of various structures. In the district called Vendicio a large room belonging to a Roman villa was found. It has a suspensio of an unusual form, which may have been for heating the room, or perhaps merely to protect it from dampness. The room had an outlook on the sea and its axis, if prolonged, would strike the island of Pithecussae (Ischia). Ing. Jacono cites some interesting examples of similar arrangements. Spano dates the room a little before the middle of the last century B.C. and thinks it possible that it may have belonged to the notorious Mamurra, the decoctor Formianus of Catullus. On the via Vitruvio remains of a building of the late imperial period were found, with architectural and sculptural fragments, and between the railway station of Gaeta and the sea, remains of a villa of the first century of the Empire.

GUBBIO.-In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 367-368, R. Paribeni reports the dis-

covery, near the Roman theatre, of a fragment of an ivory comb with figures of animals in relief, apparently from a hunting scene or a *venatio*. The comb belonged to a late period, being similar in form to those found in Gothic and Langobardic tombs in Italy.

ISOLA FARNESE.—In Not. Scar. iii (1927), pp. 371-372, R. Paribeni publishes a marble tablet from Quaranta Rubbia in Veii, containing a dedication to Fortuna, the Penates, and (all) the gods by members of the gens Cicutia: also a funerary inscription found at Veii, but now at Prima Porta.

ORBETELLO.—In Not. Scar. iii (1927), pp. 204–210, P. RAVEGGI gives an account of finds in the district called Cosano in 1923. These consisted of objects in gold, bronze, lead, and terracotta, and, along the seashore, of remains of horrea. During the enlargement of the Communal Cemetery of Orbetello (id. pp. 210–214) Etruscan tombs of the fifth century B.c. were found; and at Port' Ercole (Monte Argentario) some tombs of the Roman period (id. pp. 214–215).

OSTIA.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 379—431, G. Calza publishes the unedited inscriptions from Ostia, to the number of 177. The greater number are fragmentary, but among them are a dedication to Septimius Severus of the year 198, followed by the names of the caligati who dedicated it, 328 in number, in 16 decuriae; an additional list of 53 Augustales; fragments perhaps belonging to an album of the year 173 (see Not. Scav. 1909, p. 91); a fragmentary inscription with an account of games at Rome; and a part of the album of cultores Larum et imaginum dd. nn., belonging to the inscription published in Not. Scav. 1921, p. 235.

PIEDEMONTE D'ALIFE.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 450–460, A. MAIURI describes the remains of a polygonal wall belonging to Samnite times, and prehistoric remains on Mt. Cila; also various objects in the local museum.

POMPEII.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 3–83, A. Maiuri, continuing the report in Not. Scav. 1919, pp. 232 ff., gives an account of the excavations carried on between March, 1924 and March, 1926. These were along the via dell' Abbondanza, especially in Insula VII of Reg. I. The aim was to uncover all the houses in the insula, a design which was partially carried out. A plan of the buildings unearthed up to March, 1926 is given and the article is handsomely illustrated with cuts and plates.

The street on the west, between Ins. VII and Ins. VI, was found to be closed by a railing at both ends, allowing access only to the large mansion of P. Paquius Proculus. It was thus an *iter privatum*, connected with that house and originally forming a part of it; it was cut out from it, when the house was remodelled by removing the rooms which had originally formed part of the western side of the atrium. The road, which is not at the same level as the via dell' Abbondanza, varies in width from 2.60 m, at one end to 3.85 m, at the other.

At the opening of the street on the eastern side, between Ins. VII and Ins. VIII, is a large ara compitalis, on which is a small quadrangular altar with a representation of two serpents of unusual length, advancing in many coils towards the altar between them. The street to the south of Ins. VII was not reached, because that insula, as well as VIII, turned out to be of considerably greater depth than VI, owing to an abrupt bend towards the south by the via del Tempio d'Iside; moreover, exploration in that direction was temporarily checked by a huge mass of earth from earlier excavations, which had added a depth of 5 or 6 metres to that of the débris from the eruption of 79.

A partial description of the buildings facing on the via dell' Abbondanza was given in Not. Scav. for 1911 and 1912, so far as they had been explored at the time. They illustrate the encroachment of places of business upon dwellings, being a complex of shops and houses of a modified and restricted plan, due to the trans-

formation of some of their rooms into booths. Additional space for their occupants was gained by a second story and by so-called balconies across the front of the houses. Some of the rooms are decorated with paintings in the Fourth Style, and a number of graffiti and small objects of different kinds were found. The most interesting house is No. 7, which is entered by fauces of unusual length, due to the abandonment of two large rooms in the front of the house to commercial uses. The fall of a considerable part of the stucco of the fauces and vestibulum revealed an earlier stratum with rough figures and traces of Oscan inscriptions. Over a fleeing horseman is the name Spartacs, and above his pursuer a mutilated inscription which may perhaps be read as Felics Pompeians. The dining-room contains a number of interesting pictures: The Flight of Icarus, Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides, The Rescue of Andromeda, and Polyphemus and Galatea. Among the objects found in the house are two lunate tiles with Oscan inscriptions assigned to the first century B.C., shortly before the Social War. The owner was apparently Amandus sacerdos, whose name appears in an election notice at the entrance of the house and in two others on neighboring buildings.

The rest of the insula, so far as it has been uncovered, is occupied by a large mansion, bounded on the west by that of P. Paquius Proculus, to which the name of the House of the Bronze Ephebus has been given; see A.J.A. xxxi, p. 112. It was formed by joining two houses that were formerly distinct, and it had three entrances on the eastern front, one of which had been permanently barred up; of the other two, one seems to have been for the use of the family, the other for guests. The rooms are decorated in the Fourth Style, and there are several handsome pictures: Perseus and Andromeda, with Perseus showing the reflection of Medusa's face, Apollo and Daphne, Narcissus at the Fountain, Mars and Venus, and others. In the garden is an open-air dining-room, near which is a circular base, on which the Bronze Ephebus perhaps stood. The room is decorated with pictures of poor coloring and slight artistic merit, but of great interest, representing scenes in Egypt at the time of the floods of the Nile. Among them is the representation of a Pygmy slave working a cochlea, and this is made the subject of a valuable excursus by L. Iacono (pp. 84-89), entitled "Della cochlea di Archimede nella descrizione Vitruviana e in un depinto pompeiano."

The inscriptions are published by M. Della Corte (pp. 89–116). They include electoral notices, announcements of gladiatorial contests, three convivial distichs with apieces over some of the long vowels, and many others. Among the most interesting is an index nundinarius, in which the days of the week are designated by dies Sat., Sol., etc., an unsually early occurrence of these names. They are followed by the places where the markets are to be held and by the days of the month.

Besides the Ephebus, a number of statues, statuettes and other objects in bronze and marble came to light.

Silver Cup from Pompeii.—The Illustrated London News, April 28, 1928, p. 731, shows a silver cup recently discovered in good state of preservation and of excellent workmanship. The cup exhibits in relief a contest between tritons and sea monsters. Professor Maiuri is inclined to the belief that the work came from the shop of a Pergamene or Rhodian silversmith in the second or first century B.C.

RIVA DI TRENTO (Reg. X).—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 117–142, P. Marconi describes the discovery of a prehistoric fortress on the hill of S. Bartolomeo, at the north end of the valley of Riva, between Arco and Varone. A Roman tomb and a stratum containing prehistoric remains were first found. The excavations which followed revealed four strata, modern, mediaeval, and Roman, the Bronze age, and the period of pile-dwellings, below which was solid rock. The first two

layers yielded few and unimportant remains; the others, a great quantity of vases, stone weapons and implements, and articles in bone and horn. Fortification walls were also found, which originally surrounded the upper terrace of the hill. There follows an account of earlier prehistoric finds in that neighborhood.

Roman Bulla.—In Bull. Roy. Ont. Mus., 7 (March, 1928), pp. 9–10 (2 figs.), J. H. ILIFFE records the Museum's acquisition of a Roman bulla of blue glass paste and gold. The design is a Gorgoneion, somewhat similar to the Gorgoneion on the Tazza Farnese in Naples. The disk of blue glass paste is set in a frame of thin gold. The gold back is ornamented with intersecting circles and a nautilus pattern of fine gold wire.

SARDINIA.—Aggius (Sassari).—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 461–462, A. Taramelli reports the discovery by workmen of a hoard of Roman denarii in the strada di Bardesi, of which eighteen were recovered. They range in date from 200

to 2 B.C., and are common varieties, even for Sardinia.

Mara Calagonis.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 252-261, A. TARAMELLI reports the discovery near the site of ancient Calagonis of an irregular slab in two pieces, containing on one side a complete Christian inscription, and on the other, part of a pagan inscription of the time of Severus and Caracalla. The date of the former, which contains unusual abbreviations and the spelling aeclesiae, is uncertain, since it ends with ind (ictione) without a numeral, but the lettering points to the fourth or fifth century. The latter belonged to a public building (thermae Rufianae), restored by the procurator M. Domitius Tertius, who is otherwise known (C.I.L. X, 8825) except for his cognomen. A Rufus who was quattuorvir iure dicundo and quinquennalis at Caralis is known from C.I.L. X, 7587.

SPINA.—Discovery of Attic and Etruscan Pottery.—In The Illustrated London News, February 25, 1928, pp. 296-297 (8 figs.) is given a brief report by Federico Halbherr of the discovery of a very rich necropolis at Valle Trebba, near Ravenna. Upwards of five hundred tombs have yielded Greek vases of many types and great artistic merit. Amphorae, hydrias, cups, bowls, craters, belonging to the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. and showing red figures on black ground have been found. Here in the delta formed by the mouths of the Po a rich Greek commercial town called Spina was developed, with which Athens kept in close business contact. To this section of Italy went many colonists from overcrowded Athens, and much of the Athenian grain supply was derived from the valley of the Po. For the grain and cattle imported from here Athens paid with manufactured products, especially pottery. The cemetery has by some been regarded as Etruscan, though the slight non-Greek elements could be accounted for as being infiltrations that had worked their way into this Greek center. Spina had already in the time of Strabo been so far covered by the alluvial deposits left by the Po that it was but "a small hamlet." By now a strip of land a mile wide has been made at the mouth of the river.

A Syracusan Dekadrachm.—In Bull. Roy. Ont. Mus., 7 (March, 1928), pp. 6–7 (2 figs.), J. H. ILIFFE announces the Museum's acquisition of a Syracusan Dekadrachm signed by Euainetos. The obverse side of the coin has around its edge the words ΣΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ above, and ΕΤΑΙΝΕ[ΤΟΣ] below. This side contains a female head, perhaps that of Persephone or of Nike, which is surrounded by four dolphins. On the reverse side is a quadriga with horses galloping, driven by a charioteer holding in one hand a goad and in the other the reins. He is being crowned by Nike, who flies above. This is a product of the highest quality of Greek numismatic art.

TERRACINA.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 432-433, E. Stefani reports the discovery, near the street leading from the railway station to the porta Romana

and about 45 m. from the latter, of a piece of the substructure of the via Appia antica, outside of the porta Romana. It is about 7 m. in length, of polygonal masonry in the local limestone.

TIVOLI.—In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 215–249, U. Antonielli reports the discovery in the district known as Acquoria (see Not. Scav. 1926, p. 214) of a votive trench belonging to the republican period. It contained a great number of offerings in terra cotta, including models of loaves or cakes, and in iron, bronze, copper, and stone. Of special interest is the money, which is described by S. L. Cesano (pp. 249–256). It consists of 125 pieces of aes rude and one of aes signatum, the first appearance of this latter form among votive offerings. It is a rectangular bit weighing 174.50 gr. and measuring 40 by 35 by 25 mm., having on one side the so-called ramo secco and on the other two irregular and nearly parallel furrows. There were besides four Romano-Campanian coins, 12 Roman coins with the ship's prow, and 10 from Magna Graecia.

In Not. Scav. iii (1927), pp. 373–374, R. Paribeni publishes the head of a girl in Greek marble, found in Hadrian's villa. The head, which is of life size, has lost the greater part of the nose and the lips and eyelids are slightly damaged. The treatment of the hair shows imitation of a bronze original, and Paribeni regards it as a replica of a Peloponnesian work of the middle of the fifth century B.C., of which there are examples in the Ny Carlsberg and Lateran museums, at Canea, and in the Torlonia Collection. The original was attributed by Carlo Anti to Calamis.

In the region called S. Anna, Paribeni (pp. 374–378) reports the discovery of ancient buildings and refuse from a manufactory of vases. The latter includes one entire mould and fragments of others, with geometric and floral designs, figures of animals, human masks, etc. The vases imitated the metal technique and are assigned to the last century of the republic.

### FRANCE

A Magdalenian Bison.—In R. Arch, xxvii, 1928, pp. 1–4 (pl.; fig.), E. Passemard and H. Breuil publish a finely carved figure of a bison. It is composed of two parts which were found in 1914 and 1925 in widely separated galleries of the cavern of Isturitz (Basses Pyrénées). The pieces were put together in 1925 by H. Breuil. The length of the entire carving is 0.22 m., and it is the largest known Magdalenian engraved bone with cut-out edges. It belongs to the middle of the Magdalenian period.

A Potter's Signature.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, p. 209, Pierre Waltz publishes a potter's signature borne by a red vase found at Clermont-Ferrand. It reads AISIII M, i.e., Aisiii m(anu). This signature, in slightly different forms, is published in C.I.L. XIII, No. 10010, 72a, b. Two letters I are often equivalent to an E, and AI is a variant of AE. The potter's name would, then, be Aeseus or Aeseius, or, to employ the more usual form, Aesius.

A Roman Hoard at Limoges.—In Revue Numismatique xxx (1927), p. 113, is a notice of a find of Roman denarii at Limoges in 1926, dating from Antoninus Pius to Valerian.

# GERMANY

Casts of the Pergamene Frieze.—At the time of the installation of the Pergamene frieze in the new Pergamene Museum, in Berlin, new casts were made of certain of the slabs of the north and south sides, including the bull-giant and the Helios group. Copies can be ordered from the cast foundry of the Berlin Museums. Arch. Anz. 1927, pt. 1–2, col. 195.

Early Stone Age in Westphalia.—In Mannus xx (1928), pp. 36–43 (6 figs.), Julius Andree continues a series of articles on remains of the early Stone Age in Westphalia, with a fifth instalment treating of hitherto unpublished flint utensils from the Feldhof Cave in Hönnetal. A bibliography of twenty items closes the article.

### HUNGARY

Gold Find of Ofeherto.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 241-245, Ludwig Kiss reports the discovery at Ofeherto of a gold armlet and some gold wire which seem to come from the first half of the first millennium B.C.

Prehistoric Cemetery at Kosd, Committee of Nograd.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 235–245, A. Fettich reports that in 1926 several graves were discovered at this place. The graves seem to date from the beginning of the Iron Age, the La Tène period, although there are some signs of Neolithic origin in some of the articles.

#### ALBANIA

Reliefs and Inscriptions in the National Museum.—The new national museum in Tirana, begun in 1923, boasts some good things. C. Patsch, in *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* xxiii 2 (1926), Beibl., col. 209–230, comments on three reliefs of Hermes Psychopompos, and gives text and description of ten sepulchral inscriptions.

#### TURKEY

Hippodrome at Constantinople.—A British expedition spent four months in 1927 in excavating and studying the Hippodrome at Constantinople. The dimensions have been ascertained as 117 m. x 470 m. The level in its latest period of use was 4.25 m. below the present surface level. It is found that there never was a regular spina, but only a series of isolated monuments along the middle line. Of the three which remain, the so-called Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus was originally fitted as a fountain, and the serpent column of Platea, which seems to have been moved to its present position at the close of the Byzantine period, had also been used as a fountain. At the end of the Hippodrome toward Santa Sophia, where it joins the Baths of Zeuxippus, a fine Roman panel relief of a female figure representing Thalassa was found. At the other end, much of the sphendone was found to be intact, with part of the outer corridor. (J.H.S. xlvi (1927), pt. ii, pp. 261–263; 2 figs.)

## GREAT BRITAIN

ABERDEENSHIRE.—In Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 69–75 (4 figs.), W. Douglas Simpson reports on the excavations of Kindrochit Castle, in Braemar, Aberdeenshire. The work revealed remains of two distinct periods, the older building being incorporated with the newer one. The older castle probably dates in the fourteenth century, while the newer one dates not much earlier than 1500 according to evidence revealed by architectural fragments. A silver-gilt Highland brooch and a fourteen-sided jet button were discovered; also architectural objects and bone deposits.

ABINGDON, BERKS.—In Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 438-464 (8 figs.), E. Thurlow Leeds writes about the excavation of a Neolithic site at the abovementioned place. Flint scrapers, serrated flakes, borers, axes, arrow-heads, daggers, knives, and other objects were found in considerable quantities, as were also stone and bone implements. The pottery was very fragmentary and for the most part of a very primitive type, consisting of clay paste mixed with a high percentage

of grit. Most of the vessels had round bottoms. Decoration is either wholly absent or very elementary. Apparently the makers of this ware belonged to a stock that had connections with western France and the Iberian peninsula.

Archaeology in Ireland.—Archaeology in Ireland has suffered the deaths of Dr. Walther Bremer, Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum, and Mr. Henry Saxton Crawford, a noted authority on Celtic art. The excavation of the ancient sanctuary at Uisneach, near Mullingar, is practically completed. It was a La Tène site, with probably a Bronze Age background. (Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 98–99.)

**BACUP.**—**Flint Adze.**—An adze 7 inches long,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide at the butt end and a sharp cutting edge at the other end  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide has been found on Tooter Hill, Bacup. (Ant.J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 90–91 (1 fig.))

CHESHIRE.—Axe-Hammer.—In Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 522–523 (1 fig.) is announced the discovery of an axe-hammer of the Bronze Age which is in good state of preservation.

CHESTER.—Roman Fort in Deanery Field.—In Ann. Arch. Anth. xv, 1-2 (May, 1928), pp. 3-32 (13 pls.; 5 figs.), Robert Newstead continues the report (cf. Ann. Arch. Anth. xi, 59-86) on excavations at the above-mentioned site. The foundation walls and the floors and hearths of the individual rooms or hus have been carefully laid bare. Numerous remains were found, including: Samian and other pottery of finer quality; Roman coins of Vespasian, Domitian, and Antoninus Pius; fragments of bronze and iron; bits of glass; gaming pieces or counters; a small uninscribed altar; crucibles and other objects connected with the working of lead; a bronze finger-ring showing representation of Isis and Serapis; iron knives; a rare iron fishhook; sheets of lead, and other similar objects. Several of the remains shed considerable light on Roman life. The site in question was occupied as early as the Flavian period, and there was a continuous occupation to the end of the fourth century, the earlier period being the more intense. Additional search on an adjoining site is announced.

CREDITON.—Roman Lead Seal Impressions.—Four lead seal impressions are reported as having come from Syracuse and now being in the possession of Colonel Montague, of Crediton. One, of a type hitherto not described, shows on the obverse the letters O F P and on the reverse E Q S. The following interpretation is suggested: "Officium Praefecti; reverse, Equitum Singularium: that is, The Office of the Commandant of the imperial select cavalry body-guard." (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), p. 529)

DORSET.—Roman Pavement.—A beautiful Roman mosaic pavement was found at Dorchester, with very skillful color-treatment. It is very similar to the Corinium mosaic of the second century A.D. described in Antient Corinium (Cirencester) Remains of Roman Art, second edition, 1851, p. 38, pl. VI, fig. 2. (Ant. J. viii, (Apr. 1928), pp. 237–238 (1 pl.))

ESSEX.—Miss Nina Frances Layard reports (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 500–514 (8 figs.)) on the excavation of a late palaeolithic settlement where many flints shaped by human hands and also remains of hearths were discovered, num-

bering about 500 implements.

HADDEN'S HILL.—In Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 87–89 (2 figs.), R. C. C. CLAY reports on the excavation of an oval barrow in Hadden's Hill Plantation, Bournemouth. Sixteen burials were found, six of which were by cremation in urns, the remainder by simple cremation, all of which may be assigned to the late Bronze Age, being probably contemporary with the Pokesdown urnfield, one mile distant

KANOVIUM.-Work has been continued on the Roman fort of Kanovium, at

Caerhun. Four buildings have been located in the *praetentura*; the south gate has been excavated; in the commandant's house have been found coins of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan; the *praetorium* has been uncovered; a few potsherds and a coin of Constantine II testify to fourth-century inhabitants, but it is impossible to determine how long the fort was occupied. (Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 104–106)

**KENT.**—The British Museum has acquired a pedestal-urn found in a cemetery, of the period between Julius Caesar's invasion and the Claudian conquest, situated in Sturry, near Canterbury. Other vase fragments were found here, but in such condition that they could not be restored. (Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), 93–94 (1 fig.))

In Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 521-522 (1 fig.) is a brief note announcing the discovery of part of a belt buckle belonging to the close of the Roman period.

Coins.—Fourteen gold coins, twelve of them early British coins imitating those of the Atrebates, have been found near Westerham. The coins were contained in a hollow flint. They apparently belong early in the first century B.C. (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), p. 526)

Roman Temple.—In Ant J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 76–86 (18 figs.), W. G. KLEIN records the excavation of a Roman temple at Worth, in Kent. The ground-plan of the building is a double rectangle. The walls and floor were of chalk. Parts of a statue cut in stone, some pottery, and a coin from the time of Constantine were found. A model shield of bronze somewhat similar to the Roman scutum was also discovered. The pottery found represents two ages: Roman, and Early Iron Age. The author describes briefly some of the pottery and bronze finds.

LANCASTER.—In Ann. Arch. Anth. xv, 1-2 (May, 1928), pp. 33-40 (1 fig.), J. D. Droop and R. Newstead report on certain trial excavations at Lancaster. The "Wery" Wall was examined, and the evidence discovered points to the conclusion that this wall was probably Roman, was carelessly built, and belongs perhaps in the early part of the second century. Trenches were dug in the Vicarage field and numerous remains, principally pottery, were found.

Roman Remains.—In Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), p. 98 is a report that there were found at Lancaster Samian pottery, remains of a clay hearth, Roman wall plaster, silver coin of Nero, and fragments of tiles.

LINCOLNSHIRE.—The Roman tessellated floor which was discovered at Horkstow Hall in 1796 has now been permanently lent to the British Museum. The pavement shows Orpheus surrounded by birds and quadrupeds, a circle with mythological figures, a chariot race with four competitors. (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), p. 524)

LONDON.—Roman Figurine.—A pipe-clay bust, probably of Venus, has been found recently in London, measuring 4½ inch high. It was manufactured at Allier (Gaul) or at Cologne. (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 524-525 (1 fig.))

**LYMORE.**—An oval-shaped pit-dwelling 6½ feet deep and 5 feet in diameter was found at Lymore, Hants. A beaker 9¼ inches high and 6½ inches in diameter at the lip was also found. (Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 93–94 (1 fig.))

NOTTINGHAM.—Paleoliths.—A number of Drift implements collected from a gravel-pit at Beeston, Notts, have been presented to the British Museum. (Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 91–93 (5 figs.))

POKESDOWN.—In Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 465–484 (14 figs.), R. C. C. CLAY writes about the excavation in the winter of 1926–1927 of a Late Bronze urn-field at Pokesdown, in Hants. Cinerary urns were found as well as human ashes placed in cists. A leaf-shaped bronze spear-head, eight inches long, was found. The remains of a hearth were also uncovered. The urns are largely of

the barrel-shape and bucket-shape types. The pottery has been placed in the British Museum.

SCOTLAND.—Discoveries During 1927.—Paleolithic remains have been discovered, antlers of young deer, remains of bears, and of other animals. An earth house was discovered at Rennibister, Orkney, in which were human skeletons. (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 523–524)

SOMERSET.—Bronze Chisel.—The finding of a rare bronze chisel of the late Bronze Age at Ham Hill, South Somerset is recorded in Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928),

pp. 241-242 (1 fig.).

STONEHENGE.—In Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), pp. 149-176 (3 pls.; 4 figs.), Lt. Col. W. Hawley reports on the excavations at Stonehenge, 1925–1926. About half of the area has been excavated and the ditch gives proof that the site is older than the monument standing on it. Pottery of all ages was found, some as early as the Beaker period, which would place the inception of the monument in the latest part of the Neolithic period. The elevation on the south, formerly considered a barrow, proved to be due to a natural rise of the chalk and perhaps to erosion of the chalk surface to the east of it. The large hole found in the centre of the monument was intended for a stone which would correspond to the one on the rampart to the east of it forming two of the four stations from which lines intersect at the centre of Stonehenge. The Hele stone seems to have been moved from its original position along a groove passing through a broad trench in the direction of its present site beside the monument. The Aubrey holes, which seem to have held wooden uprights, antedate the monument. The foreign stone lintel is still a mystery. The Stonehenge site was a temple, and for a secondary purpose it was an assembly place where priests and military nobles dispensed justice and promulgated laws. It was a well-known landmark and centre for trade.

SUFFOLK.—Bronze Hoard.—A late Bronze Age hoard found at Suffolk includes socketed celts, socketed gouges, a chisel, a lance head, fragments of sword blades, and a piece of linen cloth. (Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), pp. 236–237 (1 pl.))

SURREY.—Roman Kilns.—In Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 48–53 (2 figs.), Major A. G. Wade announces that he recognized a Roman pottery kiln in 1926 at Snailslynch Farm, on Terrace C of the Farnham gravels in Surrey. The oven was 6 feet long, 26 inches high, and 5 feet across at its greatest measurement. Burnt puddled clay lined the flues and the oven. About seventy pottery bases were found. Another kiln was found on Terrace B. This one had, in addition to the oven, a drying shed. Broken pots were found here. White slip on the neck and shoulders of the pottery of the former kiln suggest the third century. Pottery from the latter kiln contained no slip.

WEDMORE.—Roman Coins.—A list of 54 Roman coins recently found at Wedmore, Somerset, is published in Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 96–97. Most noteworthy in the hoard are a Laelian coin and one of Carausius coinage commem-

orating the Fourth Legion.

Wookey Hole and Other Mendips.—In Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), pp. 193–210 (25 figs.), H. E. Balch tells of the exploration of the cave-dwelling at Wookey Hole. Most of the finds were in Romano-British levels. Iron shears, coins, pottery, bronze fibula, bone pins, and jewelry were found together with certain interesting evidence connected with the natural effigy known as "the Witch." Examination of a rock shelter at Ebbor revealed flint instruments of the late Pleistocene period. Soldier's Hole, a cave shelter high in the cliffs of Cheddar Gorge yielded Romano-British pottery, Neolithic flints, and bone instruments of interest.

YORK.—Fourth-Century Wall.—A fortress wall between Bootham Bar and Monk Bar has been excavated. Also, there has been found an early stone barrack (probably of Trajan's reign). Apparently the earlier fortress was demolished when the construction of the later fortress took place. (Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), p. 238)

Finger-nail Decoration.—In Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 98-99, is an illustration of two examples of finger-nail ornament found in the body of the urn as opposed to that kind of decoration on an applied band. Evidence points to the fact that decoration on the body of the urn dates to the Hallstatt period while that on the band belongs to the late Bronze Age.

# NORTHERN AFRICA

CARTHAGE.—In C. R. Acad. Insc. July-Sept. 1927, pp. 205–210 (1 plate), L. Poinssot and R. Lantier report the discovery, at Carthage on the west slope of St. Louis Hill, of a tiny head of a young ephebus carved in wood (like boxwood) and beautifully preserved. The head is in bold relief on a disk and seems to have been applied originally as furniture ornament. The influence of Scopas is felt. The work is by the discoverers assigned to a date before 146 B.C.

Excavations in Libya.—In Archaeologiai Értesitö, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 38-56, Akos v. Szalav summarizes the excavations in Libya dealing with Tripolis, Sabratha, and Lepsis Magna as known at the end of 1923.

Lacono-Cyrenaic Vases.—In R. Arch. xvii, 1928, pp. 50–66 (9 figs.), Charles Dugas supplements the catalogue of Lacono-Cyrenaic vases begun by R. Laurent and himself (R. Arch. xx, 1912, pp. 88–105) and continued by J. P. Droop (J.H.S., 1910, pp. 33–34). Bibliographical references to publications of four-teen vases already catalogued are accompanied by some discussion. Thirty-eight numbers (115–152) are added to the list, and several of these are briefly discussed.

NUBIA.—In Ann. Arch. Anth. xiv, 3-4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 57-116 (40 pls.), F. Li. Griffith continues his detailed report on the Oxford Excavation in Nubia. A mound at the end of the Meroitic mastaba-field was found to contain a small Christian church apparently dedicated to Saint Isidorus. Two types of Christian tombs were found in the Meroitic Cemetery: (1) usually two or more parallel vaults separated by party walls, built in a pit, the entrance to the tomb being the full width of the vault; (2) a well, giving access to a vaulted chamber. Skeletons, pottery, and other deposits were found in these tombs. A very careful study was made of the protecting spells standing over a brick grave, which is thought to have been a hermit's bed. Skeletons were found in Christian graves at Hathor rock or Nabindiffi. Various Christian sites near Faras were examined and notes made on finds filling up many gaps in previous knowledge of the history of the places.

## **AZERBAIJAN**

Excavations at Yalovlu-Tapa.—In Materials of the Azgosmuzev (National Museum of Azerbaijan), i, D. Sharifov describes some excavations undertaken at Yalovlu-Tapa, district of Nukha, in the valley of the Turvanchav, in 1926. In the clay bank of a branch of this stream were several caves many of which had fallen in. These were originally intended as habitations, as is evidenced by fire openings which could still be made out in some places. At the entrance to the caves were graves about 1 to 1.5 m. below the surface. In these there were discovered fragments of human bones and a considerable number of clay vessels of various shapes. Those of black clay tended to contain the bones of birds or of animals and seem to belong to the oldest strata. In some graves there were found these vessels together with beads, occasionally of bronze, and finally there was one grave found with an iron ring, apparently the latest of the series. Furthermore,

the later graves seem to have contained pottery of light clay which did not contain birds' bones, so that the continued use of the black clay vessels may have been connected with some religious rites. The vessels are of various shapes, but we may note especially a rather shallow vase resting on three legs and with two ribbon-like handles and vases of the same character but provided with only one foot. The shapes of the pottery are rather rough, but quite diverse, and they contain relatively little decoration. It may be presumed that these are remains of the trog-lodytes mentioned in Strabo, xi, 5, 6, and 7.

# EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, AND MEDIAEVAL

# GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

New Specimens of Byzantine Music.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925–1926, pp. 151–172 (pl.), H. J. W. Tillyard publishes, partly in photographic facsimile and partly in type, a canon for Advent as an illustration of a good manuscript in the Round Notation; he adds a transcription of the whole in our musical notation. He also gives explanations and transcriptions of several specimens given by E. Wellesz in his Byzantinische Musik (Breslau, 1927).

#### EGYPT

Egypto-Arabic Textiles.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxii, 11 (Nov. 1927), pp. 275–279 (10 figs.), M. S. Dimand makes note of the recent accessions to the Museum's textile collection. The fragments were found at Fostat (Old Cairo) and include woolen and silk textiles with tapestry-woven decoration and embroideries, dating from the ninth to the fourteenth century. Four fragments of early knotted rugs are of special interest and importance. The collection shows the continuation of Coptic tradition in Near Eastern art and the rise of a new Arabic style which later influenced European weaving to a high degree.

## ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

Wall Panels from Samarra.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 3, pp. 85–90 (5 figs.), M. S. Dimand brings to the attention of students of Oriental art a rare opportunity to study the Mohammedan ornamentation of the ninth century. Four wall panels cast from the originals at Samarra, near Baghdad, have been acquired and are now on exhibition in the Museum. A number of Samarra ceramic fragments and four complete bowls also may be seen in the Museum. The Caliphs of Samarra imported white porcelain made in China as early as a.d. 618–907. Fragments of this porcelain have been found. In the Museum are exhibited Mesopotamian imitations of excellent quality and very like the Chinese pottery.

#### ITALY

A Lost Work by Cavallini in a Miniature of the Thirteenth Century.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 141–145 (fig.), Al. Busuloceanu publishes a miniature from a manuscript (cod. Lat. 461) in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena. It represents the Emperor Octavian and the Tiburtine Sibyl standing before a doorway which is flanked by two two-story towers surmounted by small buildings. Above, in a mandorla surrounded by conventional clouds, is the Madonna seated on a throne and holding the Child on her knees. At each side of her is an angel. Vasari, in enumerating the works of Pietro Cavallini, mentions a fresco in the choir of Santa Maria in Aracoeli which represented this scene. The fresco has disappeared entirely. The newly discovered miniature probably reproduces the lost

fresco, which appears to have been, if not the earliest representation of the legend, at any rate the one which furnished the definitive iconographic type of it.

AGRIGENTO.—Byzantine and Limoges Goldsmith Work.—In Boll. d'Arte vii (1928), pp. 551-566 (8 figs.), M. Accáscina publishes some little-known examples of goldsmith work in Sicily. One particularly interesting piece is a portable altar consisting of a rectangular slab of wood covered with a piece of agate in the center, which is surrounded by enameled plaques representing symbols of the Evangelists, Saints, and Christ in Glory. Both the technique and the iconography are Byzantine, and the Latin inscription suggests that the work was done in Italy or Sicily by Byzantine artists; it probably dates from the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. Likewise in Agrigento, Sicily, are several Limoges caskets from a single Limoges atelier of the thirteenth century. These, belonging to the first half of the century, show enameled figures on copper; others, from the second half of the century, show a change of technique, the background is enameled and the figures stand out in the metal, thus giving more the effect of sculpture and greater freedom to the artist for originality and artistic creation. Occasionally in Sicily we find native imitations of Limoges work.

BRESSANONE.—Master Giovanni di Brunico.—In Boll. d'Arte vii (1928), pp. 489-504 (12 figs.), M. M. Dell'Antonio publishes new discoveries in regard to the splendid paintings on the vault of the cloister of the cathedral at Bressanone. The style of the work indicates that it was done by the master of the artist who painted the vault of S. Giacomo at Termeno, and an inscription regarding the latter tells us that it was done by the pupil of Master Giovanni of Brunico. This master evidently studied under the earlier painters who worked at Bressanone, but he also shows a Rhenish influence that probably came through manuscript illumination. The work is dated 1417.

IRSINA.—The Crypt of San Francesco.—In Boll. d'Arte vii (1928), pp. 385-415 (35 figs.), E. Galli makes the first publication of the frescoes in the so-called crypt of San Francesco at Irsina, the old town of Montepeloso. This semi-subterranean chapel was built, apparently for private use, in the second half of the fourteenth century. An extension on one side of it is a small tomb for the burial of only one, or at most two, bodies. A likely assumption is that the crypt was built by Duke Francesco I del Balzo (1347-1420) and that he used the tomb for the sarcophagus of his father, Bertrando. The frescoes, which date from this period, follow the Giottesque tradition. They are on the whole well preserved, the only considerable damage resulting from dampness and lack of care. Since the middle of the sixteenth century the chapel has been abandoned and has served only as a depository for bones. With this abandonment the stairway leading to the chapel from the church above was filled up. Since the recent restoration of this passageway most interesting frescoes along its walls have come to light, life-size figures of princes descending the stairs and a company of court ladies. Inside the chapel the vaults and walls are covered with ornamental and figure decoration. There are many figures of saints and compositions of the Annunciation, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Crucifixion, Translation of the Virgin, Coronation of the Virgin, and a few others.

MESSINA.—Examples of Primitive Sicilian Painting.—In Boll. d'Arte vii (1928), pp. 481–489 (12 figs.), E. MAUCERI publishes some fragments from the ceiling of the cathedral at Messina. The cathedral is now in ruins, but a number of panels and fragments of panels are preserved in the museum at Messina and form the basis of an interesting study of early Romanesque and Gothic painting in tempera on wood. Two periods are represented, the first Norman, with Romanesque characteristics, the other showing an admixture of geometrical Gothic

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features with more dominant Romanesque-Byzantine features. The subject-matter of the first group is a primitive symbolism in a setting of foliate designs: there are such motives as the fish, and Jonah ejected by the whale. Figures of Christ and saints are among the subjects of the second group.

VERONA.—The Fresco in the Tower of San Zeno.—Recent restorations in the tower of the monastery of San Zeno at Verona have made possible a more satisfactory study of the fragmentary frescoes preserved there. These are in three zones: at the top is an arabesque frieze with grotesque male figures and fantastic animals enclosed in circles; at the bottom is a narrow strip, badly mutilated, with scenes from the chase; in the middle is the widest zone, on which is represented an enthroned emperor, surrounded by soldiers and court dignitaries and receiving the homage of a procession of foreign emissaries. The date of the erection of the tower as well as certain similarities of the fresco with paintings in the neighborhood of Verona place the decoration at the end of the thirteenth century, though one is first struck with the general similarity of the style with that of manuscripts of a much earlier date, even of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most of the foreign ambassadors who pay tribute to the emperor are not particularized as to nationality, and the emperor himself is in no sense a portrait; so that, although it is tempting to believe that the monks may have intended to represent here some famous emperor of the past who visited them and granted them special privileges, it seems more likely that they were painting an ideal scene to illustrate the power and universality of the Empire by representing the homage paid an ideal emperor by all the people of the world. They probably used some old illuminations in the library of the monastery as models. (G. Gerola, in Boll. d'Arte vii (1927), pp. 241-258 (17 figs.))

## FRANCE

Limoges Reliquary.—The beautiful Limoges reliquary, executed in champlevé enamel, 14½ inches high, and with the dignity and monumental style of Byzantine art has been acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago. The shrine is in the form of the seated Virgin holding the Child Jesus on her knee. She wears a crown. The throne is decorated in front with scroll work and on either side are the Angel and the Virgin Annunciate. (B.A.I., Chicago xxi, 6 (Sept. 1927), pp. 73–74 (3 figs.))

## GERMANY

BERLIN.—Gothic Exhibit.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 1–2 (Beilage) (2 figs.), T. Demmler publishes some of the examples of sculpture that were shown with the exhibit of mediaeval tapestries in the Berlin Künstlerhaus last spring. They include some fine examples from collectors in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich: a wooden group of the Pieta of about 1320; some splendid works by Tilman Riemenschneider, particularly a Madonna and Child; and a beautiful group of the Virgin and Angels, apparently from a Coronation scene, of about 1520, that marks the beginning of a new movement, as Reimenschneider's work marks the end of an old.

DORTMUND.—The Virgin Altarpiece.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 12–20 (7 figs.), K. Schaefer tells of recent restorations of the Virgin altarpiece that has as long as anyone can remember hung in the gloom of the Choir of the Dortmund church, where in 1720 it was enclosed in the crude frame of a baroque altar. The adaptation of the altarpiece necessitated the cutting down of each of the three panels, so that in the middle panel, for example, the number of Apostles surrounding the death bed of the Virgin was reduced from twelve to four. The wings of the altarpiece represent when open the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. Since the restoration it is found that the Annunciation and the Coronation are painted

on the outside of the wings. The work fits into German painting shortly before Stephan Lochner. Stylistically it can be dated about 1420 and the dependence of a dated work upon it fixes a terminus ante quem of 1424.

DRESDEN.—Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Engravings.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 1–11 (13 figs.), M. Lehrs writes of the most noteworthy acquisition of wood and copper engravings made by any public collection in many years. It is a gift, largely of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints, presented to the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett by "Haus Wettin" from the collection of King Friedrich August II (1797–1854), a lover of prints who was in a position to get the best, starting his collection in 1817. Among the collection are a number of important examples by Master E S, the Monogramist B N, Master C. Cz., Israhel van Meckenem, and Lucas van Levden.

The Madonna with St. Ann by Gerhaert von Leyden.—In Berliner Museen xlviii (1927), pp. 112–114 (2 figs.), C. Sommer writes of the widespread influence of the sculptured group of the Madonna and St. Ann which was acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1911. Its provenance is Alsace, and it has been recognized as the work of Gerhaert von Leyden. There are a number of extant groups that show its influence clearly; the latest of them decorates a sixteenth-century triptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Thirteenth-Century Sculpture of Treves.—In Berliner Museen xlix (1928), pp. 54-57 (7 figs.), H. W. v. Oppen supplements the four important statues of Prophets from the Liebfrauenkirche at Treves that have come into the collection of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum with some of the statues that remain at Treves, to show the relationship of the sculpture of Treves with that of Reims. Parallels for nearly all details of the Treves sculpture may be found among the sculptures of Reims; stylistic features are borrowed regardless of iconography.

## SPAIN

SALAMANCA.—The Torre del Gallo.—In Arquitectura, 106 (1928), pp. 35–41 (5 figs.), J. L. M. Jiménez tells of the completion of the work of restoring the Torre del Gallo, over the crossing of the old cathedral of Salamanca. It is this beautiful tower, Romanesque in construction and in all its decorative details, that gives the old cathedral its special significance, and the restoration has been considerably discussed both favorably and unfavorably. The procedure followed in the restoration is here explained and photographs showing the tower before and after the work on it are reproduced, so that the reader can form some judgment for himself.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

LIVERPOOL.—In Ann. Arch. Anth. xv, 1-2 (May, 1928), pp. 47-55 (10 pls.), J. D. Droop and F. C. Larkin report on excavations at West Derby Castle, Liverpool. The finds consist of mediaeval pottery, which is gray, buff, or reddish in color, generally glazed in a greenish color; fourteenth-century ware, the leather sole of a shoe, pieces of iron and copper, and bones of animals. Additional excavations are contemplated.

Norman-Type Castle.—Excavations at West Derby revealed faint traces of a small, early Norman type castle which was levelled in 1817. Pottery and other fragments of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century were found. (Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), p. 240)

LONDON.—Viking Sheath.—A leather scabbard about 15½ inches long, showing ornamentation and probably dating around the year 1000, or earlier, has been found in the mud 16 feet underground. (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), p. 526)

LUTON, BEDS.-Sixth-Century Saxon Cemetery.-Several graves recently

discovered at Luton give evidence of a Saxon settlement in that place early in the sixth century, according to William Austin (Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), pp. 177–192 (13 pls.; 3 figs.)). T. W. Bagshawe gives a report on the objects found in the graves, which include iron instruments, such as umbos, swords, spears, knives, etc.; bronzes, such as brooches; gold ring; necklaces with Roman coins dating at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century; cinerary urns and other vessels. F. G. Parsons gives a detailed account of the graves and their contents.

Mediaeval Vestment.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxii, 12 (Dec. 1927), pp. 300–310 (7 figs.), Frances Morris tells of the Museum's purchase of a beautifully embroidered chasuble of opus Anglicanum from England. The piece has an interesting history dating from the first decade of the fourteenth century. That it is probable that this was part of a set of vestments worked for Edward III is suggested by the resemblance of certain of its features to some of those in Walter de Milemete's illuminated manuscript "Liber de officiis Regum" (1326). The vestment was recut at some time in its history which resulted in a bad mutilation of some of the figures. On the front are represented some of the Saints and on the back three "histories," i.e., Christ and the Virgin Enthroned, The Adoration of the Magi, and The Annunciation. The chasuble is a masterpiece of royal needlework and is the first example of this type of vestment to come to America.

NORFOLK.—Scandinavian Strike-a-Light.—Another quartzite strike-a-light 4.4 inches long has been found in Norfolk. It probably dates in the fifth century A.D. This type of instrument has been discussed by K. Rygh in Opuscula Oscari

Montelio dicata, pp. 329-332. (Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), p. 236)

SOMERSET.—Cross-Head.—In Ant.J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), pp. 211–216 (2 pls.; 3 figs.), W. D. Caröe tells of the discovery in Berrow Church, Somerset, of a pierced cross-head in Ham Hill stone and a cross-base of white lias stone from near Bleadon, which was found resting on the bowl of a thirteenth-century font of quatrefoil shape. The date of the cross-head is set by the fourteenth-century armor on the warrior, one of the figures on it. This head is a fine example of its kind.

SOUTH HEREFORDSHIRE.—Mediaeval Church.—Excavations show remains of a twelfth-century round church under the now existing fourteenth-century church at Garway. Other twelfth-century fragments were found: pottery, candlestick, moulding. (Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), pp. 238–240 (4 figs.))

**YORKSHIRE.**—Trefoil Brooch.—A Viking relic in the form of a bronze brooch has been discovered in the North Riding. For this type of brooch the Northerners copied a Carolingian model showing the acanthus leaf which was then converted into forms of animals and later into meaningless lines and markings. (Ant. J. vii, 4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 526–528 (1 fig.))

# RENAISSANCE

# GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Recently Acquired Armor.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 16–24 (8 figs.), Bashford Dean mentions the recent accessions to the Armor Department of the Museum. One set is a complete Pisan suit, richly decorated and in perfect condition, dating from 1575. There were added also to the collection two brigandines of rare type. Among other acquisitions may be mentioned a half-suit by Anton Pfeffenhauser (1590); a three-quarter suit (1610–1620), engraved and gilded; a pair of sleeves in triumphator style (about 1520); and numerous pieces of chain mail which add further prestige to a collection already supreme in its field.

Woodcuts.—The Metropolitan Museum's woodcut books printed before 1550 have been listed in B. Metr. Mus. xxii, 12 (Dec. 1927), pp. 295–298 (2 figs.).

## ITALY

AREZZO.—Giovanni d'Agnolo di Balduccio.—In Boll, d'Arte vii (1928), pp. 446-464 (12 figs.), A. DEL VITA gives the results of his new studies of Aretine painting of the fifteenth century, about which there has been so much confusion and ignorance among art historians ever since the time of Vasari. That Arezzo was never prominent as an art center must still be recognized; but at least it now seems possible to understand the school better. A large group of paintings, starting from three in the ex-convent of S. M. Novella at Arezzo, and including others in S. Domenico, S. Francesco, and the picture gallery at Arezzo, are here recognized as the work of one hand. They seem most closely related to the works of Parri di Spinello, but are not good enough for him and would seem to be the work of a student of his. A search through documents reveals a certain Giovanni d'Agnolo di Balduccio as an important citizen of Arezzo and an artist active in that city throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. But all of the pictures assigned to him by documents have disappeared except a Madonna enthroned between two saints in the Palazzo Comunale at Arezzo. Though badly preserved, the style is still sufficiently clear in this to link it with the group mentioned above. Thus one more definite artistic personality is identified in the Aretine school.

CREMONA.—Statues from the Façade of the Cathedral.—In Archivo Storico Lombardo liv (1927), pp. 114–132, C. Bonetti publishes documents regarding the decoration of the façade of Cremona Cathedral at the end of the fifteenth century. Documents from 1491 to 1494 pertain to a certain Master Alberto da Carrara, architect and sculptor. He did not finish the façade, but he did complete two statues, those of Francesco Sforza and his wife, Bianca Maria, putting them in place on the façade in 1494. In the first years of the sixteenth century, after Cremona had fallen under the dominion of Venice, these two statues were removed from the façade and we have no record of what was done with them. It now seems probable that they are to be identified with the two statues of this duke and duchess preserved in the Museo Civico of Vicenza. These statues are almost completely intact; both are of Carrara marble; the one of Sforza is 1.84 m. high, that of Bianca Maria measures 1.78 m.

"Danaë" by Titian.—To the Art Institute of Chicago has been lent a newly found "Danaë" by Titian—one of the artist's most remarkable paintings. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 5 (May, 1928), pp. 62–63 (1 fig.))

FAENZA.—A Historical Cup.—In Faenza xv (1927), pp. 125–141 (9 figs.), G. Ballardini publishes a cup recently acquired by the Ceramic Museum at Faenza which has unusually interesting historical associations. In its decoration are combined the monogram of Galeotto Manfredi, Signore of Faenza from 1477 till his death, in 1488, and the emblem (peacock feathers) of his loved mistress, Cassandra, the beautiful daughter of Tommaso de' Pavoni. The cup is stamped with the factory mark of Faenza and was probably, though not necessarily, made between 1477 and 1481, the date of Manfredi's betrothal to Francesca Bentivoglio.

A "Casa Pirota" Plate.—In Faenza xv (1927), pp. 18–20 (2 figs.), G. BALLARDINI publishes a plate belonging to Dr. Ermindo Vandelli which is recognized as the work of the "Casa Pirota," that flourished in Faenza from 1525 to 1535. The plate was evidently made for some amorous gift. In the center is a female figure with a lance, followed by a cupid with a flaming heart. The border is decorated with foliage and dolphins interspersed with four winged and bearded heads, each

of which bears one of the letters S. P. Q. R. An almost identical plate formerly belonged to M. Antiq. in Paris.

Famous Woodcuts.-In B. Metr. Mus. xxii, 11 (Nov. 1927), pp. 269-272 (2) figs.), W. M. IVINS, JR., notes some recent accessions to the Print Room of the Museum. Among the most noteworthy are: Titian's Pharaoh in the Red Sea, a group by Lucas Cranach the Elder, including The Crucifixion and The Agony in the Garden, and Altdorfer's Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, a number of Baldings, a portrait attributed to Wechtlin, a number of rare and charming Cornelissens, and many of the set of Venetian blocks of the Labor of Hercules. Two coppers also were acquired: Schongauer's Griffin and Lucas of Leyden's masterpiece Ecce Homo.

FLORENCE.—Architectural Sculpture in San Lorenzo.—In Boll, d'Arte vii (1927), pp. 232-234 (2 figs.), L. Ozzòla calls attention again to some documents which he published in La Rassegna Nazionale, in 1903. These contain expense accounts of work in the basilica of San Lorenzo at Florence in the fifteenth century. Two sculptors, Maso di Matteo and Antonio di Mateo, are credited with the carving of the friezes (for which they received a payment in 1449), representing the lamb in a garland between seraphim, that run above the capitals of the middle nave. The style of this work and other documents also indicate that the two artists referred to are Antonio Rossellino and his elder brother, Tommaso. The capitals in the basilica, that are among the finest examples of ornamental sculpture of the quattrocento, are shown by the documents to be the work of Giovanni di Bertino, Nanni di Miniato, Ciechino di Gaggio, Chimenti di Nanozzo, and Pagno di Lapo. Only the last of these, who made a Madonna and Child in the cathedral museum at Florence, is already known. But the other names are worth attention, because some of the anonymous sculptures extant are doubtless their work, and it may be possible in time to attribute them properly.

Scene in Baptistery.—The Art Institute of Chicago has recently been presented with a group of plaster sculpture representing several Italian sculptors examining the bronze doors of Andrea Pisano in the south wall of the Baptistery at Florence. The scene takes place in 1400 A.D. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 2 (Feb. 1928), p. 21 (1

fig.))

"Madonna with Saints."—The unfinished painting, "Madonna with Saints," by Paolo Veronese, recently lent to the Art Institute of Chicago, brings to that institute a good example of the artist's ability and an opportunity to study his technical methods. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 3 (March, 1928), pp. 30-31 (2 figs.))

MILAN.—A Carracci Portrait.—The Association of the "Amici di Brera" has recently presented to the Brera a splendid portrait of a man with a dog by Anni-

bale Carracci. It is published in Boll. d'Arte vii (1928), p. 428 (fig.).

PAVIA.—Fifteenth-Century Engravings.—In Boll. d'Arte vii (1928), pp. 416-427 (10 figs.), A. Calabi publishes some hitherto unfamiliar Italian engravings of the fifteenth century in the Malaspina Collection. Several are by Nicoletto da Modena and the school of Campagnola. A number of examples in the collection are very rare and some are absolutely unique.

ROME.—Dutch Exhibit.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 2-4 (Beilage) (fig.), F. Baumgart writes of the exhibit of Dutch painting in Rome for which plans had long been made. It is held in the Borghese Gallery and is composed almost wholly of examples from collections in Italy, only the bad gaps being filled by loans from foreign countries. Of the 136 pictures in the exhibit, 9 are from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the rest are from the seventeenth century. It is particularly fitting to have the exhibit in Rome; for Rome and Holland were the two centers of baroque art, and here is afforded ample opportunity for comparison of the two.

S. MINIATO AL TEDESCO.-Unnoticed Works by the Rossellino Brothers.-In Münch, Jb. v (1928), pp. 85-100 (11 figs.), M. Weinberger and U. Middel-DORF publish some works hitherto unrecognized as by the Rossellino brothers, which add substantially to our knowledge of the activity of the two sculptors. Most important is the tomb of Giovanni Chellini in the Church of S. Jacopo at S. Miniato al Tedesco. Formerly ascribed to Pagno di Lapo and then to Michelozzo, the work shows clearly the style of Bernardo Rossellino, who must have executed the recumbent portrait with his own hand. The architectural part of the tomb was left unfinished at Bernardo's death, in 1464; hence, we have here an important work from his late years, when he did very little sculpture that has come down to In a console decorated with an eagle, that is preserved on a wall of the Badia in Florence, is recognized a part of the tabernacle which records show to have been made by Bernardo Rossellino in 1436 for the sacristy of that church. Finally, three sheets of drawings in the Uffizi with putti and Madonna studies are recognized as from the hand of Antonio Rossellino. They have special interest because so few drawings by fifteenth-century sculptors have come down to us.

A Sketch by Tiepolo.—The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has acquired a sketch by Tiepolo. It is the artist's rapid oil study in preparation for an elaborate ceiling. The scene is mythological. Juno, attended by Venus and Minerva, Cupid and cherubim is receiving a hero. The eagle of Jupiter and Mercury fly above. Below, at the right is a confused group of four persons one of whom can be recognized as Father Time enmeshed in what seems to be the wreckage of a chariot. The forge of Vulcan, and a wolfish dog and a cannon balance each other in the lower

corners. (B. Mus. F. A. xxvi, 154 (Apr. 1928), pp. 32-33)

Three Fifteenth-Century Paintings.—The Art Institute of Chicago has acquired through a loan three pictures of the Quattrocento: one, a Madonna by the Sienese Neroccio di Landi, and the other two, by the Treviglian artist Butinone, are small Biblical panels, one, the Flight into Egypt, the other, the Descent from the Cross.

(B.A.I. Chicago xxi, 7 (Oct. 1927), pp. 86-88 (4 figs.))

Two Inlaid Chairs.—Among the recent acquisitions by the Metropolitan Museum are two beautiful Certosina chairs of the sixteenth century from Lombardy, Italy. One is of the earlier type, i.e., made entirely of wood, while the other has a seat and back of seventeenth-century embroidered velvet. Originally it had velvet or leather straps. (James Rorimer, B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 52–53 (2 figs.))

# FRANCE

A Boucher Tapestry.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 15–16, ELEANOR B. SAXE announces that the Museum has acquired through a loan a Beauvais tapestry, the third piece in its galleries of the famous set of the Loves of the Gods designed by François Boucher at Beauvais. The subject of this piece is the Rape of Orithyia by Boreas. The date of the piece is probably between 1756 and 1761.

Lithographs by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec.—The Art Institute of Chicago has received about one hundred examples of the lithographic prints of Lautrec.

(B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 2-3 (2 figs.))

Painting by Gauguin.—The Art Institute of Chicago has recently received a painting by Paul Gauguin of a Tahiti woman and two children. The picture is dated 1901. (B.A.J. Chicago xxi, 6 (Sept. 1927), p. 76 (1 fig.))

Paul Cézanne.—The Art Institute of Chicago has recently received a head of Paul Cézanne which is an important piece of work in pastel by Renoir.  $(B.A.I.\ Chicago\ xxii,\ 1\ (Jan.\ 1928),\ p.\ 6\ (1\ fig.))$ 

State Partisan of Maurice of Nassau. The Metropolitan Museum now exhibits

a partisan the blade of which is of the usual form and elegantly enriched with an etched, parcel-gilt design. On one face of the base is etched the portrait of Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1567–1625). On the reverse side is etched the Prince's heraldic arms. The haft, which is ancient, is apparently ash and is splendidly carved. This partisan is valuable for its extreme rarity. (Stephen V. Grancsay, B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 50–52 (2 figs.))

Two Double-doors by Jean François Cuvilliés.—The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired two double-doors which it assigns to Jean François Cuvilliés because of their similarity to other specimens of that decorator's work. The doors have gilded carvings on a white ground. They date between 1720 and 1740. The Museum also acquired a set of entre-portes decorated in comparatively low relief in white and gold by Cuvilliés. (Preston Remington, B. Metr. Mus. xxii,

12 (Dec. 1927), pp. 292-294 (2 figs.))

Two Drawings by Daumier.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxii, 12 (Dec. 1927), pp. 291–292 (1 fig.), Bryson Burroughs announces the Museum's acquisition of two drawings by Honoré Daumier, one of Don Quixote and Sancho, the other Un Paillasse—A Clown. The latter is described as "miraculous."

# GERMANY AND HOLLAND

AUGSBURG.—Breu and Filippino Lippi.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 29-37 (6 figs.), F. Antal throws new light on the relationship between Germany and Italy in the period of the Renaissance. It has been customary to think of the influence upon Germany as coming largely from Venice. But in the works of one German artist, Jörg Breu, strong influences of Filippino Lippi, Michelangelo, Botticelli, and other artists of Florence and Rome are seen. The influences are of such nature as to presuppose Breu's having been in Rome especially. His principal productions, the great organ wings (painted in 1519) in the Fugger Chapel in St. Anna at Augsburg, are practically copies of two Italian compositions. One, the Ressurrection of Christ, is derived from Botticelli's engraving of the Giving of the Girdle. The other, the Assumption of the Virgin, is derived from Filippino's fresco of the same subject in the Caraffa Chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. It is little wonder that Breu found inspiration in this chapel decorated by Filippino; it furnished inspiration to many an artist in the years between its painting (1490) and Raphael's decorations in the Vatican stanze; and even then Raphael drew many details from the Caraffa frescoes.

BERLIN.—Drawings by Rubens.—In Berliner Museen xlix (1928), pp. 57–64 (7 figs.), J. ROSENBERG publishes a number of pen drawings in the Berlin Print Cabinet that can be attributed to Rubens. Some of these have formerly gone under the name of van Dyck. Others have been recognized as by Rubens but were not included in the recent publication of his drawings by Glück and Haber-

ditzl.

Dutch Medals and Models.—In Berliner Museen xlviii (1928), pp. 114–119 (8 figs.), K. Regling publishes some recently acquired medals and models in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. They include examples by Hagenauer (dated 1528), Weiditz (1532), Tobias Wolff (1572–1576), and two artists that sign with their monograms, I M (1556) and I F L (c. 1580–1600).

A Fifteenth-Century Italian Bronze Relief.—In Berliner Museen xlviii (1927), p. 134 (fig.), Bode attributes to Nicolò Fiorentino a bronze portrait plaque of a man in profile recently acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. The identity

of the model cannot be ascertained.

German and Dutch Glass.—C. LOUISE AVERY, (B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 3–15 (13 figs.)) announces that the Metropolitan Museum has recently

purchased about four hundred rare and fragile pieces of glass from the Mühsam Collection in Berlin, which illustrate excellently the history of glass-making in Germany and the Netherlands. The new accessions represent one half of the total collection sold; the other half was acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 4 (Apr. 1928), pp. 46-55 (12 figs.))

HAMBURG.—Italian Drawings.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 43–48 (8 figs.), A. Neumeyer publishes some little-known drawings by Italian masters in the print cabinet at Hamburg. Among these are examples by Tintoretto, Polidoro da Caravaggio (?). Andrea Meldolla, Perino del Vaga, and a Sienese master of about 1550, possibly Sodoma.

LEIPSIC.—A Collection of Bolognese Ceramics.—In Faenza xv (1927), pp. 12–17 (8 figs.), M. di Longara shows that there was an important factory of graffito ceramics in Bologna as early as about 1475. Proof is furnished by a piece in the Donini collection which exhibits the style of Cossa, who worked in Bologna in 1472 and 1477, or of one of his contemporaries. The Donini collection, now in Leipsic, is of extreme importance for Italian ceramics. It consists of nearly 2000 pieces, of which about 500 are graffito work, in large part found at Bologna and dating from different epochs, down to the eighteenth century.

LEMBERG.—Dürer Drawings.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 20–25 (8 figs.), H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat sift the collection of drawings at Lemberg, that have been attributed in bulk to Dürer, assigning some of them to other masters. Notably, there is a tondo of Europa and the Bull that is recognized as the work of Hans Baldung; Hans Sebald Beham is the author of a nude study of a seated man, and possibly also of a horse; and Hans von Kulmbach is credited with a detail of an Adoration.

NUREMBERG.—Dürer Exhibit.—In Zeit. Bild. K. lxii (1928), pp. 49–54 (6 figs.), E. Zimmermann gives an account of the exhibit held in Nuremberg this year in celebration of the fourth centennial of Dürer's death. The exhibits held in most cities on this occasion were made up almost wholly of engravings, but the exhibit at Nuremberg was of unusual significance, bringing together as it did many of the master's important paintings, as well as a representative collection of the paintings of his master, Wolgemut, and other predecessors of Dürer and also a number of paintings by his followers.

Burgkmair and Michelangelo.—In Münch. Jb. v (1928), pp. 64-69 (5 figs.), A. Neumeyer finds the earliest trace of the influence of Michelangelo's Bruges Madonna upon art beyond the Alps in the Madonna in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg which Hans Burgkmair painted in 1509. The motive of the Child standing on the ground amidst the Madonna's drapery and reaching up to her hand is the most striking element of similarity with the Bruges prototype, though the German master has followed the Italian fairly closely in the pose, features, and costume of the Madonna also. Among Italians Signorelli seems to have been the first to use this pose of the Child, and he got it, we may believe, from classical art: it occurs on the sarcophagus of Phaedra at Pisa, from which Niccolo Pisano had long before borrowed certain motives.

A Painting by Brouwer —In Berliner Museen xlix (1928), p. 76 (fig.), is noted, among other recent acquisitions of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, an interesting painting of the Temptation of St Anthony by Adriaen Brouwer.

A Painting by Hendrick Ter-Brugghen.—In Berliner Museen xlviii (1927), pp. 110-112 (3 figs.), A. V. Schneider publishes one of the most interesting seventeenth-century Dutch paintings that has recently been acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. It was bought from a private owner in Hamburg, where it was ascribed to "le Nain." But it was at once recognized as the work of the

Utrecht follower of Caravaggio, Ter-Brugghen. The subject of the painting is the Selling of the Birthright; it is an interior, the only known painting by this master with artificial lighting: the light comes from a candle on the table. The picture is the earliest work by Ter-Brugghen that has come down to us; it was probably painted while he was in Italy, where he stayed till 1614.

Pieter van Santvoort.—In Berliner Museen xlix (1928), pp. 64-67 (2 figs.), C. MÜLLER publishes a little landscape by Pieter van Santvoort which has recently come into the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. The biography and style of this little

master are here studied and a list of his known paintings is given.

THE HAGUE.—A Study for Titian's Pala of the Pesaro.—In Boll. d'Arte vii (1928), pp. 529–537 (8 figs.), G. J. Hoogewerff publishes an oil painting on canvas recently acquired by a private collector, Dorus Hermsen, at The Hague, from a Belgian collector, which is very clearly a final study of Titian's great altarpiece of the Pesaro Family. The study is 75 cm. high and foreshadows the final painting in nearly every detail, but is even superior to it in one respect, viz., that it is done with greater spontaneity and enthusiasm. Aside from this painted study we know of only one sketch for the Pesaro altarpiece, a drawing of the central part in the Albertina. The detail of the Madonna and Child in the Uffizi is probably a copy rather than a study.

#### SPAIN

**Portrait by Velasquez.**—To the Art Institute of Chicago has recently been lent a newly found portrait of Isabella of Bourbon painted by Velasquez probably soon after the year 1630. (B.A.I. Chicago xxi, 7 (Oct. 1927), pp. 91–92 (1 fig.))

#### SWEDEN

Collection of Zorns.—There have been added over three hundred items to the collection of etchings by Anders Zorn in the Art Institute of Chicago. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 18–19 (3 figs.))

#### GREAT BRITAIN

DULWICH.—Elsheimer's Early Paintings.—Hitherto not more than a single picture from Adam Elsheimer's early, Venetian, period has been taken account of by historians. H. Weizsäcker, in Zeit. Bild. K. kii (1928), pp. 68–72 (2 figs.), tells of recognizing at least thirteen others that belong to this early period in the artist's career. They show the influence of Tintoretto, Titian, and other Venetians in the figures, but most of the landscape backgrounds are in the style of the northern little masters (as we see it in the school of Coninxloo), all details reproduced with the greatest minutiae, resembling drawing rather than painting, and the coloring of cold green and brown tones. There is one exception, the splendid picture of Suzanna and the Elders in Alleyn's College in Dulwich. Here not only the figures show Italian influence in the elegance of the forms and costumes, but the trees and buildings in the background have a breadth and a depth of coloring that are Italian also.

English Trade Cards.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxiii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 45–47 (2 figs.), WILLIAM M. IVINS, JR., announces that the Museum has received three scrap-books containing English trade cards of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Aside from their humorous interest the cards are valuable because they provide material for a gloss upon the life of the period which they cover.

LONDON.—A Study by Michelangelo.—In Münch. Jb. v (1928), pp. 70-84 (7 figs.), K. Tolnai publishes a sheet of drawings in the collection of Sir Robert Witt, in London, on one side of which is a scene of Christ before Pilate by a pupil of

Michelangelo. This pupil evidently used one of his master's sheets, for not only is there a left leg drawn in Michelangelo's characteristic shorthand manner above the scene of Christ before Pilate, but on the reverse are some fragments of sonnets and various sketches by Michelangelo. The peculiarities of the sketches indicate that they were made about 1531–32. The most interesting among them is a study for a slave. From Sebastiano del Piombo's painting of the Scourging of Christ in S. Pietro in Montorio, and especially from Sebastiano's preparatory drawing for this painting, we learn that the Witt drawing renews an idea that Michelangelo had expressed in a drawing of 1516 from which Sebastiano borrowed his conception of Christ bound to the pillar. The Witt sketch apparently represents Michelangelo's plan for the pendant to the Rebellious Slave that he had already completed in marble (now in the Louvre), and it was drawn at the time that the tomb of Julius was taking its third aspect in Michelangelo's oft-baffled plans.

**PONTEFRACT.—Mayor's Seal.—**The seal of the office of mayoralty of the borough of Pontefract which was lost in the beginning of the eighteenth century has been found and restored to the borough. The silver seal is dated 1638. (Ant. J. viii, 2 (Apr. 1928), pp. 240–241 (1 fig.))

#### UNITED STATES

Two Statutes by Manship.—The Toledo Museum has acquired two of Paul Manship's most lovely bronzes: "Night" and "Dancer and Gazelles." The former is a beautiful female figure flying through space, with drapery trailing behind her. The latter, inspired by Greek art, consists of two gracefully poised animals between which stands a lithe young female figure. (Museum News 51 (May, 1928) (The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, United States))

## FAR EASTERN

# PERSIA

Hellenistic and Sassanian Period, 330 B.C.-630 A.D.—In The Illustrated London News, Feb. 11, 1928, pp. 204-205 (9 figs.), Ernst Herzfeld gives his third article on Persia, this time covering the years from 330 B.C. to 630 A.D. During the earlier years of this period Greek influence over Persian art declined rapidly and in the Sassanian period Roman art exerted a powerful influence. The influence of the art in the Roman triumphal columns and gates is reflected generously in Sassanian sculpture.

Persian Glass.—The Art Institute of Chicago has increased its collection of glass by nineteen pieces of richly colored seventeenth-century Persian glassware. The pieces are extremely fragile but very simple in contour and almost without decoration. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 20-21 (1 fig.))

Persian Objects.—The Art Institute of Chicago has recently placed on exhibition some newly acquired objects of art from Persia. The collection includes fifty-seven pieces of pottery and tiles, nine pieces of glass, sixteen pieces of metal work, five stucco fragments, a stone mihrab (stone slab used to indicate the direction of Mecca), pen boxes, textiles, books and book-bindings, manuscript leaves, and seventy-nine pottery fragments from Fostat, Egypt. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 3 (March, 1928), pp. 34–38 (9 figs.))

Persian Rug.—The Art Institute of Chicago has recently received a Persian rug woven in Herat during the seventeenth century. Though nearly nine by ten feet, the rug is only a small fragment of the original. (B.A.I. Chicago xxi, 6 (Sept. 1927), p. 76 (1 fig.))

#### INDIA

Buddhist Bas-Reliefs from Gummadiduru.—In The Illustrated London News, April 7, 1928, p. 571 (5 figs.), Sir John Marshall reports on a number of reliefs discovered by Muhammad Hamid at Gummadiduru in the Kistna district of Madras, as well as Buddhist monasteries or stupps and pillared halls at Nagarjunikunda in the district of Guntur. The bas-reliefs are particularly valuable because of the way in which they add to the most artistic of the early Indian sculpture hitherto but sparsely represented. Three Prakit inscriptions written in Brahmi characters belonging to the second and third centuries A.D., a silver casket, lead coins, and a gold necklace were also found.

PATALIPUTRA.—In The Illustrated London News, March 24, 1928, p. 477 (4 figs.), Sir John Marshall writes about the remains at Pataliputra, near modern Patna, which was the capital of the Maurya kingdom founded at the close of the fourth century B.c. Additional portions of the heavy wooden palisade that surrounded the city have been excavated and also terracotta figurines of unprecedented type have been found.

Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus.—In The Illustrated London News, January 7, 1928, pp. 12–15 and 32 (18 figs.), Sir John Marshall reports the results of recent archaeological work in the Indus Valley and the Punjab. At Mohenjo-daro more than thirteen acres of remains have been uncovered showing ruins of the three latest cities on the spot. These structures were all of well-burnt brick. The most impressive buildings were placed around elevated ground and were probably used for religious purposes. One building contains a huge tank or bath measuring 39 feet by 23 feet by 8 feet in depth, which was possibly used to keep sacred animals, crocodiles, fish, etc.

A chamber contains a large well from which the bath was supplied with water. Walls have been found nearly 10 feet thick and composed of three sections, burnt brick on the inside and outside with sun-dried brick between. These were made water-tight by laying the brick in gypsum plaster and covering the inner wall with a layer of bitumen. A drain over 6 feet high conducted the water out of the city. There have also been uncovered private dwellings and shops which by the elegance of their appointments serve to strengthen the belief that life here was advanced much beyond the point that had been reached contemporaneously in Babylonia or in Egypt. At Harappa, four hundred and fifty miles from Mohenjo-daro, Mr. Vats has continued his explorations and the antiquities found are even earlier than those of Mohenjo-daro. The following copper remains have been discovered: mace head, double axes, daggers, lance heads, spear heads, celts, choppers, saws, and chisels. Upwards of a hundred and fifty seals and terracotta sealings have also been uncovered. A model of a two-wheeled cart with roof in the form of a gable may be the oldest known example of a wheeled vehicle. Though most of the ruins at Harappa are sadly mutilated, one building is fairly well preserved. It measures 168 feet by 136 feet and consists of narrow halls and corridors and a wide aisle through the centre. The thought is suggested that, as in the case of the Cretan palaces, this structure was used for storing merchandise.

Spindle whorls discovered among the remains of houses give evidence that spinning and weaving were practiced; pieces of finely woven cotton cloth have been found. These discoveries apparently establish the fact that in this valley the cotton plant of the genus Gossypium was known. The garments worn by the upper classes were, in the case of males, in two pieces, a skirt fastened round the waist and a shawl, plain or patterned, worn over the left and under the right shoulder. Men belonging to the lower classes seemingly went naked and women

wore merely a narrow loin cloth. Necklaces and finger-rings were worn by both sexes alike; the women also wore earnings, anklets, girdles, and bangles.

The domesticated animals included the humped long-horned bull, the pig, the sheep, the horse, the elephant, and the dog. Among the wild animals shown on seal-stones are the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the tiger.

In Ibid., January 14, 1928, pp. 42–45 and 78 and 80 (17 figs.), is a continuation of the account of these excavations. Brief discussions are given of various topics of this civilization. The specimens of wheat which have been discovered are very similar to that grown in the region today. The food included, in addition to milk and bread, beef, mutton, pork, flesh from turtles, tortoises, as well as fish. The metals used were gold, silver, tin, copper, and lead. Copper was used very extensively in the making of various kinds of instruments and utensils. The supply of this metal within easy reach was considerable. For the harder instruments, like tools for cutting, bronze was used, which contains from 6 to 12 per cent tin. The tin may have come from regions to the west through Sumer.

The pottery is noted for its great variety in shapes and sizes, the mark of a long development. It is mostly plain red, undecorated ware. There have been found considerable quantities of vessels covered with red slip upon which are painted in black, geometric figures and foliate and animal designs. The pottery indicates a connection between the civilization of the Indus valley and Mesopotamia. It has as yet not been determined what material was used to receive writing, though the approximately a thousand seals that have been discovered suggest that they were used to authenticate commercial documents. The art as shown in representations of animals is remarkably skillful and advanced; as displayed in the attempt to portray the human form it is strangely crude, much inferior to the Sumerian work. Inhumation in the form of "fractional" burial and also cremation seem to have been practiced. In religion parallels to, or connections with Egypt and Mesopotamia seem traceable, though certain distinctively Indian elements are recognized.

The discoveries in the valley of the Indus establish the fact that this culture belonged to the Chalcolithic type stretching from the Adriatic to Japan and concentrated in the great river valleys in the south of this belt, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Indus, etc. Whether the cradle of the Egyptian and Sumerian civilization lies in northern India, as has been lately suggested, remains to be determined through further exploration. Another possibility is that no one section was an original home but that there was considerable interaction between the various centres of population and that new elements of civilization were developed one here and another there. The ruins at Mohenjo-daro are placed between 3300 and 2700 B.C.

A three-volume account of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro, begun six years ago by Banerji and continued by Vats, Dikshit, Sir John Marshall, Sahni, and Mackay is promised to appear very shortly.

## CHINA

Early Chinese Frescoes.—In B. Metr. Mus. xxii, 11 (Nov. 1927), pp. 267–269 (3 figs.), H. G. Henderson announces that ten Chinese frescoes have been lent to the Museum, three of which are undoubtedly of the style of the T'ang Dynasty (618–906 a.d.). These three frescoes show life-size figures of standing Bodhisattvas, draped in garments which seem to flutter in the breeze and elaborately crowned and jeweled. Enough of the original color remains to give some idea of the splendid effect which they must have made when new. The colors are rich and brilliant and the thickness and opaqueness of the paint seem to suggest that it was

done in distemper on a dry surface. The other seven frescoes are smaller and represent human rather than celestial figures. Their technique differs from that of the others in that the painting was done on a moist surface. The colors are less strong, less glowing, and less opaque. The provenience of all the frescoes is uncertain, but there is some evidence to show that the smaller ones came from the village of Huang-wang, province of Shanhsi, from temples built during the Sung Dynasty (960–1126 A.D.), and, judging from their style, they might be placed after the downfall of that Dynasty (1280 A.D.).

## JAPAN

Eight Japanese Silk Sashes.—The Art Institute of Chicago has recently acquired eight Japanese obi (silk sashes) which may be assigned to the eighteenth or nineteenth century. These obi are about 26 inches wide and four or five yards long, worn over the kimono by Japanese women. There are many decorative motifs in the patterns, most of which have some religious, mythological, or historical meaning. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 2 (Feb. 1928), pp. 22-24 (4 figs.))

Two Japanese Paintings.—The Art Institute of Chicago has added two paintings of the Ukiyo-e School to its collection of Japanese color prints. One is by Katsukawa Shunshō dating about 1789. The other is a masterpiece by Chōbunsai Eishi which dates at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century. Each represents a standing woman in native Japanese costume. (B.A.I. Chicago xxii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 4–6 (2 figs.))

# NEWS ITEMS FROM ROME

The present report continues those published in A.J.A. xxx (1926), 362–366, and xxxi (1927), 383–388, which dealt in large part with developments still in progress. Some outstanding items of news, such as the investigation of the Mausoleum of Augustus and a section of the Capitoline Hill (Classical Weekly, xxi, 99f., Jan. 23, 1928), the discoveries in the necropolis of Spina and at the site of Velia, and the vigorous prosecution of the Herculaneum project, have already been made known by published reports both technical and popular: hence preference will be accorded here to information that is as yet unpublished or not widely diffused.

In the city of Rome itself, the archaeological activity of the government has been so intensive and so varied that a mere list of what has been accomplished or is under way is impressive. This includes the liberation of the Capitoline Hill from the unsightly structures that in the course of the centuries had clustered about its slopes; the clearing of the Circus Maximus, which was begun on the Birthday of the City, April 21, of the present year, and will take perhaps ten years to carry to completion; the enlargement and rearrangement of the Antiquarium on the Caelian, which now that its sculptures have been transferred to the Capitol (the new Museo Mussolini, behind the Conservatori Museum) is to be devoted exclusively to the display of structural and decorative materials and details, and to antiquities relating to burial rites, together with the marble plan of the city and the inscriptions of the troops detailed to the fire and police services; the completion of the systematization of the tomb of the Scipios and the neighboring cemetery; and the investigation of the southern part of the Palatine Hill.

The past year has also witnessed the inauguration of a new wing of the Terme Museum, with the addition of seventeen exhibition halls and the general rearrangement of all departments except the Ludovisi Collection; a welcome addition consists in the numerous remarkable statues and heads that have been found partly in systematic excavations, especially at Hadrian's Villa, and partly as the

result of intensified agricultural operations, in particular at the Villa of the Quintilii on the Via Appia; the use of tractor plows, which in general is to be deplored from the standpoint of the archaeologist, still has led to the uncovering of some material of value. Moreover, the fragments of the Ara Pacis Augustae which are preserved in this museum have been assembled and grouped in a special room together with other significant monuments of the Augustan Age; and there has been installed a representative collection of tomb paintings including an entire columbarium. At the Villa Giulia Museum also a new wing has been opened, on the north side of the building, and in four of the additional halls thus provided there has been installed the rich Castellani Collection.

Among the details of the far-reaching programme for the development of Rome are included the complete exploration of Nero's Golden House, the restoration of the Ara Pacis, either in situ or in the Terme Museum, the entire liberation of the Baths of Diocletian, and the isolation of the Curia. The eventual construction of an avenue to connect the lower end of the Via Cavour with the valley of the Colosseum—an urgent need of the constantly expanding modern city—should not interfere with the view of any ancient monument at present visible, but should bring with it the dignified systematization of an important zone.

The developments on the Palatine demand especial attention at the present time. Dr. Alfonso Bartoli, the successor to Giacomo Boni, is carefully investigating the remains of Domitian's palace which were incorporated in later structures, and is preserving as much as possible of the ancient work—much more than was hitherto supposed to be still in existence. He is also establishing on the ground floor of the abandoned convent of the Visitazione an Antiquarium of the Palatine which is to serve a function similar to that of Commendatore Boni's Antiquarium of the Forum: here are to be exhibited the numerous architectural fragments and other details which belong on the hill, but which cannot properly be allowed to remain scattered out of doors; in particular, it will now prove possible to appreciate more readily the qualities of Domitianic design and execution. The restoration of a large marble bowl, some six feet in diameter, covered with delicate leafy ornament in low relief, a masterpiece of Augustan decorative sculpture, was approaching completion at the time that Dr. Bartoli kindly explained his activities to the members of the American Academy in Rome.

The demolition of certain modern structures to the northeast of the Forum of Trajan has led to a revision of accepted ideas as to the plan of that Forum itself and of the street system of the region; it has disclosed an elaborate and grandiose series of edifices which must have constituted a striking element even in the Rome of the second century of the Empire: a great hemicycle with two stories of arcades, and behind it, at a higher level of the Quirinal Hill, another similar system of rooms, also in two stories, following the same curve; and behind them the important ancient road, known in the Middle Ages as the Via Biberatica, which served as a means of communication between two important quarters of the city; this street itself was curved, and flanked on each side by small rooms. Following this road almost due north from the turn which it makes at the northwest end of the great apse, we find to its right still another system of rooms, these being rectangular in plan and grouped on both sides of a large vaulted hall. The greater part of all these structures, as well as the road itself, is indicated on Lanciani's Forma Urbis Romae, as they were drawn by architects of the Renaissance; but their recovery in so complete a state comes as a surprise; and, as Commendatore Giglioli pointed out on the morning when he was so kind as to show us the whole region in detail, at least another year's work of excavation, study and systematization still remains to be done. The evidence of stamped tiles found at various points in the structure of

the walls dates the work in the early years of the principate of Hadrian. When the liberation of all this area shall have been accomplished, the result will be in part a valuable addition to the impressive series of remains of Roman magnificence that will extend in an unbroken sweep from the Palatine to the Quirinal, and in part the revealing of one of the most characteristic structures that have survived from classical antiquity, an admirable example of architectural planning as applied to commercial requirements: for the main purpose of these series of superimposed arcades seems to have been to house the merchants whose interests centred in this region, and for whom it must have been necessary to provide new quarters in connection with the construction of Trajan's Forum itself. The architect may well have been the famous Apollodorus of Damascus himself.

It is quite possible that this group of halls, rather than the Forum as a whole, is the very building which was recalled to the mind of the topographer Pausanias (v. 12. 6) when the sight of a statue of Trajan in the temple of Zeus at Olympia led him to enumerate the most noteworthy architectural achievements of that prince, and to include among them "the market of the Romans, worth seeing both for the rest of its adornment and especially with respect to its roof, which is made of bronze," and again (x. 5. 11) when, speaking of the tradition at Delphi as to the third period of the temple of Apollo, he says, "That it was made of bronze is nothing strange, if indeed . . . the market at Rome, which for its size and the rest of its adornment is admirable, has its roof of bronze."

For those of us whose recollection of these things spans the past quarter of a century, Ostia furnishes sensations of peculiar interest. Year by year, as the extensive programme of excavation has developed, there has come to light one element after another of the commercial port on which imperial Rome depended for its subsistence; and the Ostia of Republican times as well has become familiar to the world of scholars. The care which Dr. Calza and his staff have devoted to the maintenance and adornment of the ruins is now bearing fruit; for the sporadic finds of sculpture and inscriptions have been effectively disposed so as both to please and instruct, while the rich vegetation of this region has been encouraged to soften the contours of gaunt commercial edifices, and to lend to prosaic brick and mortar a picturesque charm which otherwise would be wanting. At the same time, the excavation proper proceeds with undiminished intensity, especially near the centre of the city and on the south side of the Decumanus. The clearing of the great baths is not entirely completed, and therefore a detailed description would be premature. They consist however of a huge edifice with a magnificent plan following that of the best known establishments of the capital; they were built in the second century A.D., but continued in use for a long time, and were partially reconstructed in the Constantinian period. Up to now there have been uncovered the halls surrounding the central frigidarium; these were adorned with twentyfour cipollino columns and white mosaic pavements. Perhaps even more remarkable has been the chance discovery, resulting from the construction of a new bridge across the outlet of the marsh on the side of Ostia toward Rome, of a stretch of the substructure of the old Via Ostiensis, which is attributed to the second century B.C.: this consists of massive square piles of oak wood.

The much-discussed project of uncovering the two Roman ships at the bottom of the Lake of Nemi has at last entered upon the practical phase. The method which has been officially approved is that of a powerful electric pump discharging the water through the ancient emissary which ever since its construction has served to maintain the lake at a constant level. The preliminary operations, in which the level of the lake has been somewhat lowered and the whole extent of the emissary left dry, have permitted the detailed study of the emissary itself, a re-

markable monument of early hydraulic engineering, and the ascertaining of the various elements in its design and execution; like the better-known outlet of the Alban Lake, it was constructed in two stages; a sharply inclined section with its intake at a certain height on the side toward the lake served to reduce the level of the water somewhat, pending the completion of the main, slightly sloping channel at the low level as intended. At the moment of writing, June, 1928, further progress has been suspended in view of the necessity of making sure of the capacity of this venerable outlet to dispose of the volume of water, and to stand the rapid flow contemplated: a certain amount of reinforcing and adjustment of the channel will apparently be required before the full force of the pump can safely be brought into action. How long this will take, and how serious the technical difficulties may eventually prove, cannot be estimated at present; we may, however, hope soon to realize the dream of centuries and see the phantom houseboats of imperial Rome.

We now proceed to Etruscan territory. In last year's report, a special feature consisted in the account  $(A.J.A. \ xxxi \ (1927), 386 \ f.)$  of the systematic uncovering of the great necropolis areas to the north and west of Cervetri, the ancient Caere. The exceptional importance of this undertaking renders it advisable to reproduce in full the account which has been kindly furnished by the excavator, dealing with the past year's progress and resuming the state of knowledge up to the present time.

After a period of almost complete cessation, from the end of June to the beginning of September, 1927, these excavations, which are being conducted at the expense of the Ministry of Public Instruction and under the direction of the Ingegnere Raniero Mengarelli, were resumed, and they were continued with vigor, and without interruption, until the time of writing, the intention being to carry on through the month of June, when the coming of the intense Summer heat, which renders it difficult to move masses of earth, will again compel suspension of operations.

The work was continued in conformity with the general plan which has been followed for several years past: methodical and scrupulous exploration of the zone that extends along both sides of the very ancient street traversing the "Banditaccia" necropolis from southwest to northeast, reaching and crossing the western boundary of the ancient city itself. This is the same street that came to light during the first years of excavation. This highway, which was cut in the native tufa rock by the Etruscans, may now be followed clear in to the city of Caere, since the immense quantity of earth has been removed that had accumulated, during the course of so many centuries, until it completely filled the hollow, even along the stretches where it reaches the depth of some twelve meters. The wheels of the Etruscan vehicles had excavated on the surface of this thoroughfare two deep furrows or ruts.

Along the rock walls of this street there appear at various heights and in great numbers tombs of diverse forms and ages: chamber tombs, cist graves, those with sarcophagus, with pozzetto; these all are to be assigned to an extremely lengthy period extending from the time of the famous Regolini-Galassi Tomb, and even somewhat earlier, down to the Empire. Even some small tumuli having their boundaries marked by stone circles, and containing very archaic chamber tombs, are sometimes set against the walls of the street.

A great number of the chamber tombs flanking the street were found pillaged; perhaps this process had begun at a remote period. However, some have been discovered absolutely intact. The same is true of the cist and sarcophagus graves; and the loculi also, which were less attractive to treasure-hunters, have often appeared in a perfect state of preservation, and unviolated.

Again, in the level areas which extend on both sides of the above-mentioned street there have been found tombs of various types and periods; but no one of them is of late date. Here tumuli appear in great numbers; the earthen mounds which once covered them have long since disappeared owing to atmospheric agencies and agricultural activity. Some tumuli, of modest dimensions, cover chamber tombs, which resemble copies of the Regolini-Galassi Tomb on a minute scale; and like that tomb also they are partly cut out of the tufa rock and in their upper portions are completed by layers of slabs which project successively one over the other, until they finally come together at the top. In these tombs is found funeral furniture composed essentially of Italiot ceramics of impasto nero, with black or red slip: there are ollae, amphorae (sometimes with eyes of the so-called Latial type), kantharoi, etc. Sometimes there are found common terra-cotta vases of the "Italo-geometric" class, especially amphorae and plates with painted decoration formed of bands and simple geometric motives and zones of animals, and more often of birds, indicated schematically and rudely. Very rarely are vases found that may be classified among the earliest Proto-Corinthian ware.

On the crest of the rock walls of this street, and especially on the eastern side, there rise some tumuli having a cylindrical base carved in the tufa and sometimes crowned with a cornice, with a corridor opening toward the street, which corridor leads toward a central group of chambers and two side chambers. These tumuli belong to a period which in general may be included between the first half of the sixth and the second half of the fifth centuries B.C. Here are found buccheri, Corinthian and Attic vases, and local ware. The tumuli of this class, which were the most conspicuous, were subject in a greater degree than the rest of the tombs to depredations at all periods. Notwithstanding, the material which has been collected there, although in general very fragmentary, is often of especial importance

and of great archaeological value.

The general view of the new excavations, as soon as the necessary restorations

have been completed, will be truly impressive and picturesque.

During the past months there was likewise continued the exploration of the cemetery of the "Cava di Pozzolana," to the north of Caere, immediately outside the trench which the Etruscans excavated at that point for the defence of the city. As in the past, there have come to light here many fossa tombs with inhumed remains, and a few pozzetti with ash-urns, beside several chamber tombs extending from the Villanovan period down to the Roman domination; tombs which are confused one with another and sometimes are superposed and intersecting. The Villanovan ossuaries, with the characteristic incised geometric decorations, enclosed sometimes in tufa receptacles, are rare, while those that preserve the Villanovan form, but are without incised decoration, are less rare. The scanty equipment and ornaments accompanying the ossuaries consist of few and small vases of impasto, which were placed outside the ossuary itself, and a few fibulae, or some lunate knives of bronze distorted by the action of fire, which are found mingled with the burnt bones.

Numerous are the fosse, at the bottoms of which there rarely appear any traces of skeletons; the scanty equipment and personal ornaments found in them are in general of inferior quality. Some are to be referred to the same period as the Villanovan ossuaries; and very many to succeeding epochs, although the contents still consist of rude ware, mostly handmade, and the personal equipment appears slightly richer than that accompanying the ossuaries.

The few chamber tombs found among the fosse and the pozzetti are, as a rule, of the period of the Proto-Corinthian vases and the fine buccheri; and very few are of

the period of the black-figured Proto-Attic and Attic vases.

In the "Cava di Pozzolana" necropolis, no interments were made from the period of the red-figured Attic ware down to Roman times, when bodies were buried in simple trenches, or with the protection of tiles.

In the most recent period of the campaign, there has also been taken up again with energy the work of exploring the huge tumulus of Montetosto, which rises from the plain, some five kilometers distant from Caere, to the right of the road that connected this city with the port of Pyrgi. This difficult and dangerous undertaking, which requires many solidly reinforced tunnels and shafts, has already led to the discovery of one group of burial chambers of a most ancient type, with an important equipment of local and imported ceramic wares, and of objects of especial value; a full description will be given in an official publication as soon as the restoration has been completed of these materials, which unfortunately are badly damaged and broken. The excavation of the tumulus of Montetosto will be resumed in the autumn.

Details as to the culture of Umbria steadily accumulate. From Perugia comes the news of the finding of a chamber tomb in the region of Monteluce, containing three travertine urns with pent-house roofs and some small terra-cotta vases. The urns have been taken to the Perugia Museum; special interest attaches to the fact that while two of them contained cremation remains, the third disclosed the bones of a skeleton that was inhumed; this is not the first instance where the two rites have been found co-existent in the same family.

In Campania, another important necropolis is to be added to the list of those already known: at Caivano, not far distant from ancient Atella, a chance discovery revealed an admirably constructed marble tomb, intact, containing ashes and many artistic products of gold and other metals; soon four similar tombs came to light, and the task of properly excavating the whole cemetery has been assumed by the government organization under Dr. Maiuri. These are burials of the fourth century B.C., and should prove of great historic interest as dating from a period before Campania had succumbed to the influence of Rome. The necropolis appears to be quite extensive, untouched, and easy to explore methodically.

At Herculaneum, the extensive new scheme of excavation, so rich in promise, has definitely passed its preliminary stage and is beginning to yield results, which while not yet remarkable in character still are welcome both as adding to our knowledge of the topography and as demonstrating that notwithstanding the depredations of earlier centuries, which have left their mark throughout this area in the form of numerous tunnels, much still remains to be uncovered in this mysterious town.

The course of the excavations had been somewhat retarded for the space of three months in the early part of 1928 owing to the necessity of removing an entire mound, some fourteen meters high, which had been planted as a garden, and which stood directly over the point where an important ancient structure with all the characteristics of a public edifice was beginning to appear. From this neighborhood about six thousand cubic meters of earth have been removed, by means of a Decauville light railway, to fill in the coast at the spot where a new quarter of Resina is projected for the purpose of housing the inhabitants who eventually will be dispossessed of their present abodes to make way for the excavators.

In the meanwhile, pending the completion of these operations, progress has been made in the region of the House of the Skeleton, where fourteen more rooms have been excavated and been given the necessary repairs. The building includes Hellenistic elements. The area of the garden has been found, and immediately replanted with shrubbery belonging to the species known in antiquity. Behind the garden, access is afforded to the house by means of two flights of stairs, between

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which are four small columns consisting of a core of red bricks, with a fluted stucco facing. At present the atrium is being uncovered; it is adorned with painted decoration, and there has been found the central table, of marble with bronze feet, an unusual detail. In addition to the garden and the atrium, there have come to light the triclinium and two bedrooms, the former decorated with paintings of the period of the Empire with very effective floral motives and some admirably preserved series of dolphins, stags, and birds. One of the bedrooms has its walls painted in red with designs of animals, the other is still in course of excavation.

Work is being continued in the vicinity of the House of the Skeleton, where there are valuable mosaic pavements, completely preserved; the excavators are confident that other important objects as well will come to light here. Meanwhile, both in this zone and elsewhere there have been found a number of statuettes of good workmanship: for example, a Paris of pink marble, eighty centimeters high, a Diana, and a Lar of bronze, not to mention terra-cotta vases, bronze utensils, and various objects, bottles, loaves of bread, grapes, beans and various seeds, these latter, as was inevitable, reduced to a state of carbonization.

Pompeii likewise should prove fruitful in new material when the present activity of the official staff has attained its objectives; both here and at Herculaneum the promptness with which both preliminary and final publication is being accomplished deserves grateful recognition. Students of not only the present generation but future centuries as well will be grateful for the steps which are being taken to restore and preserve the remains of both these buried cities; not only the new excavations of the Strada dell'Abbondanza, but such well-known houses as the Casa dei Vettii and the Casa del Laberinio, are now assured a measure of protection from the elements. Meanwhile the progressive replanting of the gardens with the flora of the ancients contributes to form a truthful picture of the surroundings of ancient

The most remarkable item of news concerning the extreme south of Italy comes from Canosa, the ancient Canusium, in Apulia, a site which Horace visited on his way to Brundisium, and which has long held distinguished rank in archaeological literature. Here the extensive drainage operations have brought to light, at a point about one kilometer from the city on the road toward Cerignola, various tombs of considerable importance. A group of three of these appear to have suffered from the collapse of their roofs at some remote period, but fortunately to have escaped harm from marauders. In consequence, although almost all their contents are in a fragmentary state, it has proved possible to rescue a portion of them, as, for example, several spear-heads, some small amphorae, one of which is of silver, some clay vases, a double conch-shell of gilded bronze, ten centimeters in size, some statuettes, etc., as well as numerous miscellaneous fragments. excavations are still in progress, and in one of the three tombs a number of gold objects have been found, lying round about the body of a woman which appears to belong to the Roman period. The list of these includes two earrings consisting of figurines hung on swivels; a solid gold wreath with foliate decoration combined with precious stones; a necklace with fringed pendants; a ring; two buttons; a pair of earrings consisting of clusters of grapes executed in minute beads; a sheet of gold foil; a necklace in the form of serpents' scales. Practically all this jewelry is of gold, and it represents a considerable intrinsic value. In addition, there have been observed some traces of amianthus, a greenish substance resembling asbestos, together with bits of gold fibre; these appear also on the remains of a skeleton, indicating that the body was buried in rich garments woven of gold thread; as the body decomposed the remains of the gold adhered to the bones and to the amianthus upon which the body lay. It is rarely that we learn of the discovery of unpillaged

tombs containing objects of gold and silver; and in view of the unscientific character, and inadequate publication, of much of the excavations of a century ago in the region of Canusium, it is peculiarly fortunate that the present remarkable finds are being followed with care by the authorities; when brought to completion and fully published, they should constitute a welcome addition to knowledge of Roman jewelry, and other matters too.

The Italian colonies continue to supply archaeological news of great interest. Cyrene is proving a veritable treasure-house of architecture, sculpture, and epigraphy; the sculpture furnished material for an inspiring lecture delivered by Dr. Anti early in April in Rome; practically all periods and various schools of both Greek and Roman art are represented, both in originals and in provincial adaptations; an early kouros figure of Ionic style deserves a prominent place in histories of art.

Lepcis Magna (the traditional spelling *Leptis* is to be corrected in the light of the inscriptions) formed the subject of a lecture before the American Academy in Rome by its fortunate excavator, Dr. Bartoccini; its interest centres in the period of Septimius Severus, with grandiose baths and other public edifices, the plan of which should prove suggestive to architects of the present day.

Albania, which until recently has remained almost terra incognita to archaeologists, is now within the sphere of activity of Italian investigators; Dr. Ugolini's first volume, which appeared last year (Luigi M. Ugolini, Albania Antica, Vol. I, Rome-Milan, 1927), is shortly to be followed by Volume II, and these may be hailed as the first-fruits of a field which is full of promise. At Rhodes, the present state of monuments and excavations was made known by means of the archaeological congress held there in the spring of this year; while the establishment of a historical and archaeological institute is an encouraging sign for the future.

An outstanding event, both for achievement and for promise, has been the First International Congress of Etruscology, which was held in Florence at the end of April and the beginning of May. The study of the Etruscans has fully recovered from a long period of neglect, and now not only is exercising a fascination over the wider public but is seriously engaging the interest of many able investigators. The Italian and German scholars were conspicuous by their contributions to the discussions, as was to be expected; that their Scandinavian colleagues were equally prominent served to emphasize what was already familiar to specialists, namely, that the field of Mediterranean prehistory and protohistory is at present being cultivated with great energy and success by the scientists of the Nordic nations.

The year has witnessed important changes in the personnel of the foreign institutions in Rome: at the American Academy Professor H. A. Sanders has been appointed head of the School of Classical Studies; at the British School Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith succeeds Mr. Bernard Ashmole as director; at the German Institute the late Walther Amelung's place as first secretary has been taken by Dr. Ludwig Curtius. The construction of a permanent home for the Roumanian School has begun; the Swedish Institute has moved to more commodious quarters in the Palazzo Brancaccio; the Pontifical Academy of Archaeology and the other ecclesiastical institutes with kindred interests are established in a dignified residence of their own on the Esquiline near Santa Maria Maggiore.

This report would not be complete without a reference to the increasing ease with which archaeological sites in Italy can now be visited; for in this is to be found a corrective for what appears to some to constitute a menace to the serious prosecution of our studies, namely the tendency to rely on the predigested, simplified, and denatured material that is now so readily available in the publications: there can be no adequate substitute for first-hand acquaintance with the country and its

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monuments. The past year has witnessed the inauguration of the direct railway line between Rome and Naples, and the extension of a vast system of automobile omnibus routes and motor roads. A branch railway leaving the main line near Metaponto will soon render accessible the famous prehistoric centre Matera with its rich museum. At the same time, information concerning present travel conditions is being made accessible as the successive volumes appear of the Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano; to the archaeologist and historian volume ii, 1927, of the section Italia Meridionale will prove indispensable, treating as it does of Naples, Pompeii and the neighborhood; the scientific information incorporated in the present volume appears up-to-date and reliable, and free from indications of haste in compilation.

A. W. V. B.

# NEWS ITEMS FROM ATHENS

At the Heraion of Samos, where Dr. Buschor and Dr. Reuther were excavating for the German Institute, the prehistoric settlement discovered in 1926 north of the Temple was followed out further toward the east and north and yielded chiefly objects of the middle Bronze Age. At the northwest corner of the great Temple the prehistoric level drops sharply toward the south and west. The mouth of the river lay then much nearer, as evidenced by a thick flood deposit and several layers of gravel. From the river in Greek times ran an old road toward the east turning soon northward (Northwest Road).1 Out of this branched another road which turned toward the southeast and was later covered over by the western half of the great Temple. On its east side this latter road was lined with very archaic dedications. The dedicatory offerings were perhaps moved into the two-hundred-foot long hall which begins near the northwest corner of the great Temple and extends toward the northeast. About the fifth century a long north wall was joined to this hall forming the northern boundary of the Sanctuary. Outside it runs a well-built street. In Hellenistic times a colonnade was built against the inside of the north wall. In the area between this colonnade and the Temple there were many periods of building: Greek temples above prehistoric walls, Roman dedicatory offerings above these, and still higher, ancient peristyle houses and later dwellings up to the seventh century A.D. The ruins of the Temple itself and the area north of the north colonnade were undisturbed by later building operations. The Byzantine town must have stopped here, for the region to the east in front of the façade of the Temple appears to have formed the centre of the town with a church, baths, and so-called "pillared hall." This region was reëxamined for traces of the ancient altars. There must have been several altars to correspond with the nine rebuildings of the Temple.2 Under Temples II and VIII-IX, as well as under the great Roman altar, was found a thick layer of ashes containing numerous offerings of the Geometric and Orientalizing period: pots, bronzes, terracottas, faïence, limestone statuettes, etc. A series of valuable bronze statuettes came also from other places, e.g. a very archaic youth, a late archaic rider, numerous griffin protomes and a bronze statue of Aphrodite. Remains of archaic statues and reliefs of poros and blocks of an archaizing doorfrieze from Temple VIII were also found. Among the inscriptions two decrees are important; two new inscribed stones were added to the Cicero Exedra.3 The latest honorary statues appear to be those of Caracalla and some of the Aurelians, so frequent after 212 A.D.

See plan in Gnomon, 4 (1928), p. 53,
 Gnomon, 2 (1926), p. 122; 4 (1928), pp. 52–54,
 Ath. Mitth., XLIV (1919), p. 34.

The excavations of the Greek archaeologists in 1927 were for the most part continuations of those of preceding years; thus, the excavation of Eleusis was begun more than forty years ago, but still continues. This year Mr. Kourouniotis carried out important excavations immediately outside the southern and eastern walls of the enclosure of the Sanctuary of Demeter.1 Toward the east was uncovered a long series of great reservoirs of Roman times which had been built up against the enclosure wall and covered the Periclean part of this wall for a distance of about seventy meters. From these reservoirs the water ran into basins many parts of which are preserved in front of the reservoirs. But a more important piece of work east of the sacred enclosure was the discovery and clearing of the lower part of a great round tower and a considerable section of the adjoining wall of the peribolos built of blue Eleusinian stone blocks beautifully worked. This part of the wall was built in the time of Pericles during his reconstruction of the Eleusinian Sanctuary. South of the Sanctuary, in front of the Mithraeum excavated some years ago, was discovered the lower part of a great rectangular building which consisted of a central court probably surrounded with a colonnade and with a propylon adorned with columns, on its north side. It is possible that this building was a gathering place for worshippers of Mithra, for in late antiquity the cult of Mithra seems to have flourished at Eleusis. The building was erected in Roman imperial times and within it was found a statue of a Roman emperor of the Claudian family, as appears from the similarity of the head to the known portraits of members of that family. The year's excavations have greatly improved the appearance of the ruins at this end of the Sanctuary. Excavations were continued this year also at the Amphiaraion, on the east coast of Attica, by Dr. Various details of the water system were brought to light, and as usual on this site there were found important inscriptions throwing light on the history of the Sanctuary. The plan for the complete excavation of the great cemeteries of the ancient demes of Attica was put into effect this year in order to curb the illicit excavations instigated by the Athenian dealers in antiquities. A beginning was made in the ancient demes of Halimous, Aixone, and Halae along the west coast of Attica. This excavation was under the direction of the Ephor of Attica, Mr. N. Kyparissis. On the same coast there was completed this year by Mr. Kourouniotis the clearing of the notable Temple of Apollo Zoster near Vouliagmene, mentioned by Pausanias. The important ruins of this temple with its archaic inscriptions had been discovered the preceding year. At Thebes, at the expense of the Greek Archaeological Society, Professor Keramopoullos continued his excavations of the Mycenaean palace on the "Cadmeia." new section of the palace was excavated and many fragments of Mycenaean frescoes were found, together with Mycenaean pottery and ornaments and a beautiful golden doe. At Nea Anchialos in Thessaly, excavations by the Greek Archaeological Society, under the direction of Mr. G. Sotiriou, revealed the adjuncts of the great Byzantine basilica of the ancient city of Thessalian Thebes. There was found the Sacristy of the church within which were many glass and metal sacred vessels, badly damaged. The Baptistery, also excavated, was in form like a small church with its apse toward the west and with a circular font in the middle. The floors of these two buildings consist of small fragments of marble of various colors. The northern and southern pylons of the Basilica itself were cleared as well as the passages to the galleries. Many architectural pieces were found, including capitals and mouldings, thanks to which a reconstruction may now be made on paper. These details show that this is artistically one of the most im-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thanks to the assistance of the Port Authorities, it was possible to carry out these excavations at a greatly reduced cost.

portant Byzantine churches. At Agrinion in Aitolia a new excavation was begun by the Ephor, Mr. Miliades, to discover the site of the ancient city. outside the modern town, and its full extent was ascertained and points were noted where in future excavations it will be possible to bring to light important buildings. This year a great stoa eighty meters long was discovered. Mr. Miliades also carried out a small excavation of tombs at Arta. Both of these excavations were made possible by gifts of private individuals. In the Peloponnesos at the site of ancient Stymphalos, Professor Orlandos continued his work for the Greek Archaeological Society. Thanks to the aridity of recent years, it was possible to excavate the ancient palaestra and the ruins of an ancient Temple of Athena within the area usually covered by the waters of the Stymphalian Lake. Professor Orlandos and the Ephor, Mr. Karachalios, cleared a very elaborate fountain in the ancient city of Phigaleia. Excavations were resumed in Lesbos by the Ephor, Mr. Evangelides, on the small plateau between Hagia Paraskeve and Kalloni near the ruins of an archaic Aeolic temple previously discovered. A new temple was found with columns of the peculiar Aeolic type having bases with a thick torus and unfluted column-drums. The complete exploration of these temples and study of their architectural members will materially add to the knowledge of the art of the Aeolic cities of Lesbos and the opposite shore of Asia Minor.

An Open Meeting was held at the Italian School on April 25, when Mr. Della Seta gave a report on their excavations at Lemnos during the summer of 1927; a summary of the results of this campaign has already appeared in the News Items.

The Austrian Archaeological Institute carried out an exploration campaign during the late summer and autumn of 1927 at Ephesus. On the hill of Aya-Solouk they cleared the remains of the church of St. John the Theologian, built by Justinian in the sixth century, and beneath it found traces of still earlier churches. In another region they discovered a fifth-century necropolis with several hundred tombs cut into the rock at different levels, and in a catacomb under the church attached to the cemetery, the Tomb of the Seven Sleepers, who were, according to legend, buried alive about 250 a.d. but found still living in 452 when the vault was opened by chance. The church and cemetery were therefore built in their honor by the Emperor Theodosius II. A third discovery belongs to the pre-Christian era and consists of an elaborate bathing establishment and gymnasium and a large colonnade beyond. In the latter were found many pieces of sculpture—a basrelief of Dionysos, a statue of Vesta Justiniani, statues of philosophers, one of an emperor, and a head of Aspasia.

Very few reports of the 1928 spring campaigns have yet come in, but the German Institute was continuing its work under Mr. Buschor at Samos, finding a very fine series of Roman portraits of the Claudian family. The British School did not carry on any new campaign at Sparta, but Mr. Woodward and his assistants devoted their time to the study of the material from the past campaigns, preparatory to publication. The American excavations included Mr. Shear's third campaign in the Theatre at Corinth and the School's excavation of the Odeum at the same site; Mr. Blegen's third campaign at the Argive Heraeum and the clearing of a small neolithic site at Hagiorgitika in Arcadia near Tripolis; the excavation at Olynthus in Chalcidice by Professor David Robinson of Johns Hopkins. Mr. Robinson spent more than three months with a large force of men investigating this site, which had not been disturbed since the city's destruction by Philip of Macedon in 348 s.c. Evidence of this seige was found in lead sling-stones bearing the name of Philip, which were of larger size than others belonging to the defenders

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See The Illustrated London News, May 26, 1928.

and inscribed with the first syllable of "Chalcidians." The Acropolis of Olynthus is a table-topped hill half a mile long and rises some 250 feet above the plain. The fourth-century city covered not only this but several lower adjoining hills and spread over the surrounding plain, but its outer confines have not yet been established, as it must have been several miles in circuit, and one campaign could not hope to determine its extent. At the southern end of the Acropolis an extensive neolithic deposit was found which produced, besides pottery, many beautiful stone celts, terracotta figurines and a well preserved potter's kiln with an interesting arrangement of flues. A fine paved road leads up from the plain to the classical city, ending near a large rectangular building or series of buildings (Agora?) with cement-lined cisterns beneath for water and pits for the storage of grain. In a storeroom nearby was found a deposit of votive figurines and vases

which should indicate the presence of a sanctuary in this region.

The greatest interest, however, lies in the residential area with its fine straight street running north and south, fifteen feet in width and with a gutter down either side of it. The houses had each one entrance from the street leading to a central court of cobble-stones, from which opened numerous rooms. Some may have had a second story, and all had one room of an unusual type. This appeared to be the principal room of the house, and had a floor with a large rectangular depression in the centre paved with pebble mosaic, sometimes in patterns, and surrounded with a raised border of hard cement, the whole of the central portion sloping slightly toward a drain-hole at its lowest corner. The walls of these rooms were built, like the rest of the houses, of sundried brick, but were lined with a fine hard polished plaster of a creamy white or "Pompeian" red. The ceilings had a similar plaster, either white or yellow. Several pottery bathtubs have been found in the houses, one in a bathroom with a floor tiled with marble slabs. Further evidence of the extensive use of water by the ancient Chalcidians of Olynthus is provided by the lines of terracotta waterpipes leading to cement-lined cisterns in various parts of the city and feeding a fountain near the bottom of the paved road leading up from the plain. The water itself had to be brought some distance from the mountains to the north of the city. Among the smaller finds were a life-size marble head of Hera, some fine vases, and a very unusual series of terracotta figurines, with many moulds for making them, found in what must have been a terracotta factory on one of the side hills adjoining the Acropolis. One of the finest of the moulds shows a figure of Cybele with elaborate headdress, earrings, and necklace, and holding a large drum. In the adjoining shops great numbers of coins were found scattered upon the floors, lost, probably, at the looting of the city by Philip's soldiers. The majority of the fifteen hundred or more coins found in the various parts of the excavations are Olynthian, issued in the name of the Chalcidians of that city. Others are the issues of neighboring cities, members of the League; while a few are coins of the Macedonian kings before Philip, and still fewer of that enemy of the Chalcidians, Philip himself.

E. P. B.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Antike Denkmaeler, herausg. vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut. Bd. IV. I Heft: Denkmaeler spätantiker Kunst, herausg. von Richard Delbrueck. Berlin, 1927, de Gruyter and Co. Plates 1–10, with 11 pages of text; folio.

This is the first fascicle of the collection of reproductions of monuments of the art of late antiquity that is to be edited for the Antike Denkmaeler by Delbrueck. It contains plates of the reliefs ornamenting the silver reliquary of the Church of S. Nazaro at Milan, of the two ivory plaques known as the Milan book-covers preserved in the treasury of Milan Cathedral, of the diptych in Monza with reliefs representing a poet and a muse, and three plates in color giving details of the famous mosaics in S. Vitale at Ravenna that depict Justinian and Theodora, with their suites, bringing their offering of chalice and paten to the church.

The text on the ivories and the mosaics offers little that is new beyond the welcome detail of the descriptions, in which some hitherto unobserved points are noted, notably the remnant of a painted inscription on the Virgin-relief of the S. Nazaro reliquary. E. Baldwin Smith's material has been the chief source for Delbrueck's discussion of the Milan ivories, of which he incidentally says, without giving his reason, that they "cannot be book-covers." The author's reading of Baldwin Smith (Early Christian Iconography, Princeton, 1918) must, however, have been somewhat limited; otherwise he would hardly have dismissed the attribution of the plaques to Southern Gaul with the remark (p. 8, note 2) that it rests on an "Oriental influence" manifest in the iconography and that such an Oriental element is not confined to Provence. Baldwin Smith's attribution was supported by strong iconographic and stylistic peculiarities common to the plaques and to the Gallic works of the period, and was by no means confined to the eastern features found in the reliefs. Delbrueck agrees with Baldwin Smith's demonstration of the western origin of the ivories.

The Monza diptych is placed by Delbrueck in the school of the Cathedra of Maximianus, and dated about A.D. 500, which date and classification will probably be acceptable to most students of the late antique. The citations of the consular diptychs of Anastasius and Areobindus are natural ones in this connection for the editor of the Corpus Diptychorum; the full comparative material in Capps article on the "Style of the Consular Diptychs" (Art Bull. X, 1927–8, pp. 61–101)

appeared too late for Delbrueck's bibliography.

The chief interest of the publication lies in its canonization as "antique" of the silver reliquary of S. Nazaro at Milan. The reviewer pointed out in the JOURNAL of 1919 (pp. 101–125) the difficulties that beset acceptance of the fourth century date. The eye-witness who was present when the reliquary was exhumed in 1578, Carlo Bescapé, makes no mention of the reliefs that adorn the present casket in spite of his otherwise careful description of all details of the find, and in spite also of his anxiety to prove that the objects contained in the box were "relics of the apostles," a contention which would have been confirmed by the reliefs. While the reliefs in style and iconography stand completely apart from anything else in Early Christian art, they find good parallels in the art of the sixteenth century. Since the objects exhumed at S. Nazaro in 1578 by order of Carlo Borromeo were not re-interred until the following year, the reviewer in the article cited above arrived at the conclusion that the present reliquary with its decidedly un-antique reliefs is not the original one, but another substituted in 1579 by the archbishop,

doubtless because the condition of the original reliquary made it unsuitable for the re-interment.

New interest in the question had already been aroused before the issue of the present number of the Antike Denkmaeler by a note in Neuss' Kunst der alten Christen (1926, p. 143), in which he records the information received from Delbrucek that the JOURNAL article was wrong in stating "dass nach den Fundberichten von den Darstellungen nicht die Rede sei. Das Kästchen wird vielmehr beschrieben, wie es noch heute sich vorfindet." This seemed to indicate that Delbrucek was in possession of new material on the exhuming of the casket that would definitely date it in the fourth century.

The new material is briefly set forth in the text that accompanies the plates of the reliquary: "Giussano mentions the reliefs," with a note quoting the relative passage in G. P. Giussano's Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo (Rome, 1610), "Unter dem Altar in der Mitte der Kirche fand sich una cassetta d'argento effigiata artificiosamente di varii misteri della passione di Christo nostro Signore, nella quale erano alcuni veli et un vasetto rotondo, con un pezetto di osso dentro, rivolto in altro velo." The testimony of Giussano is thus set before the reader as independent proof of the existence of the reliefs on the reliquary found in 1578.

Suspicion of Giussano's value as independent testimony on the discovery of 1578 is, however, aroused by his varii misteri della passione di Christo,—there being no Passion-scene on the casket. We find light on the source of his information on the find of 1578 from the rest of the passage quoted by Delbrueck, which faithfully translates into Italian the Latin of the eye-witness of the event, Carlo Bescapé: in medio arculam argenteam: et in ea quaedam velamina; vasculumque rotundum, in quo ossis frustulum itidem cum velo erat. In the same chapter from which Delbrueck's citation is drawn, Giussano cites his source clearly enough in his allusion to the discovery at S. Nazaro: essendori presenti alcuni de' suoi Canonici, & in particolare Monsignor Carlo Bescapé, poi Vescovo di Novara, il quale riferisce quest' attione compitissamente nell' historia sua.

Whence, then, comes Giussano's mention of the reliefs? He evidently did not see the casket when it was discovered in 1578, and Bescapé tells us that the objects found on that occasion were kept in sealed receptacles until the solemn translation of the following year (in loculis signatis asservari), by order of the archbishop. But Giussano was an eye-witness of this translation of 1579, to judge from his circumstantial account of it, and must have had a glimpse of the reliquary as it appeared at that time,—a fleeting glimpse, since he mis-names the subjects of the reliefs.

We have, then, the detailed account of the discovery of the reliquary in S. Nazaro by the eye-witness Carlo Bescapé, which mentions no reliefs, and mention of the reliefs by Giussano, who must have seen the casket at the time of its reinterment the following year. So far as Bescapé and Giussano can be considered as independent testimonia, they show that the casket of 1578 had no reliefs, while that of 1579 had reliefs, which is precisely the conclusion reached by the reviewer.

The reliefs in question are carefully described by Delbrueck, and beautifully reproduced, so beautifully, in fact, that an eye used to the descriptive nicety of late antique reliefs, however debased their style, finds it harder than ever to accept the impressionistic sweep of these compositions, wholly in the technique of the Italian plaquettes, as works of the fourth century. Delbrueck himself has his difficulties with them: "An dem Kaiserkostüm des Salomon sind Diadem, Fibel, Schuhwerk nicht ganz richtig, was auf Münzen oder Mosaiken nie vorkommt, die Sessel des Christus und der Maria sind keine Kaiserthrone, wie sonst immer in dieser Zeit." He stresses the "laute und leidenschaftliche Benehmen der Menschen, und die vulgär hübschen lebhaften Gesichter der Statisten" as indications

of an "unhöfisch" art; it seems to the reviewer more than ever that the adjective should be "unantik."

This may be a matter of opinion; not so, however, with the iconographic difficulty, which Delbrueck simply ignores. No real iconographic parallels have yet been found in the whole range of Early Christian art for any one of the scenes on the casket. Our author's discussion of this highly important factor in the problem of date is limited to the observation: "Rom und sein Bereich werden aber beinahe ausgeschlossen durch den Umstand, dass der Gegenüber des Paulus (in the scene on the lid) schwerlich Petrus sein kann." He finds stylistic relation between the reliefs and "East-Roman" miniatures, such as those of the Joshua Roll and



ST. PAUL: DETAIL OF RELIQUARY OF S. NAZARO, MILAN



St. Paul: S. Lorenzo el Real, Escurial, by Leone Leoni

the Codex Rossanensis, without apparently being troubled by the fact that the manuscripts cited are poles apart in style.

"Uebrigens ist mir unter den Mailänder Metallarbeiten der Zeit des Karl Borromaeus, die allein in Betracht käme, nichts irgend Ähnliches begegnet." May the reviewer suggest, in addition to the Renaissance parallels cited and reproduced in the Journal article, and instead of a hopeless comparison with the Joshua Roll and the Rossanensis, the essential similarity between the two Pauls here reproduced, in their common pseudo-classic character as well as in the structure of the head and the delineation of the beard? One is the St. Paul of the lid of the casket of S. Nazaro; the other is one of the statues on the high altar of San Lorenzo el Real in the Escurial, for which Leone Leoni was making the models in Milan in 1578–79, during the months when Carlo Borromeo was preparing for the solemn

re-interment of the relics of San Nazaro. Certainly we will find in these heads far more kinship than exists between the reliefs and anything in late antiquity. Such a quest seems even more hopeless since the publication of Delbrucck's fine plates; a recent and somewhat amusing attempt of the sort is Neuss' citation of the apostles in the apse of S. Pudenziana at Rome, a good half of whom are restorations of the nineteenth century!

C. R. MOREY

PRINCETON, July, 1928

OUR EARLY ANCESTORS. An Introductory Study of Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Copper Age Cultures in Europe and Adjacent Regions, by M. C. Burkitt, 243 pp. and 30 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1926.

The author gives two reasons for writing this book. In the first place very few textbooks covering this particular field have been published; secondly, the need of such a work was felt by himself as lecturer to university students as well as by the students themselves. He admits that this long and painstaking job is still far from completion, even as far as Europe is concerned, and that it will be many years before the work is in any sense finished.

Our knowledge of the Old Stone Age, especially that portion of it known as the Paleolithic, is now fairly well crystallized and forms a safe basis on which to build a superstructure, which will form a link between prehistory and protohistory.

The volume begins with that period which was once known as the hiatus—a period bridging the gap between the Magdalenian Epoch with its reindeer fauna and realistic cave art and the culture known as Neolithic. This supposed hiatus has vanished before our advancing and cumulative knowledge and in its place we now have the Mesolithic Period.

Measured by Paleolithic standards, the Mesolithic Period covers a relatively short space of time. Regionally it is represented by cultures differing slightly in fact as well as in name. The Azilian of Piette with its painted pebbles and flat harpoons of staghorn; the Tardenoisian of de Mortillet with its microliths; the Asturian of Count de la Vega del Sella; and the Maglemosean of Sarauw all go to make up the Mesolithic complex. And in recent years there is a tendency to detach the first or lowest rung of the Neolithic ladder and add it to the Mesolithic; I refer to the Epoch of the Shell Heaps in Denmark and its equivalent, the Campignian, in France.

"Neolithic Civilization" comes in for the lion's share of space. The most notable additions to human experience during the Neolithic Period are: (1) the domestication of animals and plants, (2) the manufacture of pottery, and (3) the pecking, grinding, and polishing of stone tools instead of mere chipping as a shaping process. A chapter is devoted to Neolithic typology, made all the more valuable by a well-selected series of plates.

Then comes "A Brief Sketch of England in Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Earliest Metal Age Times"; while the last three chapters out of a total of ten treat of "The Mediterranean Area and the Copper Age," "Preliminary Notes on the Bronze Age Cultures" (not envisaged in the title of the book), and "Art."

The author is taken to task by no less an authority than Sir Arthur Keith for making no attempt to fix in years the duration of the cultural epochs covered by the volume. The serious student of prehistory will not be disturbed by the omission; the general reader, however, is glad to have such details even though they have to be in the nature of the case only approximations or enlightened guesses.

A fairly long and carefully selected list of references is added at the end of each chapter, enabling the student to delve deeper into the mines of information now

at his disposal. The present volume is not the first from Burkitt's pen and we hope it is not to be the last.

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THE COINAGES OF DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES, by Edward T. Newell, pp. ix, 174; plates XVIII. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1927.

Newell's latest contribution to the numismatic history of the Epigoni brings order out of the chaos which has hitherto existed in the coinage of Demetrios, the Taker of Cities. This new study is in reality a Corpus of the coins issued by Poliorketes, an undertaking not previously attempted. Not content, however, with a mere list of the pieces now known, Newell, after grouping the coins by the aid of types, monograms, and other criteria, has assigned them to the different mints of the king's fluctuating empire. His discovery that the monograms, except for bronze issued at the Amphipolitan mint, represented neither the mint nor the name of the king, being simply control marks with which the responsible magistrates signed the coins issued by them, has made it possible to supersede old theories as to mint origin with new hypotheses which have intrinsic probability in their favor, most of which can be accepted as proved.

Not only is Newell able by his close study of a multitude of specimens, of which more than one hundred are in his own cabinet, to assign the coins to definite mints, Cyprian Salamis, Tyre, Tarsos, Miletos, Pella, Amphipolis, Thebes, Demetrias, Chalcis, and Demetrias-Sicyon (?), but for the most part he can date the coins within very close limits. The fact that we have a complete series of annual issues from the mints of Pella and Amphipolis for the six years of Demetrios' rule there makes it possible to ascertain the exact year, 291/0, when the word  $BA\Sigma 1AE\Omega\Sigma$  took the subordinate position at the left of the reverse type. Changes of type can also be dated exactly at the two Macedonian mints, and with these as a standard

the dates of coins issued by other mints can be determined.

In assigning series of related issues to definite mints, Newell is especially felicitous. As an example of close observation and nice reasoning, I shall mention merely the section on the Theban mint. Here the proof of Newell's attribution is furnished by an autonomous Theban coin unmistakably from the hand of the artist responsible for the tetradrachms assigned by Newell to this mint, Plate XV, 3, 5, 7; "the Poseidon heads so identical that they are absolutely interchangeable.

Every hair, every contour, every line is identical."

Historically the study is of importance in that it gives a numismatic picture of the vicissitudes of Demetrios' career paralleling very closely the picture which we get from literary sources. We see the mints working overtime in conjunction with the dockyards building ships for this son of Poseidon. We see the disorder in the mints when siege or threatening calamity made careful work a matter of little importance. The very types depict the adventurous character of Demetrios, and his life of danger and debauch is clearly displayed in his coin portraits. For the first time in European Greece the undeniable portrait of a living man appears on coins.

Although Newell has not been able to identify the statues from which the diecutters took some of their types, nevertheless he has done much for the elucidation of the types themselves. Most convincing is his interpretation of the Poseidon type which Demetrios chose in 291/0, pp. 89 ff. The god, with his foot planted firmly upon a rock, looks "over his wide and watery domain," proclaiming, as it were, "his dominion over both land and sea." Such a type, Newell shows, was appropriate "to Demetrios' character, to his viewpoint at the time, and to his

immediate plans." It was no brutal reference to the capture of Athens in 294, as Svoronos suggested; and the rock upon which rests Poseidon's foot is certainly not the Acropolis. What statue was here copied remains "an intriguing but an unsolved mystery." Readers who wish to pursue the question further will be interested in an article by Salvatore Mirone, *Copies de Statues, Rev. Num.*, 1926, pp. 6–17.

The winged victory of the earlier coins commemorating the naval triumph of Demetrios at Salamis, when all seemed lost at Ipsos, leads naturally to a discussion of the victory of Samothrace, pp. 31 ff. While Newell inclines to the view that the statue had no connection with Demetrios, he points to one "curious coincidence." The coins which most resemble the Samothracian statue were struck in the near-by mints of Pella and Amphipolis, whereas the die-cutters of Cyprus, Tarsos and Miletos, whose work could have been inspired only by word descriptions or sketches, give a very free rendering of the details of the supposed original.

The volume is beautifully printed by the Oxford University Press, and the plates are both ample and excellent. Only one serious slip has been found by the reviewer. The bronze coins, nos. 125–133, assigned on page 118 to the mint at Pella, are, of course, from the Amphipolitan mint, as is made clear by the text, p. 120

120.

University of Cincinnati

Select Greek Coins. A series of enlargements illustrated and described, by George F. Hill, Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, pp. 61, with 64 collotype plates of 266 pictures of coins. Librarie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, G. Vanoest, Publisher, Paris and Brussels, 1927.

The gifted compiler of this volume has ventured upon the daring experiment of presenting a long series of ancient coins magnified three diameters, and the result on the whole is extremely satisfactory. The work of the great engravers bears the enlargement well; on the other hand, speciousness and shallow technique on the part of the inferior engravers is often exposed.

The designs are arranged on the plates roughly according to subject: male heads, female heads, single figures, figures grouped with animals, chariot groups, animals, monstrous beings, plants, and inanimate objects. In the short introduction only the salient points in the development of Greek numismatic art have been covered. This has been as well done as the space would permit. A description of plates and

a list of them follows.

The book is obviously intended for a wider circulation than for specialists. The inscriptions on the coins are transcribed in Latin letters, learned references are generally omitted, as well as all notices of the provenance of the specimens from which the plates were made.

For the making of slides or for use in the reflecting lantern the plates will prove of immense value and the book as a whole will be a valuable adjunct to teachers and students of Greek art.

SHIRLEY H. WEBER

ALLEN B. WEST

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Chalkidische Vasen, im Auftrag des Archäologischen Institutes des Deutschen Reiches mit Benutzung der Vorarbeiten von Georg Loeschcke herausgegeben von Andreas Rumpf. Text, xii+203 pp., 18 figures. Two portfolios, 222 plates. De Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927. M. 100.

Six years ago Rumpf established himself as an authority on Chalcidian pottery by an important article proving that Phineus ware belonged to it. He was then

appointed by the German Archaeological Institute to complete Loeschcke's investigation of Chalcidian. The monograph which he has now produced acceptably determines the boundaries of the class, reproduces almost every specimen, and studies the characteristics and problems of Chalcidian very carefully and acutely, throwing much new light on all its aspects but especially upon its internal classification and its development. The book must rank as an independent work; Rumpf has both pruned and greatly extended Loeschcke's list, and his treatment of the material is original. The text is in seven chapters: (I) Surveys the work of predecessors. (II) Gives a list of true Chalcidian vases and fragments (279 items, each with bibliography). (III) Treats the inscriptions and the problem of origin. Rumpf prefers to locate the ware in Chalcis, rejecting on grounds of technique recent theories of its origin in Italy. (IV) Classification. Nine especially prolific painters are distinguished and the bulk of the vases divided among them. The limits of Chalcidian are fixed by reference to the inscribed A sound method underlies the brilliance of this chapter, and its results seem incontestable on the whole, though the author may have dealt too boldly with some of the minuter fragments (is the panther's head on No. 71 Chalcidian in type?). Rumpf overlooks an undoubtedly Chalcidian eye-cup at the University of Pennsylvania (MS. 4864; Luce, Catalogue p. 64, saw it was akin to Phineus ware), with interesting "sketching" and vertical guide-lines. The piece seems to me to be by the decorator of the Madrid cup (No. 255), to whom I think we can also give Rumpf's No. 251 and perhaps his No. 250 and a singular cup in Florence (Hallisches Winckelmanns-programm, III, pl. ii, 3). The University of Pennsylvania, with two amphorae already in Rumpf's corpus, has yet a fourth Chalcidian specimen in a strange convex plaque, if I may judge by the soapy surface, perished varnish and characteristic lotus-type. Its provenience, if this could be traced, would be important for the question of origin, since the object looks like one made for local use. I no longer think that it was found in Italy. (V) This chapter deals with shapes and technique. It is influenced by Neugebauer's denial of a Chalcidian toreutic, a view with which Rumpf's theory of the Chalcidian origin of the very metalloid krater-form seems inconsistent. We might indeed hold, against Rumpf, that this form came from Laconia via Corinth, as is suggested by echoes in Chalcidian of scenes and even inscriptions on Corinthian kraters of this type, which occurs and seems more at home in Laconian. But most of the metalloid forms of Chalcidian earthenware seem native, and the only thing which could make Neugebauer's scepticism plausible would be the discovery that "Chalcidian" was, after all, Italiote. The latter's arguments are not confirmed by the divergences between the plastic accessories of reputed Chalcidian bronze vases and early Chalcidian vase-painting, the style of which is so much determined by imitation of Corinthian drawing. (VI) This chapter, on the relations of Chalcidian within black-figured vase-painting, does not ignore, but underemphasizes, the influence of Corinthian on the earliest Chalcidian, which borrows more Corinthian conventions than Rumpf notes (add to his list, lions' eyes, the incisions under horses' eyes, white Pseudo-Boeotian shields, and especially, the upper part of peploi, in form unlike the Attic, Laconian, or Island types, but recalling Corinthian fashions). It is significant that Corinthianizing Attic work has been often taken for Chalcidian. But Rumpf is convincing in minimizing Eastern influence (perhaps add to the Eastern elements fourfold plumage, perhaps subtract the filling buds), while his treatment of development and chronology is masterly and furnishes new criteria for the dating of archaic art. (VII) Pseudo-Chalcidian vases are discussed.

The plates, mostly from photographs, are good. It is a pity that in this classic

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work wrong reference numbers should be so frequent in the text, while the top of Plate XLIV shows the Würzburg cup, not the Madrid piece, and Figure 14 is of the Pseudo-Chalcidian No. XVIII (not XVII).

H. R. W. SMITH

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

STAGE ANTIQUITIES OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS AND THEIR INFLUENCE, by James Turney Allen. In the series, "Our Debt to Greece and Rome." xii+206 pp., with 24 illustrations. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927. \$2.00.

The author, an authority on the Greek theatre, condenses within 165 pages the essential facts about Greek and Roman drama, dramatic festivals, theatres, actors and the chorus, costumes, properties and scenery, with a special treatment of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens. In two brief concluding chapters he sketches the influence of the classic theatre and drama during the Renaissance. The treatment of both Greek and Roman stage matters in one volume—a feature almost unique in modern handbooks—increases the usefulness of the book to all students of the drama except specialists. This union of Greek and Roman dramatics is logical. The influence of the Greek drama was directly upon Rome and only mediately upon the modern stage. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was Vitruvius, Seneca, Plautus and Terence to whom theatre-builder and dramatist turned. "Greek tragic form flourished only among the Greeks: for the rest of the world it has been . . . exotic." "Old Comedy cannot claim a numerous progeny." Modern opera, however, "was in part the child of Greek drama" (p. 180 ff.).

The author is compelled by his theme to deal largely with facts and technical matters, but he gives more than a summary exposition. He continually links the history of the stage with the culture and taste of each period, pointing out, for example, that magnificence of theatre buildings and wealth of properties have not been matched by greatness in the drama itself. He also emphasizes the need, too often unfelt even by modern authorities, of analyzing and dating the evidence, both literary and archaeological, in estimating the characteristics of ancient drama. He regards the view that there was little action in the Greek drama of the fifth century as a misconception arising from the failure to notice that much of the evidence for this view comes from the decadent period of tragedy. On the stage question he holds that there is no incontestable evidence for a raised stage at Athens before 150 B.C.

SAMUEL E. BASSETT

University of Vermont

VIE DE PETOSIRIS GRAND PRÊTRE DE THOTH A HERMOPOLIS-LA-GRANDE par Émile Suys. Avec une Préface de Jean Capart, Bruxelles, Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1927, pp. 158.

This book is a popular description of the tomb of an Egyptian high priest and a description of his life as that life was depicted on the walls of his tomb. It is in many ways an unusually interesting life, and as it fell in the closing years of the Persian empire and the early years of the Macedonian domination of Egypt, it has great fascination for the historian.

In 1919 the Egyptian Department of Antiquities learned from some Arabs of the existence of an important tomb in the hills to the southwest of the village of Ashmunen, which is four miles west of Rôda, a railway station 176 miles above Cairo. The tomb was explored by M. G. Lefebvre in the winter of 1919–20, who in 1923–24 published the plans and texts of the tomb in three great volumes. As

the volumes of Lefebvre are expensive and to many people inaccessible, Capart encouraged Suys to write the volume before us. Suys has done his work well. He gives but few pictures of the tomb, but devotes himself to the life and times of Petosiris as portrayed in the texts from it. Petosiris appears to have been born about 383 B.C. and to have lived until about 320 B.C. or later.

The architecture of the tomb is of the pure Egyptian type. In form the structure reminds one of the Temple of Dendera, though the pillars of the tomb are more like those of the Temple of Philae. On some of the walls the work on the estate of Petosiris is portrayed after the manner of the tombs of the nobles of the Old Kingdom (Vth Dynasty). These are in true Egyptian form. On other walls sacrificial processions are pictured, and these are more Greek than Egyptian, revealing the fact that the Greeks, who for military purposes had been encouraged to settle in Egypt three hundred years before, had begun to exert a profound influence.

Petosiris came of an old high-priestly family at Hermopolis. His father was Sishu, and his grandfather Zedthotefankh—the last a name borne also by the elder brother of Petosiris.

The first chapter of Suys's book gives a vivid account of the education of Petosiris, telling how he learned hieroglyphic writing, and recounts the pedagogical methods of Egypt in the fourth century B.C. The second chapter introduces us to the joys and sorrows of the life of Petosiris from his eighteenth year, when he was made a priest of the god Khnum, until the conquest of Alexander the Great. His brother died, and the funeral ceremonies are described and illustrated. He enjoyed the favor of King Teos (Zeher), suffered in the troublous times of Artaxerxes Ochus, and spent his days in the faithful performance of the duties of his priesthood. When Egypt was conquered by Alexander the Great, Petosiris was advanced to the high-priesthood and made the king's viceroy, at least for his district. He was given the standing of a son of the god Khnum. In his capacity of substitute for the king he offered sacrifices for the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt. The solemn ceremonies are described and the hymns used on the occasion recorded. Similarly the festival of the New Year and other festivals are described, as well as the extensive building operations of Petosiris. It is, perhaps, ungracious to suspect the veracity of this ancient Egyptian, but the fact ought not to be concealed that at some points in this part of his texts the wording reminds one strongly of similar inscriptions of Ramses III. Petosiris regarded himself as especially the priest of Khnum, though the god Thoth (a much more important Egyptian deity) sojourned in his temple.

At this point in the career of Petosiris his father died and he built a tomb for him and for his grandfather Zedthotefankh, recording on the walls the proper inscriptions, together with reflections upon the land of silence. A chapter is also given to the agricultural life which went on on the estates of Petosiris and of the

temple, together with reflections as to the value of labor.

In a concluding chapter the author sums up, on the basis of the description in the texts, the character of Petosiris. He finds that he practised simplicity in living and in clothing; he was temperate, austere, just and disinterested. He and Egyptians of his class were persuaded that the virtue of a man was the measure of his fame. By contemplation they arrived at reverence, at security of the soul, and at piety; by reflection on knowledge and by the aid of the gods, at the practice of the ancient customs in a manner worthy of the ancient time.

M. Suys has performed a useful service by making accessible to a large public the material from the tomb of Petosiris. It gives a cross section of Egyptian religion and morals at a time when, through foreign admixture, the old practices

and ideals had begun to change. It is a picture full of interest and charm, for the Egyptians, though conservative as to religious forms and possessed of little philosophic power, were among the foremost of ancient nations in the power to grasp the significance of moral values and to give them practical expression.

GEORGE A. BARTON

University of Pennsylvania

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. First volume of plates prepared by C. T. Seltman. xxviii+395 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This volume is partly designed to illustrate Volumes I-IV of the History itself and partly as a record of man's achievement in art and craftsmanship from the palaeolithic age to the end of the sixth century B.C. After a representative collection of palaeolithic and neolithic implements and art, the first section (pp. 1-123) portravs the artistic achievements of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Minoan culture down to the end of the third millennium. The largest portion (pp. 90-123) is devoted to the Minoan or Aegean Civilization, and the selection of plates has been made by Mr. Wace. In his descriptive commentary he states concisely the main characteristics of the various types of pottery, and wherever possible he indicates the influence of other civilizations on or by the various styles. The second section (pp. 126-211) shows the development of art in the second millennium B.C., particularly in Egypt, Crete, and Mycenae. The high degree of perfection attained by Egyptian sculptors is shown in the plates selected by Mr. T. Eric Peet and Mr. H. R. Hall (pp. 126-153). Mr. Wace has made the selection for Crete and Mycenae (pp. 154-181), while Mr. Halliday draws upon Minoan art to illustrate the early religion and mythology of the Greeks (pp. 194-211). In the third section (pp. 214-279) Mr. Sidney Smith has chosen the illustrations for Assyrian art, Mr. Hogarth for Hittite, Mr. H. R. Hall for Egyptian, Mr. E. H. Minns for Scythian, and Mr. Wade-Gery for Early Dorian. The fourth section is devoted chiefly to early Greek art (pp. 282-395), seven plates being given to Persia and nine to the Etruscans. In selecting the material to illustrate early Greek art Mr. Beazley (pp. 344-383) has for the most part chosen subjects which portray the influence of the Orient. Mr. D. S. Robertson (pp. 384-393) has selected architectural types to show the development of the Doric and Ionic orders.

This volume is valuable as a supplement to history, and is particularly interesting in its portrayal of the development of sculpture, painting, and some of the minor arts. The plates are accompanied by concise but excellent descriptive matter which is given in every case on the opposite page. Except for Greek architecture, the builder's art is almost entirely neglected. There is a view of the site of the temples at Dêr El-Bahri in Egypt, but the scale is so small that no details can be distinguished. Reconstructions of temples and palaces, even if all details cannot be certain, are important in giving an idea of the civilization which grew up around them. For example, von Bissing's reconstruction of the palace of Cyrus at Pasargade and of Darius at Persepolis, and Koldewey's restoration of the temple of Marduk at Babylon might have been included. While the majority of the plates are clear, some leave much to be desired in this respect. This is especially true of the coins which seem to have been reproduced from plaster casts rather than from originals. However, in spite of these defects, the volume as a whole gives an excellent perspective of the development of ancient art and of the influence of the Orient upon Greek culture.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

The Architecture of Ancient Rome. An Account of its Historic Development, being the second part of the Architecture of Greece and Rome, by William J. Anderson and R. Phené Spiers. Revised and rewritten by Thomas Ashby. Pp. 202, 94 plates. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. \$7.50.

This book is far more than a revision of Spiers' contributions to the well-known "Architecture of Greece and Rome" that appeared twenty-five years ago. Mr. Ashby has completely rewritten several portions, and has made additions on every page. It is not an easy matter to insert the pertinent facts of recent archaeological discoveries into a volume intended chiefly for students of architecture; but Mr. Ashby has with remarkable restraint succeeded in pouring the new material into the old mold. The most important additions will be found in the chapters on early architecture, in the discussion of materials and modes of construction, in the description of vaults and domes and in the survey of domestic architecture as revealed by the excavations of Ostia and Pompeii.

One of the best features of the book is the admirably sane use made of the keen but sometimes wayward work of Delbrück and Rivoira, both of whom seemed to lack the historical sense that is so desirable in this field of work. Ashby has also a wholesome respect for accurate description of actual remains, and in this volume he has used it to eliminate fancies that have been reproduced in book after book from the imaginative drawings of an earlier period. He has himself had so large a share in discovering and studying such drawings that his criticism of them is doubly valuable. Our only regret is that Mr. Ashby has not here completely broken away from Anderson and Spiers and written an independent history. We should like from his hand a large work that might take the place of both Middleton and Rivoira.

Here and there a few errors of the original have slipped back and at times also Mr. Ashby has repeated some of his own conjectures with insufficient criticism. The Tullianum is placed too early, and the handsome vaults in front of the Temple of Saturn he boldly dates before similar work elsewhere in Italy and in Greece (p. 3). It is also difficult to accept his early instances of anathyrosis, and the foundations of Venus Cloacina and of Lacus Curtius are hardly deep enough to justify his dating. Delbrück's history of concrete (29) is quite too fanciful to deserve acceptance; the Mausoleum of Augustus was built in 28 B.C., not in 14 A.D., and the notes on brick (p. 34) seem to me misleading. Is there any evidence that the clay banks behind the Vatican were used by the Romans? Certainly the early Republican tiles were of the same brick-earth as were the bricks of the early Empire. In regard to materials the author's memory has sometimes slipped (pp. 71 and 125), and it is not quite accurate to say that the Porta Maggiore was built to be an entrance gateway. One might also question the wisdom of repeating (p. 50) the old criticism that the Romans failed to see that decoration should emphasize structural function. Because of the lack of desirable material they had to build with concrete, and concrete then, as iron now, practically compelled the use of non-structural decoration.

Finally many of us had hoped that the time was ripe for a more adequate description of the architectural stucco-decoration of the Ciceronian period, a fuller treatment—along the lines begun by Toebelmann—of the evolution of architectural design, and a much fuller description of the architecture of the period of extensive building operations before and after the Gracchi. These things Mr. Ashby could give if he were allowed adequate space. However, these are minor matters. The book is now the most readable and reliable survey that we have of Roman architecture. Very many valuable plates have been added and the illustrations are excellent.

Tenney Frank.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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UR EXCAVATIONS, Volume I, AL-'UBAID, by H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, pp. 1-244; pls. I-LXVIII. Published for the trustees of the two museums by the Oxford University Press, 1927. \$15.00.

The entire excavation of the ruins of an ancient city in the Tigris-Euphrates valley is a fascinating work. If the site under investigation is extensive and contains the remains of Sumero-Babylonian culture stretching over a long era, the finds are bound to be of unusual importance. However, it is possible to obtain excellent antiquities from inconsiderable débris, as the archaeologist's spade may secure surprising objects from a comparatively small mound which was occupied during a certain period of early history and then entirely abandoned. The remarkable discoveries at Tell al-'Ubaid are proof of this.

General attention and scientific interest are aroused by preliminary notices of discoveries, but the scholarly world craves exhaustive treatment in official volumes. If precision and care must be exercised in recovering antiquities from a mound, an even greater degree of exactness must be cultivated in the publication of results. Both these requirements have been met so far as Tell al-'Ubaid is concerned. The experience of H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley as excavators of early sites of human habitation and their skill as interpreters of archaeological finds may be regarded as guaranteeing the completeness and accuracy of a volume the main portions of which were written by them. The same dependence can be placed upon the work of C. J. Gadd, who describes the archaic inscriptions which were found, and upon the contribution of Sir Arthur Keith concerning the skeletal remains which were exhumed. These four men have collaborated in the production of a book which will ever be valued as a masterpiece of clear presentation, logical arrangement, and scientific deduction. As a forerunner in the series dealing with the excavations at Ur it is an alluring prophecy of what is to come.

Two brief campaigns of excavation at Tell al-'Ubaid, located about four miles northwest of Ur, yielded the antiquities which are described in the volume under review. One was conducted by Mr. Hall in 1919 for the British Museum in connection with work at Ur and Eridu; the other was directed by Mr. Woolley in 1923–24 for the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in connection with work at Ur. The archaeological value of the finds proved extraordinary for a site no greater than 150 feet in length and 30 feet in height. Ruins of a Sumerian sanctuary of the fourth millennium B.C. and human bones of two different periods of burial were unearthed. In addition the temple débris and cemetery deposits furnished objects of cultural significance, such as flint artifacts, stone utensils, copper implements, pottery remains, personal ornaments, primitive reliefs and friezes, and inscribed tablets.

Each section of the report is a mine of information in itself, and hence the combined discussions throw an unusual amount of light upon early Sumerian life in southern Mesopotamia. Archaeological facts, epigraphical material, and anthropological data are made to supplement one another in producing a reconstructed picture of the social, artistic, and religious activities of a miniature but interesting ancient community. Every object found at Tell al-'Ubaid is given its proper place in the process of restoring the mosaic of a past civilization. This is done with such scrutinizing care and critical weighing of evidence that the chances of error in drawing conclusions are reduced to a minimum. The detailed cataloguing of all the antiquities found, together with an enumeration of their characteristics, is of particular value to the student of Mesopotamian archaeology who wishes to make his own deductions.

In a few short paragraphs it is difficult to give a satisfactory summary of the contributions to knowledge which the AL-'Ubaid volume provides. The cause of Sumerian archaeology is helped greatly because a new conception of the artistic skill and architectural capabilities of the Sumerians of the fourth millennium B.C. is afforded. The difficult science of Mesopotamian pottery receives impetus from the welcome discussion of numerous specimens of early painted ware. Certain features of archaic cuneiform epigraphy are presented with fresh emphasis. Sumerian history in the Ur sector is enriched with the name of a new king, A-annipadda, son of the king who is listed as the initial ruler of the First Dynasty of Ur. A better understanding is obtained of the goddess Nin-khursag, "lady of the mountain," the patron deity of the temple which was discovered. An unexpected anthropological estimate of the Al-'Ubaid people, linking them with Arabs, is given in the closing chapter of the book.

A profusion of excellent illustrations, consisting of photographs, drawings, reproductions in color, and autographed copies of texts, characterizes the volume. The sixty-eight plates which are devoted to these pictorial representations add to the real value of the publication. However, they do not cause an overbalance of merit in the book, for the literary quality of the descriptive sections is equally worthy of praise. The authors are to be commended for having contributed so

extensively and so attractively to the source material of archaeology.

RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY

## YALE UNIVERSITY

Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale, by René Dussaud, pp. lii, 632, with 16 maps. Published for the Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban by Geuthner, Paris, 1927. 200 Frs.

The Mandate for Syria has given French scholars an unparalleled opportunity to study the monuments, history and significance of the Syrian territory. However they may regard the political and economic side of the present mandatory régime, students in many fields the world over cannot but be highly grateful for and appreciative of the French work in the field of Syrian antiquities, important as it is for the history of the early oriental monarchies, for the study of Hellenism in its Greek and Eastern phases and for the development of Christian life and thought.

Aside from reports on current excavations on the one hand, and from special investigations on the other, the Service des Antiquités is publishing a series of important works which effectively synthesize the historical and cultural data that spade and pen have brought to light. Such are the new corpus of Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Syria, which is to replace the antiquated Waddington (published 1870), and the new and extensive History of the Roman Province of Syria (4 vols.). Undoubtedly this series will eventually boast of an Historical Geography of Syria as well.

Of the quality of these publications not only French scholarship in general, but also the actual appearance of Dussaud's Historical Topography, which ranks as Volume 4 of the projected Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, gives definite assurance. The work stands in a peculiar relation to the great enterprise of the Service des Antiquités. It is at once a necessary preparation for constructive work in Syrian history, and, as Dussaud indicates, an overture to the Historical Geography that must ultimately be written on the basis of both historical and topographical studies.

To anyone acquainted with the review Syria, with the study of the North Semitic monuments or even with the current discussions regarding the Glozel tablets, the name of René Dussaud needs no introduction. His most recent publication is unquestionably an excellent piece of work. It furnishes him the opportunity to utilize his wonted philological acumen, his knowledge of present Syria with its monuments, and his control of oriental, classical, Christian and Mohammedan sources dealing with the topographical and historical problems of Syrian antiquity.

His treatment of the subject matter of both accepted and problematic identifications is clear, complete, concise and interesting. Maps, which form an important item in any such publication, are given without stint. There is a chart which correlates the sectional maps and another dedicated exclusively to trade routes. The territory covered ranges from Bosra and Haifa in the south to the Syrian Gates and Nisibis in the north. The order in which sites and place-names belonging to any given sector are discussed is that of their relation to ancient and modern arteries of travel.

Much work will need to be done by archaeologist, philologist and historian before satisfactory combinations of all the many place-names and sites of ancient and mediaeval Syria can be achieved. Dussaud has by no means endeavored to settle all of the problems involved. He frequently indicates a number of distinct possibilities and chooses between them. While one may not always agree with him, his opinions will require serious consideration. A storehouse of information, his work will be indispensable to all those in any way concerned with the topography and history of Syria.

CARL H. KRAELING

LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY PHILADELPHIA

STUDIES ON THE REMAINS OF ANCIENT BEAD-WORKERS IN IDZUMO, with the Tables of the Specific Gravity of Jade Magatama, etc., found in Japan and in Korea. Appendix: Corpus on the Polished Stone Arrow-points and Daggers Found in Japan. By Professor Kôsaku Hamada, Sadahiko Shimada, and Sueji Umehara. Volume X of the Report upon Archaeological Research in the Department of Literature, the Kyoto Imperial University. Published by the Tökö-shoin, Tokyo, Japan, 1927.

As the reports of the Archaeological Institute of the College of Literature are in every case fully illustrated and carry a résumé in English of the Japanese text, they are of interest to European and American orientalists as well as to the Japanese. The current report consists of three parts: (1) a main section, entitled "Studies on the Sites and Remains of the Ancient Bead-workers in the Province of Idzumo"; (2) Tables of the Specific Gravity of Jade Magatama and Other Beads Found in Japan and in Korea; and (3) an appendix, a "Corpus of the Polished Stone Arrow-points and Daggers Discovered in Japan."

The question of the sites of ancient bead-working in Japan is first discussed, followed in logical sequence by a description of the remains found, a description of the technical methods used by both ancient and modern bead-workers, and a very interesting section, "Concluding Remarks," dealing chiefly with the jade question and offering the theory that the jadeite of which magatama beads of Japan and Korea were manufactured, was very likely imported "from the continent, southeast Asia, directly or through southern China, as the intercourse between south China and Japan already existed since the third century or so." This raises a second query as to whether the raw material only was imported or whether the importation came in the form of finished beads, to which the authors answer: "We do not know yet of any magatama or kindred forms of it that were ever made in China, either from remains or from literature, and the suggestion forwarded

by Dr. Laufer that it might have originated in some southeastern Asiatic region must be reserved for future research. At present it is better for us to deal with these beads as the indigenous ornaments of the Japanese, and consequently the raw materials were imported and worked into beads in this country or in Korea." This in turn raises a third point for discussion: "Was Japan proper or southern Korea the original seat of the fabrication of jade magatama?" The authors, again setting forth their reasons (derived largely from negative evidence), tell us that it is no longer possible to say that the magatama bead was indigenous to Japan only, or that any specimen found in Korea must have been imported from Japan. "But in any case wherever the magatama was used was the area of the old Japanese civilization expanded, and the people of bead-workers. Tamatsukuribe, distributed in various places in Japan, for carrying out the demands of the people, as indicated by the Shinto shrines of the ancestral founder of the bead-workers which existed and still exist, manufactured beads until the fashion of bead-wearing went out in the eighth century or so."

Diagrammatic sketches and fine collotype plates of sites, specimens found, tools and equipment, and the various steps in modern bead-making accompany the

The inclusion in this report of the corpus of polished stone arrow-points and daggers adds to the importance of the volume for archaeological students. Both diagrammatic drawings and collotype reproductions of the arrow-points and daggers are given.

DOROTHY BLAIR

YOKOHAMA, JAPAN

LES RICHESSES D'ART DE LA FRANCE; LA BOURGOGNE; LA SCULPTURE; par Marcel Aubert. Text, pp. xviii, pls. XVIII, folio.

This is the second part of the ambitious work dealing with the art of Burgundy. A review of the first has already appeared in the Journal. While the policy is continued of making the work largely a collection of plates with comment, it would be amiss if attention were not called to the excellent if brief résumé given by Leon Hautecourt in the eighteen pages put at his disposal. His narrative begins with the geological formation of the province, follows its history from remote antiquity to the Renaissance and ends by showing the sources from which this remarkable school of art derived. One notes with pleasure the acumen with which the affiliations of the architects and sculptors with the south of France are pointed out and forcibly has been brought home the progress of art from the Romanesque period to the eighteenth century. This is the noble school which could count among its members in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Sluter, Van de Werve, Jean de Hasselt, Jean de Beaumetz, Melchior Broederlam, Jan Malouel, Henri Bellechose, and Michel Hestelin of Cambrai. It is amazing how much has been compressed into eighteen brief pages.

Nor is the comment on the plates in its way less noteworthy. M. Boinet has meticulously devoted himself to a description of the sculptures which appear on the Cathedral of Sens, the Museum of the town, the Madeleine at Vézelay and the Church of Saint-Père-Sous-Vézelay. Each description of the various monuments is supplemented by a bibliography for the particular building.

OLIVER S. TONKS

VASSAR COLLEGE

A CATALOGUE OF THE ANCIENT SCULPTURES PRESERVED IN THE MUNICIPAL COLLECTIONS OF ROME: THE SCULPTURES OF THE PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI, by Members of the British School at Rome. Edited by H. Stuart Jones. Text volume, pp. xxiii-407; Plates volume, plates 124. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1927. \$33.50

The first volume of this catalogue appeared in 1912. The war and the removal of the British School to its new building delayed somewhat the completion of this monumental work, but rather more of a retarding effect was due to the rearrangement by the Italian authorities of so many of the objects in the Museum. In fact, after the Catalogue was in print, because of the renumbering of many pieces of sculpture, it was necessary to add Concordance Tables in order to make identification easier.

The editor acknowledges the assistance of many people, among whom are Mrs. A. W. Van Buren, Bernard Ashmole (the present Director of the British School), W. Amelung of the German Archaeological Institute, and particularly Thomas Ashby, formerly Director of the School. These names alone would guarantee a work of superlatively definitive value.

The 124 large folio pages of plates which carry on the average six photographs on each plate page are up to the usual high standard of the Oxford Press publications. The captions below the photographs refer to the sections of the Text volume by provenience, that is by rooms, galleries, stairs and courtyards.

The two volumes constitute a sine qua non.

RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Studi Etruschi, I, Comitato permanente per l'Etruria Rinascimento del Libro. Firenze, 1927.

In the spring of 1926, from April 27 to May 1, there was held in Florence the First National Etruscan Congress. It was a significant occasion and many Etruscan scholars of Italian and other nationalities attended it. Accounts of the opening of the congress and of the formation of a Permanent Committee for Etruria have already appeared in two volumes. This third volume is, however, called Studi Etruschi, I, for it is to be the first volume of a permanent periodical dealing with Etruscan studies and the official organ of the Comitato Permanente per l'Etruria. Its scope is considerable. It includes not only original articles on Etruscan problems—historical, archaeological, epigraphical and naturalistic—but communications on various subjects of Etruscan interest, a list of the excavations undertaken 1925–1926, and reviews of recent publications. There is nothing sumptuous about the periodical, the paper is cheap, the type not too good, the illustrations mere records. It is clearly intended solely for scientific information and as such occupies its very important place.

The seat of the "Permanent Committee" is to be, not unnaturally, Florence; and to still further aid the study of mysterious Etruria the Museo Archeologico is to house a gallery of Etruscan tomb paintings as well as one of casts of Etruscan sculpture and bronzes, while the library is to be strengthened in photographs and books relating to the subject. The whole is a splendid project which will win the approval of all classical scholars.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART NEW YORK The Rembrandt Drawings and Etchings, by John C. Van Dyke. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$12.00.

Following the analytical method exemplified in his book on Rembrandt's paintings Professor Van Dyke now surveys the drawings and etchings usually ascribed to that master. The critical findings are staggering: out of some sixteen-hundred drawings, we may accept as autographic at most sixty; out of some three-hundred etchings, seventeen. The rest are nondescript, or go to his pupils. The argument for these wholesale eliminations is conducted with a rare degree of system and lucidity, and is supported by abundant illustrations most conveniently arranged. While we feel that the stylistic differences noted by the author are generally sound and objective, we also are convinced that a less rigid and more perceptive interpretation of this evidence would leave Rembrandt, if not with the old commercially swollen lists, at least with lists some ten times greater than those offered by Professor Van Dyke. The author has the defects of his purism. This, however, makes him an admirable critic of what is quintessential in Rembrandt, and this book, like its predecessor, may be read with profit and delight by those who cannot at all accept its extreme conclusions.

FRANK J. MATHER

## PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

DIE ARCHAEOLOGIE DES THUKYDIDES, by Eugen Täubler, pp. 1-139. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1927.

This book consists of an essay, in 119 weighty pages, on the logical structure of the "Archaeologie," i.e., the first twenty-three chapters of the first book of Thucydides' history, together with a careful translation of these chapters, some notes, and a copious index. That Thucydides was somewhat influenced by the rhetorical teachings and fashions of his time, and that his literary composition involved more of conscious art than appears on the surface, has long been recognized. Professor Täubler, by an elaborate analysis and schematic presentation of the argument in Thucydides' Introduction, has furnished to us in great detail the evidences of a highly developed rhetorical technique. The analysis at times seems over-elaborated and unnatural; but it is very thorough.

The most recent This essay, however, is far more than a rhetorical analysis. criticism of Thucydides is tending to direct attention to the influence on the historian of that intellectual Sophistic, which had its origin in the "Ionische Aufklärung" of the sixth century, and was represented in the fifth century by such men as Hippocrates and Anaxagoras: some scholars now speak of Thucydides as the foremost spokesman of that "Enlightenment". Professor Täubler believes that Thucydides' Introduction is the most finished and the most essential part of his whole work; that it contains the demonstration in theory of a thesis, of which the confirmation in fact is supplied by the entire narrative which follows. This thesis is foreshadowed in the opening sentence; it is developed in the succeeding chapters from facts and events which are both proofs and illustrations; it culminates in the statement at the end of the Introduction that the increase of Athens' power forced the Lacedaemonians into war. The thesis amounts to this: The state is essentially an embodiment of power; the extension of power is its special form of life; war is an expression of that life and essence (p. 95).

Thucydides' Introduction, then, is not a summary of previous history, nor is the comparison of the Peloponnesian war with other wars a pretext, as many have supposed, under which the historian introduces his subject without seeming to depart from his principle of confining himself strictly to facts about this war

which could be asserted on reliable authority or adequately demonstrated. It is the presentation of the theory in accordance with which his book is composed. He believed that war is a natural expression of the power of the state, and since the collective power of those groups of states which engaged in this war was greater than that of any Greek state or group previously, it seemed to him obvious, before the war began, that this war must be the greatest war thus far among the Greeks. This belief did not depend upon the actual events of the war which he intended to record, it was merely confirmed by them. Hence the superficial comparison of this war with the greatest previous war, the Persian war, is very brief, and stands at the very end, in Chapter 23. This chapter is not a repetition, nor is it out of place. It is a summary of the confirmation in fact of what has been demonstrated as a theory, and affords a transition to the account of the events of the Peloponnesian war in detail.

Professor Täubler has made an important contribution towards our understanding of Thucydides.

WILLIAM K. PRENTICE

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## A SARCOPHAGUS AT LANUVIUM

An antique sarcophagus (Fig. 1) has long stood in a piazza of Lanuvium, which although mentioned by Baedeker seems to have escaped the notice of archaeologists. Reinach's and Robert's collections of antique reliefs omit it and Rodenwaldt does not include it in his recent article on columnar sarcophagi.1 It is, as far as I can discover, unpublished.

A central gable and lateral arches supported by spirally fluted



FIGURE 1. SARCOPHAGUS AT LANUVIUM

columns divide the decoration of the trough into three nearly equal sections and form a continuous architectural framework. composition at once allies our sarcophagus with the western derivatives of the monuments known as "Sidamara", or more properly as Asiatic sarcophagi. The architectural composition is found in this form in a group of three western sarcophagi, two of which are in Rome in the Vatican and Terme Museums, the third in Copenhagen,<sup>2</sup> and on two of more eastern character at Concordia,<sup>3</sup> and the former "Ludovisi" sarcophagus now in the Villa Savoia at Rome.4 As on the last two examples, portrait groups occupy the lateral niches, the husband with an attendant on the right, the wife

Säulensarkophage, Röm. Mitt., XXXVIII, 1923. pp. 1–40.
 Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, II, taf. 18, no. 68;
 Petersen, Röm. Mitt., XV, 1900, p. 324, fig. 1; Morey, Sardis, vol. V, I, The Sar-

cophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi, ill. 101.

Garrucci, Storia dell'Arte Cristiana, V, 362, 1; Morey, op. cit., p. 51, ill. 93.

Garrucci, op. cit., V, 362, 2; Morey, op. cit., ill., 94; Strzygowski, Orient oder Rom., p. 50, fig. 18.

similarly accompanied on the left. The central space, however, is different, as on the Lanuvium sarcophagus a half open tomb portal is represented (Figs. 2, 3 and 4). This theme, a common feature of





FIGURES 2 AND 3. DETAILS OF SARCOPHAGUS AT LANUVIUM

the left end of the Asiatic sarcophagi, was transferred on Roman imitations of the Asiatic type to the place of honor on the front, and is thus found on six columnar sarcophagi 2 (Fig. 5), none of which,

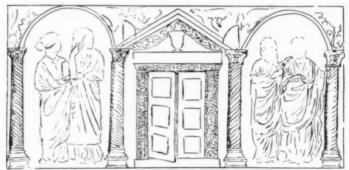


FIGURE 4. SKETCH OF SARCOPHAGUS AT LANUVIUM

¹ Morey, op. cit., ills. 41, 55, 59, 67, 70, 71, 84.
² In the Vatican, Belvedere, Amelung, op. cit., II, taf. 17, no. 60; Gusman, L'Art Décoratif de Rome, II, pl. 103: in the Conservatori, fig. 5, Amelung, Text II, pl. 156, Morey, p. 56; New York, Metropolitan, a child's sarcophagus, very like the one in the Conservatori; Florence, Palazzo Riccardi, Morey, p. 56, ill. 99; Petrograd, Hermitage, Morey, ill. 98; Vatican, Belvedere, Amelung, II, taf. 13, no. 48. Tomb portals also occur on the following strigil-sarcophagi: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, Moscioni photo. 21808; Pisa, Campo Santo, Lasinio, Sarcofagi e Urne del Campo Santo di Pisa, pl. XXI, no. LXXIII; Reinach, Rép. des Reliefs, III, 125; Philippeville, Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie, vol. VI, pl. IV, 3; and a fragment in the Conservatori, Rome. The strigil was merely a less expensive form used both in the Roman and Christian periods to fill the larger part of the front, and in consequence has little significance in itself, but adapts part of the front, and in consequence has little significance in itself, but adapts forms and traditions from other types. It certainly cannot be used, as hitherto has often been the case, to prove an early date.

however, is like our example in the arrangement of a continuous arch and gable. Spiral columns appear on all but one of the sarcophagi cited, but the form of capital and the spandrel ornament of the Lanuvium marble are unique within the group. The right end of the trough is uncarved, but the left shows a griffin in very low relief and against a plain background, *i.e.* one without any architectural framework. The cover has disappeared and the sarcophagus is at present used as a watering trough, its base embedded several inches or more in the pavement. It is impossible, consequently, to tell whether it has a decorated or plain podium.

As will be seen from the photograph (Fig. 1), the sculpture has suffered only minor injuries, the right hand of the husband is gone



FIGURE 5. SARCOPHAGUS IN THE CONSERVATORI MUSEUM, ROME

and sections of the spandrel ornament have been broken off. The whole trough is badly weather-beaten, however, and practically all details of the faces are lost. The surface of the draperies also is much smoothed down, accentuating the original drilled gullies of the The subject matter of the spandrels has become scarcely recognizable, but seems to be two animals in battle in the central spandrels next the pediment and a half palmette at the ends. panels of the doors are plain and show no signs of ever having been ornamented. This is unlike the usual tomb portal of the western type, where we find Medusa or lion's heads or figures. The western portal, moreover, shows a lintel plainly treated with recessed orders or a series of mouldings. The tomb door of the Asiatic sarcophagi presents a striking contrast to this. The panels of the door are left plain, while there is an elaborately carved lintel. At Lanuvium we also have the plain panels and a decorated lintel, but the Asiatic corbels have been developed into elaborate jambs. The indefinite

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and impressionistic treatment of this ornament, very different from the clear-cut Roman forms, also allies our sarcophagus with the eastern series. The garland filling the gable is in very low relief



FIGURE 6. THE LUDOVISI SARCOPHAGUS, VILLA SAVOIA, ROME

indeed, and shows the same technique. A suggestion of acroteria appears at the ends of the pediment, and in this our sarcophagus recalls the one at Concordia (Fig. 8), only that there the acroteria



FIGURE 7. DETAIL OF THE LUDOVISI SARCOPHAGUS

are covered with leaves, while here they were plain, and possibly unfinished.

It is to the sister sarcophagus of that at Concordia, the one

formerly in the Villa Ludovisi (Figs. 6, 7), however, that the closest parallel can be drawn. Placing the two side by side one immediately notices great similarities. Not only are the general proportions of the Ludovisi and Lanuvium sarcophagi the same, but the arrangement of arch and gable is almost identical. The high pitch of the arch, and the inclination of the gable on both sarcophagi present strong contrasts to all the other three-niche examples with their very low segmental arches. The ends of both are sculptured, although treated in unarchitectural fashion, with a Medusa head and cornucopia on the Ludovisi marble, and a griffin on the Lanuvium sarcophagus.

When we look at the figures the comparison is further borne out. Again the proportions are the same. Barring the modern heads of the Ludovisi women who, in spite of their obviously female garments, have been restored as men, both groups are in poses almost identical to the corresponding groups on the other sarcophagus. The wife rests her right elbow in her left hand and stands in exactly the same posture on both sarcophagi, while her attendant is also in the same pose and holds her right arm vertically across her body carrying a pyxis or box in the same way. Slight variations occur in the fall of the drapery, but that is all. The husband and his follower likewise show the same phenomenon. The latter is turning towards his master with upraised arm, while the man himself, calm and dignified, is in a frontal pose and holds a rotulus. His right hand, now lost on the Lanuvium sarcophagus, seems to have been originally in the same position as on the Ludovisi marble. His left hand, however, is stretched out from his body in the former example, but rests against it in the latter. Aside from this slight detail and the more voluminous and longer toga of the Lanuvium figure the arrangement and costume are exactly the same. The garment is crossed over the breast, and falls, making two short loops from the shoulder, a shorter, and a longer one that reaches beneath the knee, while it hangs free from the left arm. Even the incidental folds are strikingly alike. If we look elsewhere for similar portrait groups we find a great variety in pose and arrangement, but only on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The symbolic meaning of the griffin guarding the tomb has been explained by R. Brown in *Archaeologia*, XLVIII, 2, 1885, p. 369. Two griffins facing each other are more common than the single eagle griffin, although this appears, as at Lanuvium, on two frieze sarcophagi, the one recently acquired by the Museum at Cleveland, *Bull. Cleveland Mus.*, 15, no. 4, April 1928, p. 86 and one at Pisa, Robert III, 1, pl. XV, 53; on a strigil sarcophagus also at Pisa, Lasinio, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, no. XXII, and a five-arch sarcophagus at 8. Pietro near Ferentillo, Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 23. It continues on the ends of Christian sarcophagi at Nîmes, LeBlant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, pl. XXVIII, 2; at Leyden, Garrucci, 319, 4, Wilpert, *Rôm. Quart.*, XX. 1906, pl. II, figs. 1, 2; at Arles, LeBlant, *Arles*, p. 8, pl. IV.





the Concordia sarcophagus (Fig. 8) is there a comparable group. This much mutilated monument shows essentially the same figures, although the wife is gone and only the attendant with her box remains of that pair.

The differences that exist between the Lanuvium sarcophagus on the one hand, and the Ludovisi and Concordia examples on the other, are slight when compared with these resemblances. The ornament of the Lanuvium example is simpler, as the tight foliation of the archivolts has been replaced by a single moulding. Plain archivolts, however, are not unknown in the Asiatic series, as they occur on the three examples at Bari, Tyre and New York respec-



FIGURE 9. FRAGMENT OF A SARCOPHAGUS AT KNIN

tively.<sup>2</sup> The difference in the base of the columns is not significant, I believe, as we find bases similar to those of Lanuvium on the Asiatic sarcophagi of Selefkeh, Sidamara, and the Colonna Gardens, Rome.<sup>3</sup> While the foliate spandrels of the Ludovisi type are the more common form, animals comparable to those of Lanuvium appear on the sarcophagi of Melfi and the Cook Collection in Richmond.<sup>4</sup> The variation in the type of capital will be dealt with more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The sarcophagus with three aediculae of the Vatican Belvedere, Amelung, II. taf. 17, no. 60, approaches our type most nearly in the figure of the husband. The formula for the wife is totally different. The man, a stout, bald-headed figure, holds a scroll and stands in much the same pose as on the Lanuvium sarcophagus, but his right hand is raised in the gesture of speaking. His toga also is both shorter and fuller and is draped differently, while his attendant resembles our form only in the fact that he is looking at his master. Hymenaeus with the torch below is also a feature not found at Lanuvium.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Morey, ills. 79, 91, and 81; also Stohlman, A.J.A., XXV, 1921, p. 223, figs. 1 and 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Morey, ills. 61, 62, 65, and 55. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ills. 39, 40, 41, and 44.

fully below, but both are, I believe, eastern in origin. The Ludovisi and Concordia sarcophagi show the capital characteristic of the Sidamara type, i.e. a Corinthian capital where the volutes have become four spirals. These are equated and parallel, and form a straight band across the upper section of the bell, while acanthus

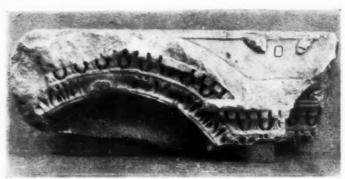


Figure 10. Fragment of a Sarcophagus from Sardis in the Museum of Princeton University

leaves treated with the coloristic Sidamara technique cover the lower half. As a rule, especially in the third century, the capital has a

<sup>1</sup> This characteristic capital is found on a small fragment at Knin in Dalmatia, added to the Asiatic group by Strzygowski, Art Bulletin, VII, 1924, pp. 71, 72 to whom and to Mr. Morey I am indebted for the accompanying photograph, (Fig. 9). It is exceedingly small, 0.24 m. x 0.17 m., and must consequently have belonged to a child's sarcophagus. A fragmentary second arch appears at the left, not a gable as described by Professor Strzygowski. The sarcophagus must, therefore, have been of the five-arch type and, whether we have a section of the front or of one end, it is unique in the use of dentils and impost blocks with a five-arch composition. The arches are low pitched and the archivolts continue horizontally across the tops of the capitals, a Lydian usage found on examples in the Vatican, Pigna and in the Borghese (Morey, ills. 82, 85-86), two early Asiatic sarcophagi. The technique of the Knin fragment is far closer, however, to that of a fragment in Berlin (Morey, ill. 80), which has been dated in the second half of the third century. Possibly slightly earlier than this because of its retention of the continuous archivolt, the Knin fragment seems to be of about the middle of the third century. Other fragments of an Asiatic sarcophagus have turned up since Mr. Morey's book was written, at Kalè Kapu; Moretti, Annuario d. R. Scuola Arch. d. Atene, VI-VII, 1926, pp. 486 ff., and a fragment coming from Sardis is now in the Museum of Princeton University. This consists of part of an arch and the beginning of a gable (Fig. 10). It is 0.57 m. x 0.20 m., and is much injured. The spandrel filling has been broken away completely, and a band which seems to have been the palmette ornament above the dentils of the archivolt. The dentils, egg and dart, and Lesbian cymation remain, however, and these show the Lydian technique. As the arch is without a conch, as on Rome B and Myra (Morey, ills. 53 and 42), the fragment could not have come from the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina. It might, however, have belonged to the other sarcophagus from Sardis, of which there is a fragment in the Louvre (Morey, ill. 60) for, as far as one can judge, the proportions and technique of the two fragments seem the same

2 Morey, op. cit., plates.

wide flare, in contrast to western forms. This same flare is found to a marked degree on the Lanuvium capitals, where we have not, to be sure, the double volutes, but a motive equally eastern, the sawtooth acanthus leaf in its Lydian form.

The Ludovisi and Concordia sarcophagi have been accepted 1 as of eastern manufacture because of the form of their capitals and the Sidamara technique of the foliate filling of the spandrels and archi-This may be true, for they certainly show many close resemblances to the eastern group. On the other hand, they were as certainly produced for the western market. The appearance of portrait groups, the husband and wife joined in the manuum junctio in the centre of the front are adaptations to Roman taste, entirely foreign to eastern ateliers. The unarchitectural treatment of the ends, and the fact that on the Ludovisi sarcophagus the fourth side is left uncarved, are again modifications to suit western use and demand. Finally the parapetasma,2 clearly visible behind the central figures on the Ludovisi example, is a western feature alien to the east. In like fashion the sculptor of our sarcophagus at Lanuvium, while showing many Oriental traits, has modified his composition. The portrait groups are the same as on our other two sarcophagi but, instead of the marriage pair, another western tradition has been followed and the tomb portal appears in the centre.

We are safe, I believe, in classing all three sarcophagi together as the products probably of the same atelier, or at least as showing the same phenomenon, viz., eastern workmen employing their own technique but adapting their composition to the demands of the western market.

The problem that now lies before us is the origin of the capital. This is of a peculiar form, as will be seen from Figure 11. The decided flare of the profile has already been mentioned as well as the acanthus leaves, which show the large and symmetrical sawtooth cutting of the Lydian technique. Volutes of the Corinthian form are suggested, but we clearly have not the double volutes of Asiatic practice.

This capital is in stronger contrast to the common western usage. A richly decorated capital is rare on small monuments of Roman art. When a capital is carved in detail it is almost invariably covered with spoon-shaped leaves of plain outline. It is thus found on the the Conservatori sarcophagus (Fig. 5) and on at least sixteen other western examples.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, capitals comparable to ours

<sup>2</sup> Morey, p. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Stohlman, op. cit., pp. 230-231; Morey, pp. 51-52.

The sarcophagi listed on page 422 note 2; the Belvedere and Copenhagen sarcophagi listed on page 421, note 2; two sarcophagi at Tipasa, Gsell, Ecole Française

appear on a small number of sarcophagi, all of which have some connection with the east.

A form with a large flare and a similar sharp cutting of the leaves is found on a sarcophagus at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, which was drawn and reproduced by Laborde 1 (Fig. 11). Showing much less of a flare, but also obviously derived from the Lydian capital, is the form found on the five-niche sarcophagus in the Musée Alaoui from Ste.-Marie-du-Zit.2 (Fig. 11). Here again we see a single pair of volutes and saw-tooth leaves, although they are not as deeply undercut as in the Lydian examples. Their form, however, is essentially the same and the capital presents a similar phenomenon to that of Lanuvium. The African sarcophagus has already been classed with the Concordia and Ludovisi examples principally because of the









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FIGURE 11. COMPARATIVE CHART OF CAPITALS

Sidamara technique of the foliation of the spandrels, but it likewise presents western subjects in the four seasons, one of which is identified with the Good Shepherd type. From this figure, which clasps both feet of the lamb in fourth-century fashion, from the change in capital, and from the awkward shift in scale between the lateral figures and the central group of graces, the monument has been dated in the first half of the fourth century.3

de Rome, Mélanges, 1894, p. 445, pls. VI and IX; an example each in the Villa Albani, Zoëga, Bassirilievi, II, p. 295, no. LXXXVII, the Villa Mattei, Robert III, 2, pl. LXI, no. 192, S. Pietro near Ferentillo, Rodenwaldt, op. cit., abb. 10, the Lateran Museum, Marucchi, Museo Cristiano del Laterano, pl. XVI, 1, the Vatican, Chiaramonti, Amelung, I, taf. 82; and two at Pisa, Rodenwaldt, abb. 5 and p. 25, no. 2

Laborde, Asie Mineure, p. 99, pl. LVI, 115; Reinach, Reliefs, II, p. 100.
 Musées de l'Algérie, XV; Musée Alaoui, Tunis, suppl., no. 1115, pl. XLVI, 1; Morey, ill. 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Morey, pp. 52-53.

Approximately of the same date is the Salona sarcophagus, now in the Museum at Spalato 1 (Fig. 12). Jelic, from archaeological data, has placed this about 325, a date that is borne out by the proportions of the figures, their squat and unclassical form and the variation in scale between the groups, possibly intended for children, and the husband and wife. These small figures are strangely like the small fourth-century reliefs on the Arch of Constantine.<sup>2</sup> Finally the theme of the "Good Shepherd" in the centre is a late one although not necessarily Christian. The capitals here are of much the same form as on our last example. They also have a slight flare and show the same zigzag cutting of the leaves, although at a wider interval. The architectural arrangement found on the front of the



FIGURE 12. SARCOPHAGUS IN THE MUSEUM AT SPALATO

Spalato sarcophagus is apparently a combination of two eastern traditions, the type with an undivided figure frieze under a horizontal entablature 3 and the three-niche type with a central gable that we have already considered. This double form is continued on a group of sarcophagi found in Northern Italy, 4 on which figures are gradually less and less employed, until we find in the Christian

liche und byzantinische Kunst, I, abb. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, Roman Sculpture, pl. CIII.

<sup>3</sup> This is Mr. Morey's type B with examples in Athens, Naples and Rome; Morey, pp. 43-46. It continues among the Christian sarcophagi of Ravenna in twelve examples, the most famous of which are those pictured in Wulff, op. cit., taf. XIII and abb. 173, 175, 176; see also Dütschke, Ravennatische Studien

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jelie, Röm. Quart., V, 1891, pls. III-IV; Garrucci, V, 299, 1; Wulff, Altchrist-

Storia dell'Arte Italiana, I, fig. 217.

sarcophagi of Ravenna this composition with solely ornamental motifs filling the aediculae.1

The tomb found at the Porta Salaria in Rome 2 (Fig. 13) was originally, I believe, of the same type before it came into the hands of a modern restorer. The architectural background, with its twisted columns placed upon bases, its Lydian leaf capital and gabled aedicula, shows clearly the type from which came such members of the Ravenna group as the Honorius sarcophagus in the tomb of Galla Placidia. The capital, it will be noted, is extremely close in



FIGURE 13. SARCOPHAGUS FOUND AT THE PORTA SALARIA, ROME

technique to that of Lanuvium, and might be described as almost identical except for its more upright profile. Originally, I believe, the Porta Salaria sarcophagus also had lateral arches, since one can see even in the photograph a difference in texture and the absence of the grain of the marble where these should have stood. Upon examination, parallel strokes of a chisel all around the figures become

<sup>2</sup> As far as I can discover, this sarcophagus is unpublished. Of its present location I am ignorant.

<sup>3</sup> Garrucci, V, 356, 1-3; Dütschke, op. cit., abb. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ravenna, Galla Placidia, Garrucci, V, 356, 1, Dütschke, op. cit., abb. 2; S. Apollinare in Classe. Venturi, I, fig. 218, Dütschke, p. 76, and Garrucci, V, 392. 1, Dütschke, abb. 31

visible. The figures themselves correspond closely with the husband and wife of the Spalato sarcophagus except that the proportions here are a little less squat. The woman holds her drapery fold in Asiatic fashion, and the man an unrolled scroll, but their heads, I believe, have been recut. Something also has been cut away from the central space under the gable, and here again one sees the fine chisel marks.

The Berlin fragment <sup>3</sup> (Fig. 11), probably dating from about 400, the latest of all the Asiatic sarcophagi, and so far our only Christian example, indicates the final development of the type of capital found at Lanuvium, although this seems originally to have come

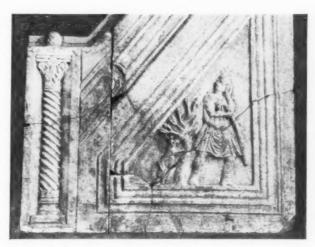


FIGURE 14. AMBON FROM AIDIN IN THE MUSEUM, CONSTANTINOPLE

from a composite rather than a Corinthian form. Here the leaves have been drawn together as contours tend to close in, and the bell has lost its spread, but the acanthus has the same saw-tooth cutting and Lydian character, although done here with a drill and not a chisel as on our Lanuvium example.

A slightly earlier treatment is found in the capital on the ambon, probably dating from the fourth century, from the region of Aïdin

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Morey, ill. 108, type 4 and p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The heads look extremely modern, but it is almost impossible to judge from a photograph alone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Morey, ill. 25 and p. 30, where further bibliography is given.

near Tralles, now in the Museum <sup>1</sup> of Constantinople (Fig. 14). We see here a chiselled leaf and symmetrical arrangement.

This eastern line of development on the one hand, with the divergent tradition of the Roman work on the other, establishes our capital without a doubt as the product of an eastern atelier. Its wide flare indicates, I believe, a date not far from A.D. 300 for the sarcophagus. The fact, however, that it is no longer the traditional form with double volutes, and that it apparently was used in the same ateliers which executed the capitals with Sidamara technique of the Concordia and Ludovisi examples, would point to a late period and consequently greater freedom. We can, however, by comparison with the Ludovisi sarcophagus arrive more certainly at a date. Much has been written about the date of this sarcophagus,<sup>2</sup> and from the coiffure of the wife, the hair and beard of the husband, both third-century types, as well as the form of DEPOSSIO in the inscription, I think we are safe in placing it at the end of that century.

The sarcophagus at Lanuvium is simpler in ornament and slightly cruder in style than the Ludovisi sarcophagus, and, although close enough to warrant the assumption that both were made in the same atelier, it seems somewhat later in date. It might thus have been made at the end of the third or in the first years of the fourth century.

MARION LAWRENCE

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

<sup>2</sup> This is summarized by Morey, p. 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mendel, Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines, Constantinople, II, p. 409, no. 645.

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## TWO KYLIKES IN PROVIDENCE

The two vases which form the subject of this paper were both acquired by the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence in the autumn of 1925, by purchase through an appropriation to which a special gift was added. Fragmentary as they are, they can be attributed to their painters, and are a desirable addition to the collection.

The earlier vase of the two (Figs. 1-4) is an eye-kylix of the beginning of the red-figured style. It has been mended from many

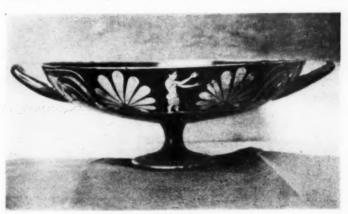


FIGURE 1. CUP BY OLTOS-FORM

fragments, and the foot is modern. This has involved the loss of most of the inner design: but the exterior is practically entirely preserved. The dimensions are: height as restored, .13 m., diameter, .332 m. (from handle to handle, .41 m.), and depth of bowl, .07 m. The vase distinctly recalls the black-figured shape in its depth as compared to the later examples, and the impression of solidity and strength rather than of elegance and beauty that it conveys.

The interior, as stated above, is largely lost, but it consisted of a warrior and horse facing the right (Fig. 2). Of the warrior, only the helmet, feet, and lower legs remain. The helmet appears to be of the so-called "Corinthian" type, with a high, full crest. Of the horse, the head, both hind feet, and one forefoot are preserved, with the tip of the tail. The mane of the horse is closely hogged, the forelock having a pronounced droop in front. Both the helmet of

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the warrior and the mane and forelock of the horse are valuable indications in attributing the vase to its painter.

The obverse of the exterior shows, between palmettes, a youth, facing the right, anointing himself with oil. This side of the vase is completely preserved (Fig. 3). He is nude, with his arms outstretched, holding an aryballos in his right hand, slightly tilted, while his left hand is open, palm up, to catch the drops of oil from it. He is stockily built, with a head rather large for his body, and with powerful shoulders and thighs. On his head he wears a garland.



FIGURE 2. CUP BY OLTOS-INTERIOR

The outline of the head is rendered by an incised pattern picked out in white—an early sign, the reserve-space technique not being employed, although the use of raised lines for the outlines of the body and for details of anatomy, where such are given, is elsewhere prevalent. Of the palmettes, the one at the left has eleven petals, that at the right only ten. The stems of the palmettes are bent upward to form the brows for the prophylactic eyes next the handles.

The reverse of the exterior (Fig. 4) is less well preserved, but the central figure remains. Between palmettes, we see a youth, walking to the left, carrying a wine-skin on his shoulder. He wears a loin-cloth, striped at the top and bottom, but is otherwise nude, and bends forward under his load. Like the youth on side A, he also

wears a garland on his head. The outline of his head is treated in the same way as on the other side. Of the palmettes, the one at the right is complete, and consists of eleven petals; that on the left is only partly preserved, the left side being gone. As in side A, the stems of the palmettes form the brows for the eyes next the handles.

The treatment of the palmettes and eyes on this vase is distinctly unusual, their positions being inverted. Normally, as is well known, the palmettes spring from the handles, and the figures are between the eyes.

There can be no doubt whatever as to the hand that painted this vase. Everything points to Oltos—the treatment of the warrior's helmet, the horse's mane and forelock, and the draughtsmanship



FIGURE 3. CUP BY OLTOS-EXTERIOR, A

of the figures on the exterior. It is one of those rare vases, that, though unsigned, has so many obvious traits that it fairly shouts the name of its painter. This is due in no small measure to the researches of Professor Beazley, who has made of Oltos a very living figure, with a style peculiarly his own, and has assigned eighty-two vases and fragments, mostly kylikes, to his hand. In fact, this vase closely resembles one already attributed to him by Beazley, if, indeed, it is not the same vase. The description of the vase in question will be found in the Attische Vasenmaler, p. 13, no. 23. If, in the description of the interior, we substitute the word "Krieger" for "Jüngling" as written by Beazley, it would be the same in every

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Attische Vasenmaler, pp. 10–17; V. A., pp. 7–12. Hoppin (Handbook R. F. Vases, II, pp. 247–262) assigns forty-seven vases to him, but puts a large number of fragments under one number.

detail, including the transposed eyes and palmettes. The cup described by Beazley is reported to be in the "Sammlung Ferrari." If, as I believe, this is the same vase, with a slight slip in description by Beazley, it would indicate one of two things: either that Ferrari's collection was dispersed at some time since the appearance of the Attische Vasenmaler, or that Ferrari is, or was, a dealer who sold his vases piece by piece. I incline to this latter view.

Now comes a more difficult problem. Granting that the vase is by Oltos, let us see if we can assign it to any definite period in his career. This involves a study of the entire work of Oltos, and of the origins of the Attic red-figured technique—a study in which the writer is at present engaged, and which will, it is hoped, appear



FIGURE 4. CUP BY OLTOS-EXTERIOR, B

elsewhere in the near future. Space does not permit anything but a summary sketch of the methods which must be employed and the conclusions which have been reached as regards this vase.

The question as to the invention of the red-figured technique is a very vexed one. The prevalent view would appear to point to the Andokides painter as the earliest to use this style, and consequently its discoverer; but, on the other hand, an opinion held by some scholars would assign the inauguration of the new method to the atelier of Nikosthenes. In a previous article the writer has attempted to prove that Nikosthenes and Pamphaios had formed a partnership, with Pamphaios as the junior member of the firm—a conclusion largely reached on the basis of the significant fact that they employed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.J.A., XXIX, 1925, pp. 38-52, and especially p. 46 ff.

the same painters. One of these painters, if Beazley's attributions, which are usually accepted, are correct, was Oltos, whom he describes as a pupil of the Andokides painter. This is a very attractive and tempting theory, but its weak point is that we cannot attribute to Oltos any vases signed by Andokides as potter.

Oltos was undoubtedly the first painter of red-figured vases to be employed by the firm of Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, and worked for them in the beginning of his red-figured career. I see no reason to alter my statement made elsewhere2 that he learned his trade in that workshop, as it is in no way inconsistent with Beazley's assertion that he was a pupil of the Andokides painter; for the fact that he uses the mixed technique shows him to have originally worked in the black-figured style, and he could well have been sent by Nikosthenes to learn the new method of painting as an apprentice under the Andokides painter.

It is early in his career that Oltos adopts the καλός-name Memnon, which becomes virtually a signature with him. He begins using it as far back as on some of his eye-kylikes in the mixed technique, and it continues almost to the end of his activity. The appearance of this καλός-name on vases attributed to him, but signed by different potters leads us to a brief discussion of his later history.

If the attributions of Beazley be accepted, we are to believe that besides Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, Oltos painted for Chelis, Sikanos, Chachrylion, and, of course, Euxitheos, with whom, and with whom only, he signs in association. The evidence regarding Sikanos is based solely on a drawing of a lost vase4 and seems too slender to be given very much weight in this investigation, and will consequently be ignored, although Beazley may well be right. For the connection with Chachrylion, also, a certain amount of doubt has been expressed, and Beazley's attributions have been questioned, and at least one denied, by Mrs. Elderkin,5 on grounds that appear to have some weight. But the writer is inclined to support Beazley in believing that Oltos did have some connection with the establishment of Chachrylion, as it is indisputable that we can see at least three different hands at work on the signed vases, not including

<sup>1</sup> Fine as they are, the amphorae and stamnos decorated by him and signed by Pamphaios, must be put early in his career: first, because of their shapes, which are reminiscent of the black-figured style, and secondly because the subject of the stamnos, the contest of Herakles and Acheloos, is treated in a manner recalling the Halios Geron vases of the earlier technique.

A.J.A., loc. cit., pp. 49-50.

The writer believes that it will not be impossible ultimately to assign to the

hand of Oltos some of the vases in this style signed by Nikosthenes.

<sup>4</sup> Beazley, Att. Vasenm., p. 12, no. 9; Hoppin, R.F., II, p. 409.

<sup>5</sup> Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XXXV, 1924, 75–136, especially pp. 84, 87-89, 116.

Euphronios, who signs in association with him. This fits in very well with the rest of our knowledge of the work of Oltos.

It is possible, through a study of the vases signed by the various potters named above, to arrive at a chronological sequence. Following Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, if the indications of style are correctly interpreted, comes Chelis. This potter signs one vase in the mixed technique, which is not unlike the work of Oltos¹ and is the only other user of the  $\epsilon\pi oi\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  formula with whom Oltos is connected to make eye-kylikes. The vase signed by this man and attributed by Beazley to Oltos has the prophylactic eyes, but on one side only.² With Oltos in this atelier was associated the Hermaios painter, to whom is assigned the kylix in Munich signed by Chelis.³ This is a very significant point, which should be borne in mind.

The connection of our painter with Chachrylion seems to follow that with Chelis,-if this connection be accepted as proven. It is the writer's belief that Oltos did work in that atelier, but he is inclined to agree with Mrs. Elderkin in denying to him the kylix in the Torlonia Collection.4 Once more Oltos is in association with the Hermaios painter, to whom the Chachrylion kylix in Boston is very correctly attributed.5 The connection of these two men both with Chelis and with Chachrylion suggests that the business of the former was absorbed by the latter, for the quality of the work of Chachrylion seems later. To this period the writer would assign the bulk of the extant vases attributed to Oltos, of the kylix shape, and particularly those with mythological scenes, especially the exploits of Herakles. At this point a new figure enters the scene, who is destined to eclipse them all, and who may perhaps be called a pupil of Oltos-Euphronios, whose connection with Chachrylion is attested by the famous kylix in Munich.6

We now come to what the writer believes to be the final stage of Oltos's career—his association with Euxitheos. It is only through the joint signatures of the two men that we know the name of our painter; while of the four extant vases signed by the potter, two are those signed jointly with Oltos, while a third (the amphora with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale 335. Hoppin, op. cit., I, pp. 188-189, no. 4\*

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Naples, Heydemann 2615, Hoppin, op. cit., I, pp. 186–187, no. 3\*; Beazley, Att. Vasenm., p. 13, no. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hoppin, op. cit., I, pp. 184–185, no. 2\*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mrs. Elderkin, op. cit., p. 89; Hoppin, op. cit., I, pp. 170–171, no. 16\*.

<sup>5</sup> Hoppin, op. cit., I, p. 150, no. 4\*. The fact that in the same tomb with this vase were found two vases by the same hand, signed by Hermaios as potter, one of which is now in the British Museum, and the other in Leningrad (Hoppin, II, Hermaios 2\* and 4\*) points strongly to a partnership between Chachrylion and Hermaios.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For complete bibliography of this vase, see Hoppin, op. cit., I, p. 390, Euphronios 7\*.

Achilles and Briseis in the British Museum) is very properly attributed to him.1 These three vases may be ranked as the finest produced by the artist: they are better than anything he has produced up to now, except possibly the three large vases which bear the signature of Pamphaios, and which must be regarded as early works. In modern parlance, this preponderance of his work in the establishment of Euxitheos, and the fact that he is the only person to sign jointly with him, points to his holding the position at least of foreman painter in that workshop.

The other vase which is believed to have the signature of Euxitheos as potter is a very fragmentary krater in the Louvre.2 This Beazley gives to Euphronios; and if this is correct, once again these two artists are associated together, suggesting more convincingly than ever that the younger and greater of the two was the pupil of the

older.

Here let us leave Oltos—we can at present trace his active life no further. He has reached the zenith of his career. At no time a great artist, he is, nevertheless, an industrious and conscientious worker, with a distinct style of his own, who must be classed with that small group of progressive pioneers who inaugurated the redfigured technique. If he is to be regarded as the teacher of Euphronios, this alone is sufficient cause to make his reputation secure. He never became head of an establishment of his own, but was a painter and decorator to the end.3

Besides this cup in Providence, the following vases in America have been attributed to him: an eye-kylix in Boston; 4 a kylix and a psykter in New York; and fragments of vases in both museums, and in the collections of Bowdoin College and Johns Hopkins University, the latter being published and correctly attributed by David M. Robinson.<sup>6</sup> All are in the pure red-figured style. Earliest, and closest to our vase in date, stands the cup in Boston; most closely related to it in subject is the psykter in New York, several figures on which have a strong family resemblance to the youth oiling his body on side A of our vase. In describing the Boston cup in the original catalogue, Edward Robinson attributed it to Chelis:7 and

unlikely, but not impossible. <sup>4</sup> Acc. no. 13.83 (Robinson 393). Hoppin, II, p. 253, no. 9; Beazley, Att.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hoppin, op. cit., I, pp. 448-449, Euxitheos 1\*; Beazley, Att. Vasenm., p. 11,

no. 3.

Hoppin, I, p. 450, no. 2\*; Beazley, op. cit., p. 59, no. 1. Of the signature, only the last letters of the name remain 3 Unless the joint signature with Euxitheos indicates a partnership—which is

Vasenm., p. 13, no. 24. <sup>5</sup> The kylix is acc. no. 21.88.174, Beazley, p. 15, no. 46; the psykter is acc. no. 10.210.18, Beazley, p. 11, no. 5. <sup>6</sup> In *A.J.A.*, XXI, 1917, pp. 159–168. <sup>7</sup> On p. 143, no. 393.

the writer believes that it was undoubtedly made in that atelier. It would appear to be slightly earlier in date than the vase signed by Chelis and attributed to Oltos, with which the Providence vase seems to be approximately contemporaneous. It is therefore the opinion of the writer that the kylix here published was painted by Oltos when he was employed by Chelis, and that the signatures to be supplied should be,  $X \hat{\epsilon} \lambda i s \hat{\epsilon} \pi o (\hat{\epsilon} \sigma \epsilon \nu)$ , "O $\lambda \tau o s \tilde{\epsilon} \gamma \rho a \varphi \sigma \epsilon \nu$ .

The second kylix (Figs. 5-7) in Providence to be described here is in very fragmentary condition. The foot and a large part of the centre are modern, almost nothing of the interior being preserved. This suggests the possibility of the original of this part of the cup being in existence in some other collection. Of the rest, much is



FIGURE 5. CUP BY EPIKTETOS-FORM

missing, half of each of the handles being restored. Enough is preserved, however, to render it possible to reconstruct it in a satisfactory manner. The dimensions are: height as restored, .13 m., diameter, .30 m. (from handle to handle, .374 m.), and depth of bowl, .048 m. These last dimensions are essentially the original ones, as the fragments give us practically all of the circumference, and the curve of the bowl is sufficiently indicated to make the restoration of the depth certain.

The interior design was originally larger than the usual type, as is shown by a small bit of the inner circle which set it off from the rest of the cup. All of the picture that is left, however, are the feet, lower legs and tip of the tail of a silen, and above, a little bit of detail, so small as to be unrecognizable. In the field, above, is the inscription HO TAIS; below, by the feet of the silen, KAVOS.

The obverse of the exterior (Fig. 6) is very poorly preserved. At the left, a Maenad advances towards the right, looking backwards. She brandishes a thyrsos in her right hand; her left hand is on her hip. She wears a long chiton with sleeves reaching to the elbows, and a himation, and her hair is almost entirely concealed by the sakkos which she wears on her head. In front of her a silen, nude, with a garland on his head, moves to the right, a wineskin in his left hand, a horn in his right. He is partly bald, with a heavy beard and slight moustache, and his hair falls down on his shoulder in long corkscrew ringlets. In the field, between him and the Maenad,



FIGURE 6. CUP BY EPIKTETOS-EXTERIOR, DETAIL OF SIDE A

KAVOS. Then come the arm, hand, ankle and part of the foot of another Maenad, holding a horn, while in the field a vine is portrayed, the bunches of grapes picked out in white, the leaves in red. The presence of the vine suggests that this missing figure may not be a Maenad, but Dionysos himself, not enough being left of the figure to indicate the sex. Finally, at the extreme right, a dancing silen appears, back to the front, with a horn in his left hand, and his right arm raised.

The reverse (Fig. 7) shows at the extreme left a nude silen, slightly ithyphallic, with arms outstretched, moving to the right in pursuit of a Maenad, who thrusts out at him with her right hand, and carries

a thyrsos in her left. Only her upper body and head are preserved, but enough to show that she is dressed exactly as the Maenad on the obverse, except that around the sakkos on her head is a garland. She looks to the left, toward the silen. In the field between them, KA|VOS. At her right is another silen, nude, with a leopard-skin tied around his neck by the paws, and falling down his back. He is dancing: his right arm is outstretched, he holds a horn in his left hand, and wears a garland on his head. Only parts of the head and upper body are preserved. In the field at his left, between him and the Maenad described above,  $HO|\Gamma A| \le K[AVO] \le$ . In the field to his right, KAVOS. Then comes another Maenad, in a long chiton and short sleeved upper garment, and a leopard-skin tied round her



FIGURE 7. CUP BY EPIKTETOS-EXTERIOR, B

neck. Her arms are outstretched, and she dances at the silen, who is dancing at her. She wears no headdress: her hair (treated with fine lines in brown wash) is short and disheveled, and crowned with a garland. Behind her, at the extreme right, is a nude silen: only one hand, the lower body, upper legs and part of the tail are preserved.

The scenes on the exterior of this vase are composed in a vigorous and spirited manner, but the drawing of some of the individual figures could be improved. That, however, it is of later date than the first cup to be described is proven by its shape (Fig. 5), which is of the developed red-figured type, graceful and elegant. The absence of the use of any incised lines for details also points to a more certain knowledge of the possibilities of the red-figured technique.

But the vase is certainly of the severe style, and while later, is not very much so.

The assignment of this kylix to its proper hand is not as easy as in the case of the first cup. At first glance, the memory of the Bacchic revels depicted on the cups of Makron, especially the well-known one in Munich¹ leapt into the writer's mind: but a careful study and comparison of essential details shows conclusively that not only is it not by Makron, but that it must be regarded as earlier. The closest parallel to be found appears to be the kotyle in the British Museum, signed by Epiktetos as painter and Pistoxenos as potter.² On that vase, the costume worn by Dionysos is almost line for line the same as that worn by the Maenads on the Providence cup: the silens are drawn in much the same manner, and the hair, with its long corkscrew curls, is identical: the thyrsos is rendered in the same way, as is the vine with its bunches of grapes and leaves. The writer therefore inclines to the belief that this vase should be attributed to Epiktetos.

The biography of this famous painter is somewhat more involved than that of Oltos. Besides Pistoxenos, he is known to have painted vases for Hischylos, Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, and Python: and the evidence points strongly to his having at one time had an establishment of his own, as a vase exists in Athens, on which he uses both the έποίησεν and εγραψεν formulae. It would appear that his first vases were decorated for Hischylos. Four signatures with this potter are known, three of which are extant, while one has disappeared.3 All are kylikes; the three whose locations are known are all in the mixed technique; the lost vase appears to have been pure red-figured. For Nikosthenes and Pamphaios he signs four vases, two for each member of the firm.4 Of the two for Nikosthenes, one (in Würzburg) is an eye-kylix in the mixed technique; the other, a fragment, perhaps of a kantharos, is red-figured; while both of those signed for Pamphaios are red-figured kylikes. Whether Epiktetos and Oltos worked at the same time in that atelier is uncertain, but it is not improbable that they did.

The connection with Pistoxenos seems to have followed immedi-

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<sup>4</sup> For Nikosthenes: Odessa (Hoppin, Epiktetos 15\*) and Würzburg (Hoppin, Epiktetos 26\*); for Pamphaios: Berlin 2262 (Hoppin, Epiktetos 4\*) and Louvre G5 (Hoppin, Epiktetos 19\*).

1

Hoppin, II, pp. 62–63, Hieron 14\*. Compare also cups signed by Hieron in Berlin (2290: Hoppin 3\*), Brussels (247: Hoppin 10\*) and the Louvre (G144, G145: Hoppin 23\* and 24\*).
 Hoppin, I, pp. 318–319, Epiktetos 14\*. The number in the British Museum is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The extant ones are British Museum E3 (Hoppin, Epiktetos 7\*), Faina Coll., Orvieto 97 (Hoppin, Epiktetos 16\*) and Leningrad 645 (Hoppin, Epiktetos 23\*); the lost vase is Hoppin, Epiktetos 28\*.

ately after that with the Nikosthenes-Pamphaios concern, the technique of the kotyle with the joint signature more nearly approaching the earlier than the later vases. It is not likely that his connection with that potter was of long duration for the writer believes that his independent career begins very shortly afterwards. To this independent period belongs that charming series of cups and plates, of which Beazley so truly and wittily says,1 "You cannot draw better, you can only draw differently." Finally, and probably last of all his extant work is the beautiful kylix in the British Museum. which Python signs as potter.2 If this Python is the same man who was also potter for three vases with the signature of Douris,3 this must certainly be regarded as the latest of Epiktetos's works, and shows either that he gave up business for himself, or that he took Python into partnership with him.

Our kylix in Providence surely antedates the period of Epiktetos's finest work, and it is equally surely later than the Nikosthenes-Pamphaios period. Its close resemblance to the kotyle in London justifies us to restore the signature, Πιστόχσενος ἐποίεσεν, Ἐπίκτετος έγραφσεν. This Epiktetos is a very different individual from what he later became—but in fundamentals he is the same.

Having reached this conclusion, the writer turned to his copy of Beazley's Attissche Vasenmaler, to compare his list of Epiktetos vases, and was gratified to find that here, too, a cup in the "Sammlung Ferrari," very similar in detail to our vase, is listed. So that, as in the case of the Oltos vase, it is probable that this vase in Providence is identical with the Ferrari specimen.

It is hoped that in these pages the importance of these two kylikes for museum purposes is sufficiently indicated. Both belong to the early red-figured period; both can be attributed not only to their painters, who were outstanding masters in their craft, but if the writer's conclusions be accepted, to their potters as well. They are important, therefore, not merely for their excellence as examples of Greek vase-painting, but for the light which they throw on the economic aspects of the Athenian ceramic industry.

ADDENDUM: Since the above pages were written, the writer has received the first part of J.H.S., XLVII, 1927, with the brilliant article by J. D. Beazley on the Antimenes painter (pp. 63-92). The Oltos cup in Providence is there illustrated on p. 64, fig. 1 (as in the collection of Mr. E. P. Warren) with a reference to its position in the list of Oltos vases in Att. Vasem. The writer is glad to note that his guess that the Providence and Ferrari vases are one and the same is thus confirmed and established as a fact.

STEPHEN B. LUCE

#### BOSTON

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In V.A., p. 18. <sup>2</sup> British Museum E38; Hoppin, Epiktetos 10\*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hoppin, I, Douris 25\*, 30\*, and 31\*, Louvre G121, Vienna Oest. Mus. 324 and 4 On p. 25, no. 12. 325 respectively.

## American School of Classical Studies at Athens

# EXCAVATIONS IN THE ODEUM AT CORINTH, 1928<sup>1</sup> PLATES V-VI

The excavations in the Odeum, the site of which was established through exploratory trenches dug in 1907 and 1909, were begun last year, when the preserved portion of the cavea and the eastern half of the orchestra and the scene-building were laid bare. The results of last year's work were set forth by B. D. Meritt.<sup>2</sup> The entire struc-



Figure 1. Odeum from the North. New Excavation House to the Right

ture has now been cleared, so far as this can be done without disturbing too much the fallen parts of the building.

The most laborious part of the work consisted in clearing away the débris behind the cavea, where the fill reached the depth of over five metres. The entire region south of the Odeum in the direction of Glauce served in Greek and early Roman times as a stone quarry. This can best be seen round about Glauce, where the stone has been cut away to a depth equal to the height of the fountain, and on top

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Director of the American School in Athens, Dr. Rhys Carpenter, and to Professor W. B. Dinsmoor for valuable suggestions in the preparation of this report; also to Richard Stillwell, with whom I discussed the work during the progress of excavation and who also has prepared the plan of the building.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A.J.A., XXXI, 1927, pp. 450–461. <sup>3</sup> Cf. B. H. Hill, A.J.A., XXIX, 1925, p. 45.

of the rock-cut chambers are clear quarry marks, showing that the bill originally was higher than the top of the fountain. The Odeum is built on the north slope of this ledge of rock, where the stone is softer and hence could not be utilized as building material. On the south side of the cavea, where the rock was quarried away, a vertical scarp was left, in some places more than five metres high, running roughly east and west. This made it necessary to build up artificially the entire structure for the support of the upper rows of seats. The whole height of the building is nowhere preserved, but from the slope of the seats and the distance to the outer wall of the cavea it can be roughly calculated. The outer semicircular wall from the top of its foundation to the topmost seat must have been about eleven metres, and it probably extended some three or four metres above the seats.

Surrounding the cavea and separated from the outside only by the outer wall was a covered passage from which there was access to the upper rows of seats by means of a stairway at each end just south of the parodoi. At the east side this stairway was partly cut in rock and consequently is comparatively well preserved. Exactly how the cavea was entered cannot now be determined, but it is probable that the stairs led to a diazoma which has disappeared, together with the upper section of the cavea. The stairway on the west side, which had to be built up artificially because of the falling away of the rock, is less well preserved, but enough remains to show that it corresponded exactly to the one on the east side.

The vaulted passage encircling the cavea varies between 1.75 and 2.05 m. in width, and in the one place where the vault is preserved in situ the height is a little less than 3 m. The walls wherever possible were cut out of the native rock, but where the rock fell away on the west side and where it had been quarried away all along on the south side the walls were built of large poros blocks laid in mortar and joined by dove-tail clamps. As in the walls of the scene-building, these clamps were of wood embedded in mortar. Among the hundreds of clamp holes visible there is in no case any trace of lead or iron, whereas mortar is always present. Where this has not been disturbed it is hollow inside where the wooden clamp has rotted away. This kind of clamp was used only for fastening the poros blocks of the walls; for the marble entablature in the scene-building leaded iron clamps were used.

The thickness of the outer semicircular wall is slightly over two metres, but the foundation projects about one metre toward the outside. This foundation consists of one layer of poros blocks,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See B. D. Meritt, A.J.A., 1927, p. 459.

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(Fig. 2, A) not bound together with clamps, and resting on a core of very hard concrete, which extends down to solid rock. On both sides are traces of upright posts and flat planks used for supports when the foundation was laid (Fig. 2, C). The planks were sawn, ca. 0.044 m. in thickness, and the grain is so well preserved on the



FIGURE 2. FOUNDATION OF OUTER WALL OF CAVEA, WEST SIDE

face of the concrete that it is possible to tell that the planks were made of pine wood. At several points actual splinters of wood still adhere to the concrete, and in one case some mason's or lumber dealer's marks, written in red paint on the plank, are preserved. There are traces of three letters, the first of which is a phi and the second a mu or an eta. The upright posts, which were either square

or semicircular in cross section, were set at intervals of about 1 m. They were always on the inside with respect to the wall, and the planks were fastened by means of iron spikes on the outside of the posts. This shows that the wooden posts and planks were not intended to serve as forms for the concrete but were used for supporting the earth when the trenches were dug for the foundations of the walls. The wood could not be removed after the concrete had been poured, hence it was left to decay.

The outer wall has a series of pilasters (Fig. 2, B) projecting 0.11 m, from the face of the wall at intervals of about 3.60 m. How the wall was finished higher up cannot be definitely determined, but it is possible that a blind arcade rested directly on the pilasters. The



FIGURE 3. SOUTH SIDE OF ODEUM, SHOWING SUBSTRUCTURE OF CAVEA

total absence of pilaster capitals in the accumulated earth lends probability to this supposition. We have no way of telling whether there was a second covered passage directly above the existing one, but if that was the case there was probably an upper open arcade toward the outside. The architectural remains from this part of the building are so scanty that a restoration must be largely conjectural.

When the Odeum was built, the ground level on the south side of the cavea was considerably higher than the floor of the vaulted passage, so that the entire deposit had to be dug through for the foundations of the walls. But the floor of the passage itself (Fig. 3, B) was laid directly on this deposit and consists only of a thin layer of packed earth and mortar. In the southeast corner of the build-

ing at point C on the plan (Plate V) this fill under the floor of the passage was removed for a distance of about three metres. It contained numerous sherds of imported Arretine ware, some with stamps of well known makers, and several lamps and fragments of lamps of the Augustan period and somewhat later. Many of these are of the local wheel-made type, to others are early Roman relief lamps mostly of Loeschcke's types I and III.2 Not a few belong to the "Ephesus" type,3 which was common in Corinth in early Augustan times. Some fragments of earlier types, as well as potsherds of the Greek and Hellenistic periods, were found in the same fill, but such are found in almost every Roman deposit at Corinth. On the other hand, the types of lamp common in the second half of the first century and later were conspicuously absent. All the evidence points to the middle of the first century A.D. as the approximate date of this fill. As might be expected the earth outside the outer wall of the cavea contains the same kind of objects as that under the covered passage. In some places this earth was disturbed when the walls were broken up during the middle ages, but in the main it has been possible to trace the line of the trench cut through the early Roman deposit by the builders of the Odeum. The late fill, which began to accumulate after the disuse of the Odeum toward the end of the fourth century, can easily be recognized both by the potsherds —a late variety of terra sigillata often with stamped patterns—by the late Roman and early Christian lamps, and by the numerous coins, mostly from the late fourth century. The trench cut for the outer wall of the cavea was as much wider than the wall as the foundation projects on the outside, and the space above the projecting foundation was filled up by poros chips resulting from the dressing of the building blocks. The sherds from this fill are very few and those found are of the same kind as those from the earth outside the building. One almost complete lamp of the late wheel-made type came from this fill.

At point A on the plan a trench, 2 m. wide and 3 m. long, was dug outside the outer wall of the Odeum in order to show the foundation down to the bottom (Fig. 2). At this point close to the wall were discovered seventeen lamps and a number of small fragments. Two of the lamps (Fig. 4, nos. 2 and 6), which are complete, are imported Roman relief lamps of Loeschcke's type I, two broken specimens and a few fragments belong to the "Ephesus" type (Fig. 4, no. 1), the other thirteen are of the local wheel-made variety (Fig. 4, nos. 3 and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A.J.A., 1927, p. 329 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lampen aus Vindonissa, pp. 24 and 34.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Walters', Br. Mus. Cat. of Lamps, Nos. 326-349.

4). One fragment of an early Roman lamp with the figure of a horse and rider was found close to the rock bottom, showing that the Roman fill extended all the way down. On the bottom are



FIGURE 4. LAMPS FROM THE ODEUM

quarry marks (Fig. 2, D) near the vertical cut in the rock, which is here  $5.50~\mathrm{m}.$  high.

The vault over the semicircular passage is made of small undressed stones held together by mortar. At the west end of the passage, where there was probably a series of cross-vaults resting on piers (see plan and Fig. 5), the vaults seem to have been made of large well-fitted voussoirs, a number of which were discovered in the débris.

At the east end there are traces of mosaics on the vault of the passage, but these did not extend all through. Where the vault is preserved in situ and on the numerous fallen pieces from the rest of the passage there are no traces of mosaics, nor were any tesserae found in the earth underneath, as could hardly fail to be the case if the whole vault had been covered by mosaics. Apparently only that part of the passage adjoining the vaulted stairway on the east side was so decorated.

At point B on the plan there is a recess 1.93 m. wide and 0.88 m. deep in the inner wall of the vaulted passage. On the floor of this recess and immediately in front of it were discovered a great number



FIGURE 5. ODEUM FROM THE WEST, SHOWING VAULTED PASSAGE

of late Roman coins, a fact which seems to indicate that some kind of business was transacted at this place. Although the outer wall of the cavea is too poorly preserved to show whether there was an entrance on the south side into the vaulted passage, it is reasonable to infer that such was the case. That the passage is not merely structural, but was used for communication between the different parts of the cavea, is shown by the fact that it is cut through the solid rock at both ends. Since there are no traces of stairways except near the two parodoi, the only purpose that this encircling passage can have served must have been to permit spectators to enter the Odeum from the south without walking around to the east and west entrances. If we assume such an entrance into the passage on the

south side, the purpose of the recess in the wall becomes clear. The spectators going through the passage to the west stairway could secure tickets at this place before reaching the cavea. On the southeast side the walls of the passage are entirely removed, but it is not unlikely that there was a similar ticket office there for the spectators who mounted the stairway on the east side. A somewhat similar arrangement is known from the threatre at Herculaneum, where a great number of theatre tickets were found near one of the entrances,



FIGURE 6. ORCHESTRA OF ODEUM, SHOWING CURTAIN CHANNEL

showing that it was one of the places where admissions to the performances were procured.

On the south side of the cavea, where the rock was quarried away, a row of six short chambers covered with slanting vaults extend from the inner wall of the vaulted passage to the vertical cut of the rock. The supporting walls of these chambers have been largely removed like the rest of the walls of the Odeum, so that the concrete vaults have fallen down. These have all been left in the place where they fell, and the earth has only partially been removed from between them, but the two ends of the supporting cross-walls are visible in every case (Fig. 3, A). The chambers seem to be wholly structural and were probably not accessible when the building was standing. This can be inferred from the fact that in some of the chambers the early fill was not removed, except where trenches were dug for the

foundations of the walls, but was left at a height considerably above the floor of the vaulted passage.

Of the orchestra and the scene-building the western half has been cleared this year, and in the previously excavated portion supplementary digging has been done wherever it seemed necessary for an understanding of the building. Thus the underground passage discovered toward the end of last year's campaign has been cleared for a distance of 26 m. from the manhole at the north side of the scenebuilding (Fig. 1, A). The distance from this manhole to the south end of the passage in the middle of the orchestra measures about 20 m., making the total length 46 m. From the back of the scenebuilding to its south end the passage was cleared last year and has been described in Dr. Meritt's report. Besides the manhole in the orchestra (Fig. 6, A), which is close to the front wall of the scenebuilding, a smaller opening farther south (point D on the plan) leads from a narrow water channel (Fig. 6, B) into the underground passage. Since the floor of this water channel slopes perceptibly from both directions toward the middle, where it opens into the underground passage, it is evident that the latter received the water which collected in the narrow channel. This channel and the opening into the underground passage seem too small for carrying off all the rain water from the Odeum, but the roof of the building must have thrown most of the water toward the outside, which would account for the apparent insufficiency of drainage. On the other hand, it is remarkable that so large a drain should have been made only to receive the small amount of water that could flow through this one narrow opening in the orchestra. Near the manhole north of the scene-building the underground passage measures 2.70 m. in height, i.e. more than a metre higher than would be necessary for a man of average height walking through upright. At the bottom the channel is about 0.50 m. narrower than at the top, and the difference is due to a bench-like projection on each side. These "benches" run at about the same level, ca. 1.20 m. below the roof of the passage, from the orchestra to the north side of the scene-building; whereas the bottom of the passage slopes 1 m. between the manhole in the orchestra and that north of the scene-building, a distance of less than 13 m. Furthermore, we find that the channel extending from the manhole just north of the scene-building toward the northeast is much lower and lacks the "benches" on the sides. Its height is about 1.40 m., or just enough to allow room for working conveniently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The narrow semicircular channel (Fig. 6, C), mentioned in Dr. Meritt's report, is not a water channel, but was probably made for the insertion of marble slabs forming a balustrade round the orchestra.

when the passage was made. This seems to indicate that the original floor of the channel under the scene-building was at the level of the top of the "benches" and that the narrow lower part was made at a different period and for a different purpose. The fact that it runs exactly along the main axis of the building lends probability to the supposition that it was originally intended for something more than an ordinary drain. Underground passages used for the sudden appearance of actors on the scene are known from other ancient theatres, and it is most probable that this was the original use of the passage under the Odeum. The purpose of the south end of the passage from the manhole under the stage to the middle of the orchestra, where it stops abruptly, a distance of ca. 6 m., is not clear. It may have been the intention to have another opening in the middle of the orchestra, but for some reason this was not carried out.

An examination of the steps cut in the sides of the manhole north of the scene-building leads to the conclusion that the passage did not originally extend farther to the north. The steps are cut in the rock, one row on each side of the manhole directly opposite each other. But on the one side the two lowest steps were apparently cut away when the channel toward the northeast was made, and two other steps were then made which do not come directly opposite the corresponding steps on the other side. Furthermore, the northeast part of the channel is much lower than that under the scene-building and winds about considerably. Its changes of levels have been explained by Dr. Meritt 2 on the ground that the digging of the passage was carried on from different manholes at the same time, and its winding course can probably be accounted for in the same way. At a distance of ca. 18 m. northeast of the manhole at the back of the scene-building there is another manhole directly under the modern road. It seems to have been used only for the making of the channel and was carefully covered by a slab which can be seen from below. About 8 m. beyond this point the channel was completely filled, so that it was necessary in order to reach it to sink a pit north of the modern road between the Odeum and the theatre. When the channel was reached it was discovered that its bottom here rises in a series of steps ca. 1.50 m., and from here toward the north it was cut so close to the surface of the rock as to be open on the top. Probably this part was intended to be covered with slabs. In order to follow the channel farther towards the north it would be necessary to dig

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., p. 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Such passages are found in the theatres at Eretria and Magnesia. *Cf. Bieber, Theaterwesen im Altertum*, p. 20. The purpose of the underground passage in the theatre at Sicyon is less obvious.

through an accumulation of earth about 6 m. in depth, hence it has not been cleared beyond this point. There can be no doubt that the whole northeast extension of the channel was left in a half-finished state. Although there is enough slope for the water to rise above the abrupt changes of level, since the top at the northernmost end is lower than the bottom under the orchestra, it is inconceivable that it was intended to be left in that condition. As a matter of fact, the water probably never reached to the northernmost end of the channel, for the rock through which it passes is so porous that the water would disappear sufficiently fast through it. This has been tested after heavy rains since the clearing of the passage under the orchestra and scene-building, and probably gives the clue to the unfinished state of the passage beyond this point. The "steps" at the north end are so high and irregular that they were certainly not intended as stairs, and where the level changes nearer the north wall of the Odeum there is an abrupt rise of ca. 1 m., both in the bottom and the top of the passage, so that it is difficult to walk past this place. There is, then, no reason for believing that the part of the channel from the manhole by the north wall of the stage building to its northernmost limit was intended for anything but a drain.

A study of the contents of the fill from the different openings into the passage proves that the northeast part was already filled up, while the part under the Odeum was still being used. In the northernmost opening a number of lamps were discovered dating from the second half of the first century A.D. and earlier. The most common type is that of the local wheel-made lamps which were in use as late as the end of the century. Numerous fragments belong to Loeschcke's type VIII, which was the most common type of relief lamps in Corinth during the Flavian period. More important for the dating of the fill are some fragments of factory lamps, a type which was imported to Corinth only during the last quarter of the first century.2 In the pit above the drain were found some later fragments, but those from the drain itself belong chiefly to the end of the century. Thus we may safely conclude that the northeast portion of the underground passage was filled not much later than 100 A.D.

The fill of the manhole in the orchestra and the small opening from the narrow drain can be accurately dated from the numerous coins, as well as from the fragments of lamps which it contained. The coins, which have all been cleaned and studied, are so important for

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the dating of the factory lamps, see Loeschcke, op. cit., p. 80, and Fremersdorf, Römische Bildlampen, p. 124.

the dating of the Odeum that it seems desirable to give the complete list:  $^{1}\,$ 

Hellenistic	4	Faustina the Elder 1
Julius Caesar	1	Marcus Aurelius
Augustus	2	Faustina the Younger 1
Claudius		Lucius Verus
Galba	1	Commodus 4
Domitian		Septimius Severus
Trajan		Julia Domna 1
Hadrian		Geta 1
Antoninus Pius		Alexander Severus

The dates of the lamps found in the same fill agree perfectly with those of the coins. A few fragments are from lamps of the first century like those discussed above, but the great majority belongs to a type which developed in Corinth in the beginning of the second century A.D. and continued in use for about a hundred years. Numerous fragments of marble, architectural members and pieces of sculpture, which came out of the same fill, all show signs of having been in fire, and quantities of carbonized wood and ash were mixed with the earth.

When the underground passage was first discovered there was nothing visible in the orchestra to betray its existence. Both the manhole and the small opening from the drain were completely filled, and the later orchestra floor extended over them. Had the manhole north of the scene-building been likewise covered over, the passage would in all probability never have been discovered. After this had been found, however, it became clear that the late floor of the orchestra concealed considerable remains from an earlier construction of the Odeum, which have now been uncovered.

At a distance of 3.10 m. south of the broad wall, on which rested the scenae frons, a channel, 0.88 m. wide and ca. 0.38 m. deep, runs across the entire width of the orchestra. In the south wall of this channel, at intervals of 2.68 m., are narrow cuttings (Fig. 6, D) extending into the rock below the bottom of the wall in some cases as much as 0.70 m. These cuttings were probably made for the insertion of upright wooden posts by which the stage curtain was supported. At the west end of the stage there seems to have been a small room under the stage floor (Fig. 1, B), from which there is

I am indebted to Dr. Katharine M. Edwards for furnishing me with this list, as well as for information about the other coins from the Odeum, of which she has made a catalogue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This list includes all the coins from the fill under the manhole in the orchestra and the small hole from the narrow drain at point D on the plan, but not those from the manhole north of the scene-building which may have been filled up at a slightly later date.

access into the curtain channel, probably for the use of the stage hands who raised and lowered the curtain. Similar arrangements are found in other Roman theatres, e.g. the Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens, the large theatre at Pompeii, and the theatres at Syracuse and Timgad.

The channel was filled to the top of its walls with broken tiles, numerous fragments of marble, ash, and carbonized matter. The marble is largely calcined, and even the poros walls of the channel have crumbled away at the upper edges from the intense heat of the fire which at one time completely destroyed the stage. Among the marble pieces well enough preserved to show their original shapes are several fragments of a Roman statue which will be discussed below. Numerous marble mouldings, fluted pieces of pilasters, and thin slabs of various kinds of colored stones were probably used for decoration of the stage and the *scenae frons*, which were destroyed by fire. The coins and fragments of lamps from this channel date this fill in the same period as that in the underground passage.

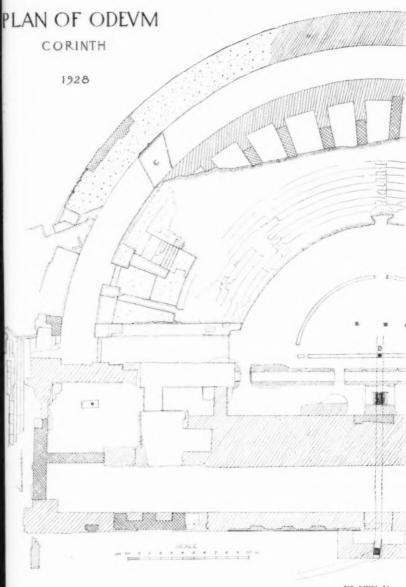
The walls of the curtain channel are made of well fitted blocks. nearly all of which show signs of having been re-used. Most of them are covered with fine stucco, which in some cases is on the side towards the channel, in others towards the outside. On one of these blocks is preserved part of a painting, a standing figure draped to the feet and holding a shield on the left side. Only the lower part from the knees down remains, but this is enough to show that the figure is that of Athena. Whether some of the other blocks are also painted cannot be ascertained without destroying a considerable part of the That the channel was made from re-used malater orchestra floor. terial is further indicated by mason's marks, some of which are turned upside down, and also by the fact that several of the blocks had along the edge a raised band like a taenia, which was removed when they were used in their present position. Another re-used poros block, found near the east end of the stage, has a Doric frieze and architrave in one piece. The metopes are painted white and have a border of red around the edges. On the architrave are some large Latin letters apparently cut through the thickness of the stucco so as to show on the stone underneath. The stucco has mostly disappeared and only three letters of the inscription remain. The first of these is S and the third F. Of the second letter only part of a vertical stroke remains. This is probably an I or a P, in which case the inscription would read either Sua Impensa Fecit or Sua Pecunia Fecit. The first letter comes at the very left side of the block, and after the F there are no traces of other letters, so that this seems to be the end of the inscription. The size of the letters0.15 m. high—and the fact that they are cut on an architrave block make it probable that they record the construction of the building to which the blocks belonged. Since other parts of the Odeum which are still in their original position were also once covered with stucco, it is most probable that the blocks in question belong to an earlier construction of the same building. On the piers that supported the vault on the west end of the vaulted passage and on the under side of the voussoirs of the same vault, the stucco is partly preserved. These remains indicate that at one period the walls of the Odeum were at least partly covered with painted stucco. It is important to bear in mind that some of those painted blocks were re-used for the building of a curtain channel which was completely covered by the later orchestra floor.

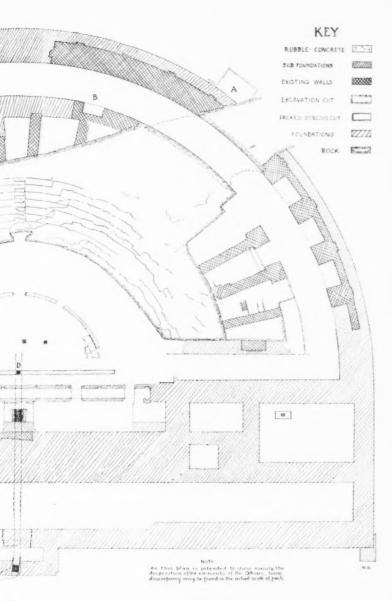
The western part of the scene-building corresponds in the main to the eastern part, which has been discussed in Dr. Meritt's report, but the walls at the west end are less well preserved. This is due to the fact that the floor of the western room was dug through in preparing for the foundations of a modern house, and apparently what remained of the walls of the Odeum at this point was then broken up for building material. Since only deep trenches and the lowest courses of stones remain to show the lines of the walls, it is impossible to tell how the rooms connected with one another. Nor has it been possible to show how the Odeum was entered from the west, since the excavations have not been carried beyond the west wall of the building. No trace of a stairway like that on the east side has been found, but it is probable that a road led to the western parodos.

From the north there was access into a vaulted corridor, 4.67 m. wide, which extended along the entire length of the building. The chief entrance was at the main axis of the Odeum through a portico projecting 2.50 m. from the north wall of the scene-building. The setting lines and dowel holes for four square pillars or plinths of columns are marked on the foundations of this portico, and on the north wall of the scene-building is a cutting for the threshold block (Fig. 1, C). Farther east is a smaller doorway, and there was probably a corresponding entrance on the west side where the wall has been removed. In the middle of the north portico is the opening to the manhole which leads to the underground passage (Fig. 1, A). The blocks round the opening have disappeared, so that it is not apparent how it was covered when not in use.

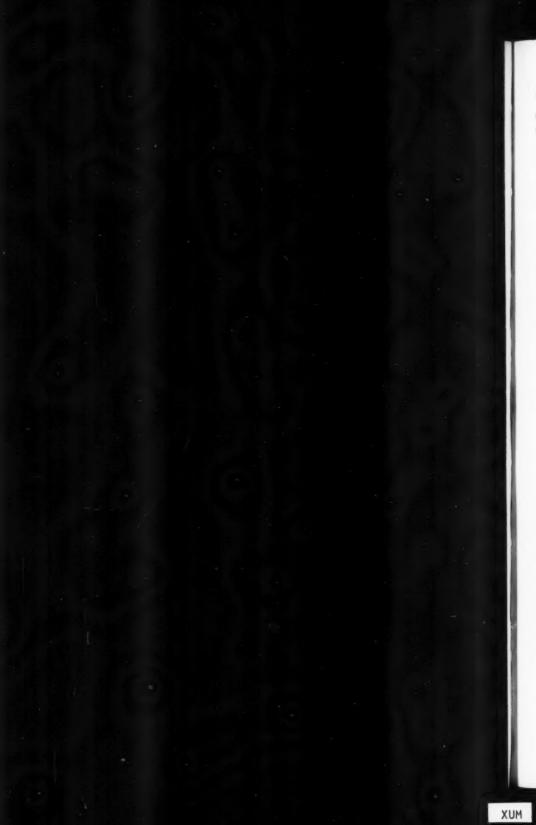
The north wall was originally built with a series of recesses, which at a later period were filled with rubble masonry so as to make the face of the wall straight, and marble slabs were added on the outside. At the same period a series of rooms adjoining this wall on the north

t e s o t e n e - , e o e f e k h e e.





TE V



side were added, the floors of which were also covered with marble slabs. In the manhole under the portico were found numerous fragments of marble veneer and mouldings very much like those from the fill of the curtain channel and the manhole in the orchestra. Unlike the latter, however, the fragments from the north manhole showed no signs of having been in fire, nor was there any other burned material in the fill. The rooms on the north side were probably made at the time when the building was revetted with marble. The fire which destroyed this marble revetment on the inside probably never reached the outer wall on the north side, the marble veneer of which was consequently left intact. When it was finally destroyed and used as fill in the north manhole is difficult to determine, because the coins from this fill are very few, but, since the underground passage could be of no use after it had been filled up under the orchestra, it is likely that the manhole under the north portico was also filled at about the same time as that under the stage; consequently the marble slabs which constituted the fill must have been taken down shortly after the fire. The two westernmost rooms along the north wall of the scene-building and one of the rooms toward the east had at one time mosaic floors with geometric patterns. The mosaics are very poor and were laid almost immediately on loose black earth. The tesserae are of white marble, black stone, and brick.

We can now sum up what can be learned from the building itself with regard to the different periods of construction, and with this compare what is known about it from ancient writers.

The only authors by whom the Odeum is mentioned in ancient literature are Pausanias  $^1$  and Philostratus. Pausanias calls it the  $\dot{\psi}\delta\epsilon\hat{\epsilon}o\nu$ , but does not tell by whom it was built. The route which he followed in Corinth is now so well known through the identification of the Temple of Apollo, the Fountain of Glauce, and the large theatre that there can be no doubt that the building under discussion is the same as the Odeum of Pausanias. The building mentioned by Philostratus is not so easily identified, since he gives no indication of its site. He merely says that Herodes built  $(\dot{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\dot{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\sigma)$  for the Corinthians a covered theatre which was only less magnificent than the one he built for the Athenians. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that Corinth had a third theatre in addition to the two already excavated and the Amphitheatre to the east of the city, so that it is highly probable that the covered theatre referred to by Philostratus is the building called the Odeum by Pausanias.

We know, then, that this building already existed at the time of

<sup>1</sup> Book II, 3, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vit. Sophist., II, 1, 9.

Pausanias' visit to Corinth. Exactly when this took place is not known, but since his fifth book was written in the year 1741 the second book, containing the description of Corinth, must have been written considerably earlier. The fact that he does not say that Herodes built the Odeum may only be an omission on the part of the author, since he passes by other monuments erected by the same donor without any reference to his name. Yet there is a possibility that the name of Herodes Atticus had no connection with the Odeum at the time when the second book of Pausanias was written. We need not conclude from the statement in Philostratus that the building did not exist before the time of Herodes. The Greek words meaning "to build" are often loosely used by ancient authors,2 and a thorough reconstruction of the Odeum may be all that ἐδείματο implies. In fact, this is the only view compatible with the actual remains of the building. The date of the fill close to the outer wall of the cavea and under the floor of the covered passage, the finds from the northeast part of the underground passage, and the re-used blocks in the curtain channel and elsewhere, all of which have been discussed above, point to the existence of the building in the first century A.D. It is inconceivable that no sherds of the second century or the late first century should be found in the undisturbed fill between the foundations of the walls on the south side, if the building The evidence of this had been erected for the first time by Herodes. fill indicates that the original building was constructed about the middle of the first century. To this period belong all the existing foundations as well as the underground passage from the orchestra to the north portico. Probably at a slightly later period this passage was converted into a drain and extended toward the northeast, but was not finished beyond the manhole under the portico. What the arrangement of the orchestra and the stage was at this early period we have no way of knowing, except that the order seems to have been Doric and that stucco was used for covering the walls and architectural members, while frescoes probably adorned the scenae frons.

The next period is that of the second century, when a thorough reconstruction took place. All the inside walls, the floors of the orchestra and the east room, and the seats of the cavea were covered with marble slabs; the stage was elaborately decorated with opus sectile; and columns of granite and many colored marble with Ionic and Corinthian capitals of white marble were used for the stage front. At this period the cavea and the stage were probably roofed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book V, 1, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pausanias says in Book I, 19, 6, that Herodes Atticus ψκοδόμησε the Stadium in Athens, which we know was built by Lycurgus in the fourth century B.C.

over, and the orchestra may have been covered with a *velum* supported by wooden posts, for which four cuttings have been found on the orchestra floor (see plan). The stage extended from the curtain channel to the front of the broad wall on which rested the *scenae frons*. In this were probably niches for statues of which several fragments have been found in the fill covered by the later orchestra floor. The north façade of the building also underwent a great change at this period. Here rooms, whose floors and walls were covered with marble, were added, probably for the use of the public as bazars or as places for lounging. The mosaics covering the vault of the long corridor on the north side of the building (Fig. 7) and the



FIGURE 7. FRAGMENT OF MOSAIC FROM CEILING OF NORTH CORRIDOR

vault at the east end of the vaulted passage may also belong to the same reconstruction.

This second period is doubtless that of Herodes Atticus. Fortunately some of the débris after the fire by which this building was destroyed was packed down under the later floor of the orchestra, so that there was no chance of confusing it with the fill of the later period. Both the sculpture and the architectural fragments bear the characteristics of the Antonine period, and the coins and lamps from the same fill point to the same conclusion. Although coins of the first century and the early part of the second century, as well as a few from Hellenistic times, were found in the fill, the majority date from the time of Hadrian and later. If we assume that the recon-

struction of Herodes took place sometime during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it is not unlikely that coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius were still in circulation.

The latest coin from the fill is one of Alexander Severus, whose reign began in the year 222, which marks the terminus post quem for the third period of the Odeum. Since only one of the coins belongs to Alexander's time, we are justified in assuming that the second reconstruction took place near the beginning of his reign. It is, of course, possible that some time elapsed between the fire which destroyed the Odeum of Herodes and the restoration that followed, but there are no indications that the building lay in ruins for any length of time. In the third period the Odeum was apparently changed from a covered theatre or music hall to an open arena. The space of the orchestra was more than doubled by cutting away the lower seats of the cavea and by extending the orchestra over the area formerly occupied by the stage. The additional space was needed for gladiatorial combats, and the vertical scarp, ca. 2.40 m. high, toward the side of the cavea protected the spectators from the wild beasts used for the performances. In the side of this scarp, on the main axis of the building, a cave-like room was cut in the native rock with an opening towards the orchestra. This was probably used as a cage for the wild beasts. In the large theatre at Corinth there are three similar caves under the lower part of the cavea.1

To the last period belong the large epistyle blocks and cornices of the Ionic order which are now lying along the north side of the orchestra (Figs. 1 and 6). These were intended to be seen from both sides, and on some of them the fasciae and mouldings also extend around the ends. The cuttings by which they were fitted together show that the columns on which they rested were arranged in pairs, one epistyle block extending between the columns of each pair, and at right angles to it another block extending from each column to the front wall of the scene-building. The columns belonging to this period were probably taken from the second century building. The granite could withstand the action of the heat much better than the marble, so that these columns probably were not destroyed by the fire. The exact disposition of the separate building blocks cannot be discussed in a report of this nature, but will have to await a study for the final publication of the building.

The floor of the arena was made of packed earth and mortar, but was not covered with marble. Certain parts of the building were plastered, especially the vertical scarp below the cavea, where some of the stucco is still preserved. Other parts which may belong to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See T. L. Shear, A.J.A., 1926, p. 451.

same period are the mosaic floors north of the scene-building and the marble stairway on the east side. The latter is carelessly constructed of re-used material, which was probably taken from the earlier building.

The workmanship of the third period is very poor and agrees well with the decadent art of the third century. On some of the cornice blocks the dentils are merely indicated, and the fasciae and mouldings on the epistyle differ from one block to another.

The second reconstruction seems to have remained without change until the final disuse of the Odeum towards the end of the fourth century. The coins found on the late floor of the orchestra, in the vaulted passage under the cavea, and elsewhere date mostly from the second half of that century. From that time until the modern era no large buildings occupied the site.

The epigraphical finds from the excavations are very scanty. Aside from the inscription mentioned above, only two inscribed marble fragments were discovered this year, and those are too small to be of importance. Of greater interest are the stamped tiles, of which a great number were used as flooring of the small drain in the orchestra. Most of these have two stamps each, one of which is always K MAI, the second and the third letters being in ligature. The second stamp is one of the following: TTAWTIOYTTATHP, with the last two letters in ligature, AFW, EYT, AAE, TIPE (or TIPE), and LA7 (?). The tiles, which measure 0.69 X 0.60 m., are flat with the edge turned up on both sides, and on the under side is a groove at the lower end, and a raised line on top at the upper end, which fit together where the tiles overlap. A number of similar tiles with the same stamps were found in the fill of the curtain channel, and others came out of a fallen piece of vault from the corridor on the north side. Since they were originally intended as roof tiles it is not unlikely that both in the drain and in the vault, they were used at second hand, and if this is the case they must date back to the first period of the Odeum.

The fragments of terra sigillata found along the south side of the cavea and under the floor of the vaulted passage have already been referred to. These are important not only for the dating of the building but also for the light they throw on the commercial relations between the Roman colony of Corinth and the home land in the first century of our era.

The following signatures appear:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. L. Shear, A.J.A., 1926, p. 446,

CAMVRI 1
STY
C 2 F (?)
C·VOL VSEN
LLAR or EIAR (?) The last two letters are in ligature. Probably
like C.I.L., XV, 5325 c.
L.TITI.TY
1
OPOM E }
SERENI )
PIL
PLOTЫ
RVFI \
RASIN 1Only the last four letters are preserved. Cf.
C.I.L., XV, 5495-5517.
XAPI≷

The most important results of the excavations in the Odeum, apart from the building itself, are the sculptural finds. On the second day of active work a female statue (Plate VI and Fig. 8), larger than life size, was discovered on the west side of the orchestra, ca. 1.50 m. above the floor. Though this is plainly a work of Roman date, the type is that of a sixth century statue, much like the pre-Persian Maidens from the Acropolis in Athens. The head and the lower part from above the knees are missing, but the rest is in excellent state of preservation. A large fragment, consisting of the right hand and part of the drapery, which was found in the Odeum last year, makes a perfect joint with the broken right arm. The material is white marble of fine grain resembling the Pentelic. The head is broken off below the neck, but the arrangement of the hair can be determined. On the back it falls in a solid mass on which the separate locks are but slightly indicated, and two long curls on each side hang down in front over the shoulders.

The drapery has the conventional forms of the sixth century, consisting of chiton and peplos. The crinkled texture of the former is carefully rendered. Below the neck and at the edge of the sleeve it is trimmed with a plain border, which was probably painted, and over each arm it is held by six circular clasps or buttons. It is fitted tightly to the body except in front, where it forms a broad fold, the lines of which are continued below by a still broader fold of the peplos. The latter forms a diplois at the upper edge, which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The Roman sculptor seems not to have understood the drapery he was copying, which



PLATE VI. STATUE OF ATHENA ARCHEGETIS FROM THE ODEUM

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he made more conventional than is common on archaic statues. The *diplois* is rendered with folds of geometric regularity, which make it appear as if it were a separate piece worn like a baldric rather than part of the outer garment.

The right arm is held nearly straight down on the side, and the right hand holds the drapery. On the left side the folds of the peplos curve in such a way as to suggest that on the original the left hand



FIGURE 8. REAR VIEW OF ATHENA STATUE FROM THE ODEUM

held up the drapery. It is possible that the copyist changed the position of the hands but did not make the folds of the drapery correspond. Unfortunately the break comes just below the place where the folds curve toward the side, so that it is not evident how the drapery was finished below. The more common rule in archaic statues of this kind is that the left hand holds the drapery and the right some kind of votive object. The reason for deviating from the rule in this case may have been that the statue was one of a pair with

symmetrical arrangement. This seems probable from the discovery last year of a left hand in which the drapery is held in exactly the same way as in the right hand on our statue. Since this hand was also found in the Odeum, it seems likely that it belongs to another archaistic statue and that the two were set up in close proximity, probably in niches on the back wall of the stage.

The left arm is bent at the elbow and held close to the breast, and in the left hand is an owl. This is somewhat surprising, since the owl cannot be a votive object such as is commonly held by female statues of this kind. Furthermore, the hand with the owl is not held forward as if it were bringing an offering; consequently the owl must be considered an attribute. This makes it possible to identify the statue as that of Athena.

Representations of Athena holding the owl in her hand are not uncommon, but as a rule it is the armed goddess who is so represented. In our statue all other attributes are lacking. In a single ancient reference, a scholion on Aristophanes, we are told that the statue of Athena Archegetis is holding an owl in her hand,2 consequently all the statues of that kind have been considered as representing Athena Archegetis. Müller,3 who lists a number of such statues, rejects the authority of the scholiast and thinks that the owl held in the hand has often no more significance than when it is found in some other place. On the other hand, we know, both from inscriptions,4 and from literary references,5 that Athena was worshipped in Athens as the founder, apxnyéris, of the city, and a dedication to the goddess under the same cult name has been found in Epidaurus. Two fragments of sculpture.6 both from the Acropolis in Athens, show an owl perched on a hand which is probably that of Athena. From these references and from existing representations of the goddess we may conclude that statues of Athena Archegetis were known certainly as early as the fifth century B.C. and that these statues held the owl in the hand. There is a strong probability, then, that the statue found in Corinth is a Roman copy of an early statue of this type.

Another statue, hardly less important but less well preserved, was found in the fill of the curtain channel. It is broken into small fragments which are so badly damaged by fire that some of them crumbled away as they were picked out of the soft earth. In fact, the greater part of the statue was completely turned into lime.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Müller, Denkmäler, 2, Pl. XX, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Aves, 515.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., 2, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.G., 476, 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ar. Lysistrata, 643; Plutarch, Alcibiades, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Schöne, Gr. Reliefs, 87 and 137.

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The statue, which was considerably larger than life, was that of a Roman in military dress. The fragments which are large enough to be recognized are chiefly from the lower part of the statue, but a left hand and some pieces of drapery, probably of the paludamentum, which were found in the curtain channel, seem to belong to the same statue. A fragment of the right leg preserves the upper part of the boot made of a panther's skin with the head hanging down and held



FIGURE 9. FRAGMENT OF RIGHT LEG OF STATUE
WEARING CUIRASS

up above by two serpents, the heads of which come together in front and hold a link between them in their mouths (Fig. 9). About the groin were two rows of metal lappets, attached to the lower edge of the cuirass and decorated with medallions in high relief. Below these was a kilt of leather straps with a double fringe. These straps are so deeply undercut that they appear to be hanging free, the texture of the material is indicated by fine incisions (Fig. 10), and

the edges of the straps and the fringes are rendered with the greatest attention to detail.

Of the medallions on the lappets six are well enough preserved to be identified, and five of these belong to the upper row. They are: the head of Zeus Ammon, the head of Medusa, an eagle with out-



Figure 10. Fragment of Statue wearing Cuirass, showing Details of Leather Straps

stretched wings, an elephant's head, and a ram's head. To the lower row belongs an Amazon's shield with a small Gorgoneion in the middle.

The Medusa head (Fig. 11) is not only the best preserved, but also the most beautiful. The face is turned to the right in half profile, but the back side is as carefully finished as the front. The hair falls in heavy locks on the side, and a single curl hangs over the forehead. Two wings extend from the top of the head, and round the neck are two serpents tied in a knot in front.

The head of Zeus (Fig. 12), of which the chin and most of the beard are missing, is facing to the front and is large enough to cover nearly the whole lappet. The hair is parted in the middle and falls



FIGURE 11. HEAD OF MEDUSA FROM LAPPET ON STATUE WEARING CUIRASS

in gentle waves over the forehead, from which small horns come down on the sides and curve around to the corner of the eyes.

Although the preserved fragments are small, it is possible to establish from other similar statues to what period this statue belongs, and even the person whom it represented can with great probability be identified. The closest parallel, so far as the armor is concerned, is a statue of Hadrian from Olympia, discovered in the Exedra of Herodes Atticus.¹ From this we can infer how the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Olympia, III, p. 271, Pl. LXV.

medallions on the Corinth statue were arranged. Though not in every respect alike it is possible that in front they were arranged similarly on the two statues. On the Olympia statue a head of Zeus Ammon occupies the middle medallion, on each side of which is an eagle, a Gorgoneion, an elephant's head, and a rosette in symmetrical arrangement. So far as the elephant's heads, the medallions on the Corinth statue probably came in the same order, but then followed a ram's head corresponding to the rosettes on the Olympia



Figure 12. Head of Zeus Ammon from Lappet of Statue Wearing Cuirass

statue. Although the armor of these two statues was probably much the same, the workmanship is totally different. On the Olympia statue the figures on the lappets are carelessly made in low relief, the texture of the leather straps is not indicated, and the workmanship in general is far inferior to that of the Corinth statue.

Another similar statue, also of Hadrian, was discovered at Hierapytna in Crete in 1870 and later taken to Constantinople. Here the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mus, Imp. Ottoman, Catalogue des Sculptures, 1893, p. 18; Sorlin-Dorigny, Gaz. Arch., 1880, p. 52 ff. and Pl. 6; W. Wroth, J.H.S., 1886, p. 126 ff.

Emperor is standing with his left foot on a crouching child, representing a conquered enemy. He wears the panther's skin over his boots, as on the fragment from Corinth, and the figures on the medallions are the head of Zeus Ammon in front with eagles and Gorgoneia (called winged Hermes' heads in the catalogue) on each side.

The type of statues under discussion came into use as early as the first century A.D. and continued until the time of the Antonines, but the close similarity of the two statues of Hadrian with the fragments from Corinth makes it highly probable that all three represented the same emperor.

The great difference in the treatment of the hair and in general effect between the head of Zeus and that of Medusa, shows that the Roman sculptor even in such details followed in the main existing models. While the Gorgoneion shows the characteristics of the Hellenistic period, the calm dignified expression on the face of Zeus and the regularity with which the waves of the hair are rendered, point to a fifth century prototype. The artistic excellence of these two heads and the exquisite workmanship of all the fragments show that the Greek artists of the second century A.D. were still able to produce works of art worthy of the old tradition.

The author takes this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Director of the American School of Classical Studies, Professor Rhys Carpenter, a deep sense of gratitude to the University of Cincinnati, which, through the kindly offices of Professor W. T. Semple, has made possible the excavations and discoveries recorded in this report, and which has assured future investigations at Corinth.

OSCAR BRONEER

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES ATHENS, GREECE

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  Anton Hekler,  $Jahresh.,~1919,~{\rm p.}~190$  ff., has shown that the panoplied statue goes back to Hellenistic prototypes.

# American School of Classical Studies at Athens

## EXCAVATIONS IN THE THEATRE DISTRICT AND TOMBS OF CORINTH IN 1928

#### PLATE VII

The campaign of excavation in Corinth, of which a preliminary report will herewith be given, was a continuation of work done in previous years in the theatre and in its immediate neighborhood. Accounts of the earlier campaigns were published in this JOURNAL in 1925 and in 1926.\(^1\) The work of this year, which was conducted as usual under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, was begun on February 22 and continued until June 6.\(^2\) The members of the staff were Richard Stillwell who had charge of all architectural studies, F. J. M. de Waele in charge of the theatre, Frederick Schaefer in charge of operations at the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis, and Miss Angela Johnston and Miss Josephine Platner who supervised the excavations of tombs north of the theatre. Howard Comfort was a member of the staff from March 9 to April 5 and made a special study of the Arretine signatures found in this area which will be published in a later number of this Journal.

The centre of the season's work was the great theatre, and the chief aims were the clearance of the stage and the uncovering of the east parodos. Although the problem of the removal of accumulated earth from the area of the theatre is always a difficult one it was to some extent simpler this year than in the previous campaigns. The excellent foreman, Sophokles Lekkos, was familiar by his training in 1926 with all the details of the work, many of the laborers had been employed on the site before and understood the technique and the aims of the task, and furthermore as the excavation proceeded to the east the depth of the deposit of earth to be removed was diminished. Also the double-track system of rails over which the earth is carried in cars to the dump nearly half a mile distant was laid and ready for operation on my arrival. Consequently the removal of earth for the season reached a total of 8,300 tons, of which 6,500 tons were from the theatre and 1,800 tons were from the neighboring precinct of Athena Chalinitis. The total amount of earth removed from the theatre in my three campaigns there is 21,500

Figure 1 shows a view from the southeast of the orchestra and

<sup>1</sup> XXIX, 1925, pp. 381-397, and XXX, 1926, pp. 444-463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A summary report of the results was published by me in the *Illustrated London News*, July 28, 1928.

<sup>474</sup> 

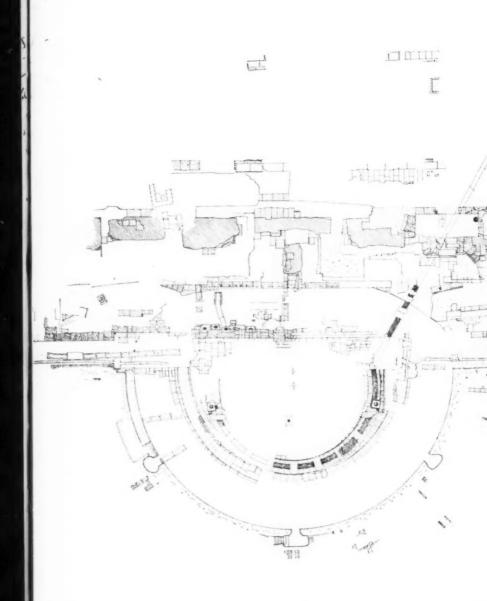
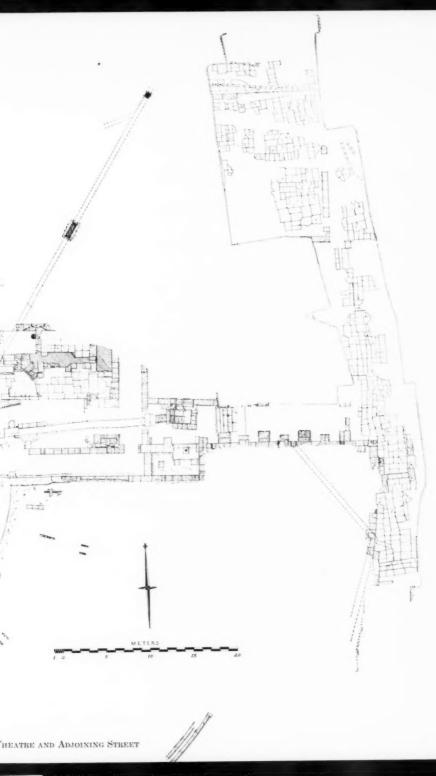


PLATE VII. PLAN OF THE THEATRE A



stage as they now appear. If this picture be compared with a view from a similar position included in the report of the results of the campaign of 1926<sup>1</sup> the progress of the work may be readily observed. The plan of the theatre reproduced in Plate VII was measured and drawn by Richard Stillwell. It should be compared with the plans of the building published at the conclusion of the seasons of 1925 and of 1926.2 Only the foundations of the stage building are preserved and as these belong to several periods of construction their correct identification and interpretation are extremely difficult. Mr. Stillwell is devoting careful study to these architectural prob-



FIGURE 1. VIEW OF THE ORCHESTRA FROM THE SOUTHEAST

lems and will presently publish in this JOURNAL a preliminary article dealing with the subject. It will, therefore, be sufficient for the purposes of this report to state that in the remains of the stage evidence is available to establish the presence of Greek and Roman epochs similar to that occurring elsewhere in the theatre. Some foundation blocks of the Greek building have Greek letters as mason's marks, and there still remain in situ three blocks of the north wall of the Greek parodos on the east side. There are also many stones of the Augustan theatre and even more of the later Roman building.

Some small trial pits were again dug in the orchestra with results

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  A.J.A., XXX, 1926, p. 449, fig. 4.  $^2$  Ibid., XXIX, 1925, p. 382, fig. 1, and XXX, 1926, p. 450, fig. 5.

that are important for the determination of the age of the several stratifications of the floor, and these will be discussed in the later architectural study of the building. On the painted circumference wall of the orchestra Dr. de Waele with keen perception deciphered an additional graffito. This is the word operitooloos which is scratched beneath the lion to the east of the central passageway. This Homeric epithet of the lion appearing here 1 seems to me to confirm my interpretation of the graffito under the lion on the opposite wall as referring to the story of Androkles.2 For it was the noted Homeric scholar Apion who told of the adventure of Androkles as he said that he had seen it in the Circus Maximus in Rome,3 and who subsequently made a triumphal tour of the cities of Greece where he was everywhere enthusiastically acclaimed for his mastery of the Homeric poems.4 Apion, who was jocularly called by Tiberius the cumbalum mundi,5 made his trip to Greece after Caligula's accession to the throne in 37 A.D. If this plausible interpretation of the graffito be correct it furnishes confirmatory evidence for assigning the wall to the Augustan theatre.6

The water channel about the Greek orchestra was thoroughly investigated. It did not have an outlet on the northwest side, but starting from that point the floor of the channel slopes gently as it circles the orchestra to the northeast corner where it passes beneath the foundations of the stage. Here the channel was wholly filled with accumulated earth, in which were found fragments of coarse pottery and also four bronze coins, two of Constantius II (337-361 A.D.), and one each of Valentinianus II (375-392), and of Theodosius (379-395). This evidence would indicate that the channel was open and in use until the final destruction of the theatre by Alaric in 396 A.D. After the drain passes beneath the ground the deposit of earth is smaller and reaches to less than half the height of the channel. In this earth as far as it has been excavated no objects of any kind were found. The channel, which is 1.30 m. high where it passes under the stage and gradually increases in height farther in with the sloping of the floor, proceeds in a straight line to the northeast for a distance of 42 m. At a point 22 m. from the entrance an ancient break in the vaulted roof had been covered by large slabs of stone and marble, on one of which a well carved Latin inscription was partly visible. This inscription could not be re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Il., 12, 299; Od. 6, 130. <sup>2</sup> A.J.A., XXX, 1926, p. 453. <sup>3</sup> Gellius V, 14. <sup>4</sup> Seneca, Epist. 88, 40. <sup>5</sup> Pling, Vol. III.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist. Pref. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See A.J.A., XXIX, 1915, pp. 387 and 388.

moved from the interior of the drain without danger of the collapse of the vaulting and therefore it was necessary to dig a pit from the surface of the earth at the point indicated. When the Latin inscription was secured in this way it proved to be a broken slab of marble with part of a dedication by P. F. AEM. PRIMUS. The name Aemilius occurs on an architrave block in the peribolos of Apollo at Corinth, and both names, Aemilius and Primus, appear, though not in conjunction, as duoviri on Corinthian coins, but the combination as it occurs on the new inscription has not been noted by me elsewhere.

While the motive for digging the pit was the salvage of the Latin inscription the operation brought to light a more important Greek inscription. In the pit at a depth of 4 m. below the surface of the ground, and 2 m. above the top of the drain, was found a statue base with a dedicatory inscription in Greek letters of a character that probably belongs to the end of the first century A.D. The inscription records the erection of a statue of a boy, L. Beibios Floros, by his father, L. Beibios Oursoulos, because the boy, as a comic actor, had won prizes at various games: the Heraea in Argos, the Kaisareia in Corinth, the Kaisareia in Sicyon and the Asklepieia in Epidaurus. There are many subjects of interest in this inscription which will be discussed by Dr. de Waele in a special article.

From the place in the drain where the inscription was lying the channel was followed to the northeast for a farther distance of 20 m. where it terminates. At the end is a manhole which originally led to the surface of the ground, but the top of which had been subsequently covered by earth to the depth of a metre. A small hoard of twenty-seven bronze coins was discovered on the floor of the drain at the bottom of this manhole, which is 7.40 m. below the present level of the ground. The coins are very badly corroded but they are large heavy pieces and the corrosion slowly yields to the electrolytic process of cleaning. Those so far cleaned are coins of Marcus Aurelius, of his wife Faustina, and of Antoninus Pius, and of these some were struck in Corinth and others in Rome. From their uniform appearance it is probable that the coins not yet cleaned belong to the same period as those that are now legible. At a distance of 3 m. before the end of the drain is reached a branch leads off to the southwest, but this has so far been followed for a stretch of only four metres. The channel contains a deposit of moist earth of an average depth of fifty centimetres and the work of clearance in the dark cramped area is slow and arduous.

The walls of the parodos are well preserved on either side, reaching a maximum height of 3.50 m. The excavation of the earth and

debris near its entrance was slow as the space was blocked by fallen masses of concrete that had formed the vaulted roof of the tunnel by which the parodos passed beneath the cavea. But enough of this construction had remained in place to permit of its architectural restoration on paper. Figure 2 gives a view of the parodos as seen from the west across the orchestra and the foundations of the stage. With a width of 2.65 m. and with its floor gradually sloping upwards the parodos proceeds to the east for sixteen metres where it is blocked by a massive pier of late construction. It thereupon makes a right-angled turn to the north and continues in this direction as far as the excavation here has progressed. The space occupied by the



FIGURE 2. THE EAST PARODOS AS SEEN FROM THE WEST

late corner pier is 6.50 m. long, so that the parodos of the first Roman theatre ran 22.50 m. to the east. It then turned to the north extending in this direction for four metres, from which point it resumed its course to the east. Part of the loose stone construction of the pier was excavated with great care in search of evidence for its date, but nothing significant was found in it except one small bronze coin. This is a coin of the late Empire of the type of Constantius II, but the obverse is too badly rubbed to be legible. On the reverse a standard is represented between two soldiers with the accompanying inscription GLORIA EXERCITUS. On the basis of this evidence a reconstruction of the theatre, with at least partial blocking of the parodos, took place in the course of the fourth cen-

tury A.D., and possibly less than fifty years before the final destruction of the building.

Just north of the late pier and 1 m. below its top a marble statue was found lying horizontally and parallel to the wall. It had the

appearance of having been placed in its position with some degree of It is a Roman work representing a man somewhat larger than life-size dressed in an under garment with a great cloak draped about the body (Fig. 3). The right arm is bent at the elbow and the right hand, protruding from the cloak, grasps folds of the garment in front of the breast. The left forearm is extended at right angles to the body and supports the end of the cloak that is hanging over it. The folds of the toga are many and graceful but they are not carefully executed. The head is missing but the figure evidently represents the type of a Roman statesman. In the earth just above the statue there were two coins of the late Empire of the type of Constantius II, and another similar coin was actually imbedded in one of the folds of the cloak. This is again confirmatory evidence of the general destruction that took place here at the end of the fourth century A.D.

A rather extraordinary statue of a horse was uncovered at approximately the same level as that



FIGURE 3. MARBLE STATUE OF A ROMAN STATESMAN

of the Roman statesman, but north of the north wall of the parodos. The animal is carved from marble in crude and unfinished workmanship. It is squatting on its hindquarters on a sloping base. The tail is conveniently curled along one side and the hoofs of the forelegs are firmly planted on the ground in front. As the forepart of the body is missing the interpretation of the pose is difficult.

Throughout the bank of earth at the east end of the stage were also scattered many pieces of sculpture in relief that belong to the friezes of the gigantomachy and amazonomachy, of which much was brought to light in the previous excavations in the theatre. An important fragment represents in back view a nude warrior with finely modelled muscles, who is holding on his outstretched left arm a large round shield with a head of Medusa in relief as its device. Another fragment shows a warrior in front view with a shield, and with a cloak hanging over the left forearm. On the interior of the shield, which is here seen, and on the folds of the garment red paint is preserved, such as we have become accustomed to expect



FIGURE 4. EAST SECTION OF EAST PARODOS

on the marble statuary of Corinth.¹ Among the other pieces of these reliefs are the lower part of a draped goddess, who is fighting with a giant, and a fine torso of a giant. Progress is being made with fitting together the hundreds of pieces of these reliefs and the prospect is encouraging that eventually many of the slabs will be wholly or in large part recovered.

The entrance to the eastern section of the parodos was blocked at a late period by a water basin with a channel to the orchestra, which apparently is contemporaneous with the pier construction in the corner of the parodos to the south of it. Throughout most of the Roman period, however, the entire parodos must have been in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See A.J.A., XXXII, 1928, pp. 330 ff.

use. It extends for a distance of 21 m. from the right-angled turn. A flight of four low steps, with cuttings in the rock evidently intended for gate posts, is at the west end, but for the rest of the way the floor is a gently upward-sloping ramp. The south wall, which is the supporting wall of the cavea, is strengthened by a series of eight buttresses, four of which are bonded into the wall while the alternate pillars simply abut on it. A view of this section of the parodos with the buttressed wall, as seen from the west, is given in Figure 4. A plausible explanation of the two types of buttresses



FIGURE 5. COINS FROM THE "ORIENTAL" HOARD

is that those forming an integral part of the wall belonged to the Augustan theatre, the structure of which was subsequently weakened, perhaps by the earthquake in the time of Vespasian, and therefore required to be strengthened by the massive pilasters built against the wall.

A settlement of Byzantine houses, some of the walls of which were laid on the very wall of the parodos, was located above the

<sup>1</sup> Suctonius, Vespasianus, 17.

parodos for its entire length and was not far below the present surface of the ground. Pottery, lamps and coins were found in abundance in these houses, and in one of the rooms was a small hoard of bronze coins of unusual interest. Seventy-three pieces are in this hoard, of which three are imperial Byzantine coins of Michael IV, 1034-1041 A.D., of Theodora, 1055-1056, of Constantine X, 1059-1067, one is a so-called anonymous Crusaders' coin,1 and the remaining sixty-nine are coins of eastern type. Among the latter several variations are represented, as may be observed in the selection of examples illustrated in Figure 5. A characteristic design is that of an elephant, above whose back is a radiate head set in a wreath, on either side of which is a star. Equally distinctive is a conventionalized lion or tiger with wings or plumes extending from These emblems are interchangeable on the faces of the coins, the elephant occurring on the obverse with the tiger on the reverse, the elephant appearing on both faces, or the tiger appearing on both. Either design is also found to be represented with or without an inscription on the obverse and with only an inscription on the reverse. Again on many of the coins an inscription alone is shown on each face where it is set within a decorative border. The units of the hoard were found together in a small room within high Nothing else was discovered in the room. The date of the coins is fixed in the latter part of the eleventh century by the three pieces of imperial issue. The inscriptions are in Arabic, but in only one instance is a word clearly legible, the name Allah, which is stamped across the body of an elephant. Much investigation on my part and inquiry of specialists in the immediate field concerned have failed to reveal any previous publication of similar coins. The Arabic inscriptions would indicate a provenance from Asia Minor or Palestine, and the Crusaders' coin in the hoard would suggest the possibility that they were brought to Corinth by some participant in the first crusade.

Before it was apparent in the progress of the excavation that the parodos turned north at about half-way of its lateral extent a small area was dug in what later proved to be the north end of the east cavea. As was the case in the west side of the cavea no remains of seats or of foundations for seats were found, but beginning at a point about two metres below the present level of the ground objects were discovered that date uniformly earlier than the end of the fifth century B.C. and that in some cases certainly go back to the beginning of that century. These objects include terracotta figur-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Class IX of A. R. Bellinger's classification in The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage, p. 7.

ines of horses and doves, several terracotta statuettes of women, much Corinthian and Attic pottery, Greek lamps, and no less than twenty Corinthian bronze coins of the type with the Pegasus represented on the obverse and on the reverse the trident. This underlying deposit that can be thus dated within reasonable limits will be of value for the study of the earlier history of the theatre.

At a point that is 60.20 m, distant from the centre of the Roman orchestra the parodos opens into a broad paved street that runs in a general direction from north to south at right angles to the parodos. The level of the street is six metres higher than the floor of the or-



FIGURE 6. "THEATRE" STREET. VIEW TO THE SOUTH FROM THE NORTH PLAZA

chestra. Opposite the entrance to the parodos its width is 5.70 m. Farther south it narrows to 4.50 m. and then becomes again wider, 5.50 m., while to the north it leads into what is apparently a broad open square, which has so far been cleared to a width of 17 m. with the pavement continuing beneath the unexcavated bank of earth. Figure 6 reproduces a photograph of the street as it is seen from the north looking across the plaza towards the south. The pavement is composed of large blocks of the hard limestone of Acrocorinth like that of the Lechaion Road, and as on that road there is also a curb here which is preserved in places. The street ascends steadily to the south, both by sloping ramps and by flights of steps. In order

to prevent the slope of smooth stone from being dangerously slippery in wet weather the blocks are roughened by vertical lines chipped in the surface. The presence of the steps proves that the street could not have been used for vehicular traffic, so that when a lady guest was escorted to the theatre the conveyance must necessarily have been a litter, as it was for the Queen Nikaia when she attended the musical festival arranged in celebration of her wedding. The street has been cleared for a total paved length of sixty-two metres. Its course has been followed for a farther distance of fifteen metres to the south, but at this end the pavement blocks



FIGURE 7. "THEATRE" STREET AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH END, WITH THE CAVEA WALL ON THE LEFT

have been removed. More investigation will be necessary in a future campaign to determine the outlet of the street to the south from the theatre district, and to ascertain the direction it follows on its way to the agora.

As the street passes south from the entrance to the parodos it skirts the outer wall of the cavea, which is shown in Figure 7. The discovery of this piece of wall is important as its preservation permits the exact measurement of the length of the radius of the Roman theatre. Like the wall of the parodos this wall is constructed of blocks of poros and is supported by heavy abutting pilasters. An

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Aratos, XVII.

opening between two of the buttresses leads into a carefully built well, by which one can descend with the help of footholds cut in triangular shape in the side walls, into an underground passage that is three metres below street level. The objects found in the material and debris that filled the well are uniform in period. As shown in Figure 8 they include plates and saucers of polished red and black ware, large and small long-necked jugs, terracotta loom weights, an Arretine bowl with the signature of Rasinius and ten lamps, two of which are fragmentary. One of the lamps has a representation on its disc of an Amazon supporting a fallen companion, which is identical with that on a lamp in the British Museum<sup>1</sup>



FIGURE 8. OBJECTS FROM THE PIT IN THE CAVEA WALL

and is apparently from the same mould. There are also two lamps of the so-called Ephesus type, and the remainder are not incongruous with these in the matter of date, the last quarter of the first century B.C. The pottery of Rasinius is also assigned to the Augustan period and confirms the evidence of the lamps.<sup>2</sup> As no objects of later date were contained in the deposit it is probable that this well or manhole was not used after the beginning of the Christian era. The underground passage itself is of Greek construction. It is 1.80 m. high, with a vaulted ceiling, and its walls are covered with fine smooth Corinthian stucco which is applied directly to the firm

1 Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps, p. 100, No. 659.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, II, p. 485. Ihm in Bonn. Jb., CII, 1898, p. 119.

clay through which the tunnel is cut. It was followed to the southwest for a distance of 30 m. where it terminates in a blank wall that is finished with a coating of stucco similar to that on the sides. purpose of this passage is not yet discernible as it is constructed in too fine a style for an ordinary drain and leads from no apparent source. It will, therefore, be necessary presently to investigate the area behind the terminal wall in search of a satisfactory explanation for the beginning or the ending of the corridor at that point. A similar passage extends from the bottom of the well in a northwesterly direction for 14 m. to its exit in the south wall of the parodos. As the Roman parodos is subsequent in period to the drain it is possible that the latter has here been cut, but some trials along the base of the north wall of the parodos failed to reveal its continuation on that side, although fragments of Corinthian and Greek terracottas and pottery were found at a depth of 1.30 m. below the floor of the parodos. Evidently the use of these underground passages was discontinued when the Roman theatre was built after the resettlement of the city. At that time the well was filled with miscellaneous debris and was not afterwards entered though, for some unknown reason, an opening was left in the wall of the cavea.

The pavement of the street lies at an average depth of 3 m. below the present surface of the ground, and this accumulated earth contained many minor objects, such as lamps, and bone and ivory stickpins. Some of the pins were elaborately made, with statuettes of Aphrodite as their terminal decorations. But the most astonishing phenomenon here was the discovery of some 4,500 bronze coins scattered for the most part in a layer of sand and burned material that was 0.50 to 0.75 m. above the pavement. The majority of these coins was lying above a stretch of the street extending from in front of the parodos for about 10 m. to the south. Their concentration here is difficult to explain, for if they had been washed down from the upper reaches there is no apparent reason why the wash should not have continued with the slope of the street to the north. These coins, the surface of which shows the usual bad corrosion, are being cleaned by the electrolytic process, and while this method is slow the results are very satisfactory. The few that have already been identified range in date from the time of Hadrian to the end of the fourth century. As Byzantine coins do not occur in this stratification the street was not open or in use after the destruction of the city in 396 A.D.

Opposite the entrance to the parodos on the east side, where several paving blocks are missing, a pit was dug below the surface of the street and at a depth of 0.80 m. were found sherds of Attic

black-glazed ware of the fifth to fourth century, of Corinthian pottery of the fifth century, and a piece of a painted terracotta sima of the sixth century. Therefore the evidence thus far available would indicate that the present pavement was laid contemporaneously with the reconstruction of the theatre in the time of Augustus. But it is certain that the floor of the east end of the parodos is of later date. because a pit beside a buttress on the south side vielded a piece of a lamp of the first century B.C. in proximity to a coin of Augustus, at a depth of 1.50 m. Furthermore, on the north side of the parodos by the buttress adjoining the street a Roman coin of Antoninus Pius was discovered below the floor level. Also, in a narrow trench farther to the west along this side of the parodos at a depth of 0.20 m. fragments of Arretine plates were lying, on one of which is the stamp (DA)MA (SES)TI; at the depth of 1.50 m. a Greek bronze coin was found which has not yet been cleaned but clearly is of the Corinthian type of the fourth century, with designs of Pegasus and the trident respectively on the obverse and reverse. Pieces of a Corinthian roof tile and of a Greek pebble mosaic were lying near this coin. Hard-pan was reached here at 2.00 m. below the surface, and immediately above it were found sherds of Corinthian pottery and of Attic black-glazed ware of the fifth to fourth centuries.

Some Byzantine graves were uncovered in the earth above the street at its north end. The skeletons were placed with the skulls to the west and the skulls are brachycephalic. In places in this area Byzantine walls have been built immediately upon the street and some graves are also on the same level. In and near the graves coins were lying close to Byzantine vases so that the ware represented can be accurately dated.

A marble statue of a youthful athlete, illustrated in Figure 9, was discovered close to the pavement on the west side of the north plaza. Like much of the statuary found in the Corinthian excavations this youth has greatly suffered from aggressive hands, as his head, both forearms and both lower legs are missing. The torso that remains is 1.05 m. high from the right knee to the neck. It is a well modelled, carefully executed Roman work in copy or imitation of a Greek bronze of the style of Polyclitus. The body shows marked resemblance in pose and in modelling to the copy of the Diadoumenos that was discovered in Delos, but the presence and treatment of the drapery bring it into association with two other works in Corinth. The statues found in the Roman basilica at Corinth, which have been interpreted by E. H. Swift as portraits of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, have a garment draped on the left shoul-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.J.A., XXV, 1921, pp. 337 ff., pl. X and XI.

der in a manner similar to that on the new marble, and Swift has clearly remarked the many characteristics of Polyclitan style in the subjects of his study.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, possible that the statue from



FIGURE 9. MARBLE STATUE OF A YOUTH FOUND ON THE STREET

the street also represented a member of the Augustan family done in marble after the fashion of the bronze athletes of Polyclitus.

The street which has thus been uncovered is not only an impressive spectacle in itself, as it stretches to the south for 75 m. from the open plaza, with the mass of Acrocorinth in the distance ahead, but

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 363.

it also has considerable topographical importance. It is most probable that Pausanias followed this route from the agora to the theatre and then proceeded to the other buildings located not far from the theatre, the gymnasium, the fountain of Lerna, the temples of Zeus and of Asklepios.<sup>1</sup> Future exeavations that will be



FIGURE 10. ARCHAIC POROS HEAD OF A MAN

continued along the paved way should certainly reveal the buildings mentioned.

#### PRECINCT OF ATHENA CHALINITIS

The street, in its south extension, borders the west wall of the precinct that has been tentatively called the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis. Work was conducted on a small scale in the eastern part of this area, but unfortunately no evidence, inscriptional or <sup>1</sup> II. 4, 5.

otherwise, was secured to confirm the hypothetical identification. When the corps of laborers was reduced after the earthquake, and when it became obvious that the street would skirt the west wall of the area it seemed expedient to suspend operations in the east end and carry on future excavations here from the side of the street. But the large mound of earth that had been dumped at the west end from the previous excavation of the area was entirely removed. so that the general appearance of this district is greatly improved. An important fragment of sculpture was found at the west end in line with the southern extension of the street at the depth of 1 m. below the surface of the ground. This is the front part of an archaic head of a man which is shown in Figure 10. The fragment, which is 0.13 m, high, is made of poros which is covered with stucco that is painted white. Also traces of color still remaining prove that the hair of the beard was red. It is probable from the appearance of the break at the back that the piece came from a relief, and the treatment of the surface of the top suggests that a helmet was originally worn. The archaic character of the head is obvious in the projecting ridge of the eyebrows, the shape and execution of the eyes and eyelids, the moustache with the drooping ends, the beard that projects slightly forward and the lips with the apparent smile. The head resembles in some respects, especially in the treatment of the lower part, the marble head found on the Acropolis that has blue color on the hair,1 and, while undoubtedly earlier, has many similarities with the bronze head of a warrior also found on the Acropolis and now in the National Museum in Athens.2 The size, material, style and technique suggest the possibility that this is a fragment from a metope of the temple of Apollo, a provenance that Dr. Hill proposed for the archaic relief in poros of the forepart of a horse found in Corinth in 1925.3

#### THE TOMBS

In the last two weeks of the season thirty-three unrifled graves were opened in a cemetery lying about one kilometre northwest of the theatre and a short distance north of the cliff over which the earth from the theatre has been dumped. B. H. Hill and W. B. Dinsmoor had discovered and excavated graves in this area in 1915 and 1916. The graves, which are placed in close proximity to one another as may be seen by the photograph reproduced in Figure 11, lie at a depth of from one to two metres below the present level of the

3 A.J.A., XXX, 1926, p. 48, fig. 3.

Dickins, Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, I, p. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur, pl. 2.

earth. The most common type of grave, represented by twenty-five of the total thirty-three burials, is a poros sarcophagus that is covered by a single slab of poros. The coffin is cut from one piece of stone and has walls that vary in thickness from five to seven centimetres in respective relation to the varying sizes of the coffins. The walls are invariably coated on the interior with fine buff Corinthian stucco. The handling of the heavy coffin was facilitated by notches for the passing of ropes that were cut in each corner of the outside walls, and two strap holes on one side of the cover show how that could be let down carefully into its exact place. The coffin is usually extended in a direction from east to west, and the head of the



FIGURE 11. GROUP OF GRAVES IN THE NORTH CEMETERY

body is always at the east end. In four instances where the orientation of the coffin is from north to south the head was found at the south end.

Two variations occur in this type of sarcophagus burial and they are evidently due to reasons of economy. In one case the stone cover was placed on walls of rough rubble construction, and in the other exception one side of the cover was found to be supported on the edge of the rim of a neighboring sarcophagus while the other side rested on two small pillars of poros.

By the side of the sarcophagi occur burials in a simpler form where the body is placed within rubble walls and covered by large slabs of terracotta. Either a single tile serves as a cover or two or three are laid side by side as the needs of the interment dictated. In one instance the tiles are 1 m. long and 0.80 m. wide, and all are made of characteristic fine buff Corinthian clay. Two graves of this type with terracotta covers offer a variation in arrangement in that the tiles are not laid flat on the walls, but are set in upright position so as to lean against each other and thus form a kind of gable roof. The contents of these graves are exactly similar in style and period to those in the sarcophagi.

Few of the skeletons were well preserved and in the graves of infants the bones had entirely disappeared, but in ten instances the skulls were sufficiently intact to permit accurate measurements to be secured. The cephalic index ranges from 69 to 78, thus classifying all these heads as dolichocephalic. The jaw of a male adult in one of the graves (No. XIII) shows a cavity in the upper right first molar tooth. This has been critically examined by Dr. F. L. Whiting who reports that there is no trace of any mechanical treatment of this cavity, which is on the occlusal surface above the palatal groove and opens into the pulp chamber of the tooth. This caused devitalization of the tooth and produced a chronic dentoalveolar abscess on the distal root, the result of which can be observed by the area of periapical destruction in the maxilla about the size of a pea. This man inevitably suffered severely from toothache before his death.

The main contents of the graves were vases, lamps, strigils and egg-shells. In several cases the shells of the eggs were complete except for small holes at one end, but they were usually found in a broken condition as might be expected from their fragile nature. In one grave (No. XVII) no less than four eggs were discovered lying close to two skyphoi. It is well-known that the egg was used by the Greeks as an offering to the dead. It appears on several sepulchral vases and monuments, and its presence in graves has been occasionally noticed. In an archaic grave in Thera the offering has even become symbolized in three stone eggs. The egg may have been dedicated to the dead merely as food, or it may have served as a propitiatory offering or as a symbol of resurrection to a new life.

The strigils, which numbered twenty-five in all were of many sizes, and showed minor variations in shape. They were made of bronze with two exceptions which are of iron, and they were sometimes clasped in the hand of the deceased. In the grave of a small

<sup>2</sup> Thera, Text, II, pp. 52 and 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jane Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 630, where reference is made to Martin Nilsson, Das Ei im Totenkultus der Griechen.

boy (No. XIV) ten of these athletic implements had been placed, sad symbols of the shattering of his parents' hopes.

The five lamps, one of which was found in the earth above the graves, are of fairly uniform type, flat in form with the centre open and with horizontal ribbon handles. They were made of Corinthian buff clay and had been coated with a black slip which in one example is well preserved but in the others has largely flaked away. Mr. Oscar Broneer of the American School at Athens, who has made a detailed study of over 1,500 lamps from Corinth, has kindly given me his opinion that the lamp from outside the graves may be as late as the middle of the fifth century but that the others date from the last quarter of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

The most numerous offerings, however, were vases, of which 194 complete specimens were recovered. The shapes most generally represented are the lekythos with 57 examples and the skyphos with 52. The types of pottery are comprehended in three groups: the local Corinthian ware, Corinthian imitation of Attic, and imported The Attic ware is easily distinguishable from the Attic products. Corinthian imitation of it because on the latter the black glaze has invariably flaked more or less away. The Attic vases are blackfigured with the exception of two red-figured skyphoi with representations of owls standing between conventionalized branches of olive. The many variations in the shapes of the skyphos and the kylix suggest the possible derivation of the latter from the former. All of the kylikes are of the type with the heavy low base, and there are several large two-handled bowls of the kylix form with no base at all. Some of the kylikes are entirely covered with lustrous black varnish, while others have bands of black-figured decorations, consisting of series of palmettes or of figured scenes between terminal palmettes. Groups of figures in the black-figured technique also occur on the lekythoi, but these are for the most part decorated with palmettes, or with an ivy-leaf design between bands of cross-hatching. About half of those found have a white ground.

The problem of assigning a date to these graves is difficult because of the heterogeneous elements among the contents. A Corinthian skyphos in the Bibliothèque Nationale, exactly like those found most commonly in the graves, is placed by Madame Lambrinos among the earliest of her Corinthian series, and she justifies this dating by the statement that some examples of this technique are contemporary with geometric styles. At the other end of the scale

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fasc. I, pl. III, C. S. 1.

is the presence in two graves of an Attic red-figured skyphos that is decorated on each side with an owl between olive sprays. familiar type of vase is dated by Beazley in the latter part of the fifth century.1 Between these two extremes are the black-figured skyphoi and kylikes that are uniformly dated in the latter half of the sixth century.2 But the situation is complicated by the fact that in one grave, No. XXX, among other objects were two blackfigured skyphoi and a red-figured skyphos with the owl decoration (Fig. 12).

Numerous lekythoi are ornamented with black palmettes either on a red or on a white ground. Similar vases are dated by Orsi



FIGURE 12. CONTENTS OF A GRAVE IN THE NORTH CEMETERY

in the second half of the sixth century,3 and he specifically disputes the attribution of this type to the fifth century by Brueckner and Pernice.4 Two vases of this sort and a kylix decorated with palmettes in black-figured technique were found with other objects in the sarcophagus of an adult, No. XVII, on the end of the cover of which the corner of a child's coffin was resting, No. XVI. small sarcophagus contained only a large Corinthian pyxis, with geometric decoration, on which much delicate red color is preserved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ibid., Great Britain, Oxford, pl. III, H, f, 48, 9; Text p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., Italy, Villa Giulia, Fasc. III, pl. III, H, e, 49, 4 and 7. Also Mon. Ant. XXII, 1913, p. 508, pl. LXIII, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Rôm. Mitt., XIII, 1898, p. 321. Cp. also Gabrici in Mon. Ant., XXII, 1913,

p. 513, pl. LXIX, 8

<sup>4</sup> Ath. Mitt., XVIII, 1893, p. 181.

It is similar in shape to the earlier pyxis of Attic-Corinthian style in the Cinquantenaire Museum in Brussels<sup>1</sup> and, if standing alone, would certainly be dated in the sixth century, but it can not be substantially earlier than the contents of Grave XVII on which it was resting.

With the exception of the owl skyphoi the contents in general fit agreeably a date ranging through the last quarter of the sixth and the first quarter of the fifth century. It is hoped that additional chronological data may be secured by further investigations to be conducted in this area in the next campaign. This interesting series of graves will be subsequently published in full detail by the excavators.

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 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Bruxelles: Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Fasc. I, pl. III, H, d, 2, 2a.

## A CONSTANTINIAN HOARD FROM ATTICA

A small hoard of Constantinian bronze coins brought to my attention by Dr. C. W. Blegen is here published by his permission. It was found in Attica in 1925, and, though it exhibits nothing unexpected, it has a certain interest as furnishing some positive evidence of the trade relations of Attica in the first half of the fourth century A.D.

The hoard was buried between 343 and 345, for there are no pieces of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO type which was introduced in the latter year, while the VOT XX MULT XXX type of 343 is well represented by coins showing very little sign of wear. So far as I know, no hoards of this period from Greece have been published, but it happens that there is an exactly contemporary though much larger hoard from Egypt published by J. G. Milne ("A Hoard of Constantinian Coins from Egypt") in the Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique, Vol. VI, 1914, pp. 1–27. My arrangement parallels his for purposes of comparison.

#### 330-335 A.D.

- Rev. Type, α GLOR IAEXERC ITVS Two soldiers, with spear and shield, standing facing each other; between them, two standards.
  - $\beta$  Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, 1.1
- Obv. Type, A1 CONSTANTI NVSMAXAVG Bust r. diademed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
  - B1 CONSTANTINVSIVNNOBC Bust r. laureate, wearing cuirass.
  - C1 FLIVLCONSTANTIVSNOBC Bust r. laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
  - D1 FLIVLCONSTANSNOBC Bust r. laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
  - D2 FLCONSTANSNOBCAES Bust l. laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
  - E1 URBS ROMA Bust I, in helmet and cuirass.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This type continued to be struck after 335, but the condition of the pieces indicates that they were among the earlier coins in the collection.

## BELLINGER: A CONSTANTINIAN HOARD FROM ATTICA 497

Mint1	Number	Mint	Number
Antioch		Constantinople	
Β1α	1	Α1α	2
Cyzicus		Β1α	1
C1\alpha	. 2	C1a	1
Nicomedia		Heraclea	
$D2\alpha$	. 1	$C1\alpha$	1
Ε1β	. 1	$D1\alpha$	1
		E18	1

### 335-337 A.D.

Rev. Type,  $\gamma$  GLOR IAEXERC ITVS Two soldiers, with spear and shield, standing facing each other; between them, one standard.

Obv. Type, A1, B1, C1.

F1 CONSTAN TINOPOLI Bust, I. in helmet and cuirass.

Mint	N	ember	Mint	Vumber
Cyzicus			Nicomedia	
Α1γ	****	1	Α1γ	3
Β1γ		1	Heraclea	
C17		1	Α1γ	1
			F1γ	

### AFTER 337 A.D.

Rev. Type, \gamma

- SECVRI TASREIP Figure holding long scepter leaning on column.
- ε Emperor r. in quadriga.
- Veiled figure standing; in field VN MR (Veneranda Memoria)
- Obv. Type, A2 DVCONSTANTI NVSPTAVGG (Divus Constantinus Pater Augustorum)
  - B2 CONSTANTI NVSMAXAVG Bust r. laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
  - B3 CONSTANTI NVSPFAVG Bust r. diademed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
  - B4 DNCONSTAN TINVSPFAVG Head r. laureate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Because of the small numbers involved it has not seemed worth while to record the various officinae of each mint represented.

- B5 Same inscription. Head r. diademed.
- C2 CONSTAN TIVSAVG Bust r. diademed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
- C3 Same inscription. Head r. diademed.
- C4 CONSTANTI VSPFAVG Bust r. diademed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
- C5 CONSTAN TIVSPFAVG Head r. diademed.
- D3 DNCONSTA NSPFAVG Head r. laureate.
- D4 Same inscription. Head r. diademed.
- D5 CONSTANS PFAVG Bust r. diademed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
- D6 DNFLCONSTANSAVG Bust r. diademed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
- D7 FLIVLCONSTANSAVG Bust r. laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

EL

Mint	Number	Mint N	umber
Alexandria		Constantinople	
A25	. 1	Α2ε	2
$B2\gamma$	. 1	A25	3
Antioch		$B3\gamma$	1
С37	2	С5ү	4
Cyzicus		D4γ	2
Α2ε	. 3	Heraclea	
A2ζ	. 3	$C2\gamma$	2
С5ү		Ε1γ	1
$D3\gamma$	. 1	Thessalonica	
D4γ	. 1	Β3γ	2
(?)γ	. 1	C47	1
Nicomedia		$D5\gamma$	2
Α2ε	. 3	Rome	
A25	2	D6δ	1
Β2γ	-	Uncertain	
Β3'γ	. 1	Α2ε	1
С5ү		A25	2
D3γ		С3ү	1
D4γ		$C5\gamma$	2
200,000		$D3\gamma$	1
		D4γ	3
		$D7\gamma$ .	1
		$(?)\gamma$	2

# AFTER 340 A.D.

- Rev. Type,  $\eta$  VOT XX MVLT XXX (Votis vicennalibus (solutis) multis tricennalibus (susceptis)) in a wreath.
  - θ VICTORIAEDDAVGGQNN (Victoriae dominorum Augustorumque nostrorum) Two Victories each holding a wreath, standing facing each other.

Obv. Type, C4, C5

- C6 CONSTANT IVSPFAVG Bust r. diademed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
- C7 DNCONSTAN TIVSPFAVG Head r. diademed.

D3, D4, D5

D6 DNCONST ANSPFAVG Head r. diademed.

Mint	Vumber	Mint	Number
Alexandria		Heraclea	
$D4\eta$	. 1	$C7\eta$	. 1
$D6\eta$	. 1	$D4\eta$	. 3
Antioch		Ε1η	1
$C7\eta$	1	Thessalonica	
Cyzicus		C40	. 1
C7 $\eta$	4	$D5\theta$	. 5
D3η	2	Uncertain	
$D4\eta$	5	С60	. 1
Nicomedia		C7n	. 8
C7n	1	$D4\eta$	. 10
$D4\eta$	7	$D5\theta$	. 1
Constantinople			
C7 $\eta$	3		
	SUMM.	ARY	
Constantine I	7	Alexandria	. 4
Constantine I (memoria	1) 20	Antioch	. 4
Constantine II	10	Cyzicus	. 26
Constantius II	43	Nicomedia	. 28
Constans I	51	Constantinople	. 19
Urbs Roma	4	Heraclea	. 13
Constantinople	1	Thessalonica	. 11
Uncertain	3	Rome	. 1
	-	Uncertain	. 33
	139		

The Summary of Milne's Hoard is as follows:1

Alexandria	1,592	Siscia	42
Antioch		Aquileia	23
Cyzicus	845	Rome	285
Nicomedia	539	Arelate	56
Constantinople	698	Lugdunum	13
Heraclea	220	Treviri	19
Thessalonica	196	Tarraco	3

6,141

In spite of the great discrepancy in numbers and the large proportion from uncertain mints in the Attic hoard, a comparison of the two is of some interest. It will be seen that the eight mints represented in Attica are in this order of frequency in the two hoards:

Attic Hoard	Alexandrian Hoard
Nicomedia	Antioch
Cyzicus	Alexandria
Constantinople	Cyzicus
Heraclea	Constantinople
Thessalonica	Nicomedia
Alexandria	Rome
Antioch	Heraclea
Rome	Thessalonica

Analysis of these lists indicates that Athens' trade was chiefly with the Propontis (Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Constantinople and Heraclea), second with the north (Thessalonica), third with the south (Alexandria and Antioch). There are two differences between the lists. The first is that the mints of Antioch and Alexandria rank high at Alexandria and low at Athens. This is so natural that it calls for no comment. The other is more instructive: at Alexandria the mint of Rome is better represented than that of Heraclea and Thessalonica; at Athens there is only one Roman piece. Account should also be taken of the 156 pieces in the Alexandrian hoard from western mints other than Rome which are not represented at Athens at all. Yet Athens is nearer the west than Alexandria. Two explanations present themselves: either the old trade route across the isthmus of Corinth was largely abandoned at this time and Roman ships went to Egypt by way of Crete or Cyrene, or Athens had now become a provincial Aegean town lying off the main lines from Corinth to Constantinople and Alexandria. Some

<sup>1</sup> L.c., p. 24.

evidence as to the first possibility is furnished by the excavations at Corinth. In 1925, there were, of course, a great number of Constantinian coins unearthed, but, as the condition of excavation coins is vile, the mint of most of these was quite beyond conjecture. Some could be made out, however, and they fall in this order:

Cyzicus	8	Alexandria	1
Constantinople		Siscia	
Nicomedia	3	Lugdunum	1
Rome		Sirmium	1
Thessalonica	2		

Even with these scanty numbers it is at once apparent that the Proportis has a decided preponderance. The occurrence of western mints shows that trade through Corinth between the halves of the Roman world had not entirely ceased, but the proportions suggest that it was a trade of reduced importance and that Corinth looked rather to New Rome than to Old for her commerce.

The second possibility is undoubtedly supplementary to this. The trade between Corinth and the west had declined by the fourth century, and, of what was left, very little fell to the lot of Athens, which was now wholly dependent upon the markets of the east, particularly those in the vicinity of Constantinople.

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9

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS<sup>1</sup> SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

Edward H. Heffner, Editor University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

# GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Development of the Plastic Arts.-In Mannus xx (1928), pp. 1-24, Josef Strzygowski, in an article entitled Natur und Unnatur in der bildenden Kunst, advances a new theory of the historical development of the plastic arts. Beginning with some observations on art as manifested in nature itself in symmetry and proportion, he insists that too great emphasis has been laid on the collection and study of the extant remains of the powerful peoples of the temperate zone, whose rulers imposed their will on sculptors, painters, and artists generally. He compares this period to that of the great naturalists and collectors of the last century in the field of the natural sciences. He would divide the world into the three great belts of the equatorial zone, the middle zone, and the northern, and thinks that great light is to be cast on the beginnings of art in the two zones where perishable materials were the vehicles of artistic expression. He excepts the Greeks from his strictures, in maintaining that they brought from the north their artistic gifts. So, too, in Spain, at Alpera, of the province Albacete, he attributes the high skill of primitive artists to a similar influence from the north, though he admits that this is hypothetical rather than proven.

Early Magnifying Glasses.—In Ant. J. viii, 3 (July 1928), pp. 327–330 (1 fig.), H. C. Beck gives evidence of the early existence of magnifying glasses. Rare pieces of round glass have been found in Egypt, one of which, in the Ashmolean collection, is claimed to be of the First Dynasty, if not Predynastic. The most conclusive proof of the very early existence of magnifying glasses is the discovery in Crete of two crystal lenses dating as early as 1200 n.c. at least, and probably 1600 n.c.

Eighteenth-Century Notes of Travel in the Near East.—A collection of note-books, diaries, sketch-books, etc., relating to the journey in Greece and Asia Minor made in 1750–1751 by Robert Wood, John Bouverie, and James Dawkins, with an Italian draughtsman named Borra, has come into the possession of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and a selection from them, with comments, is published by C. A. Hutton in J.H.S. xlvii, 1927, pt. 1 (pp. 102–128; 6 pls.; 5 figs.). The Englishmen were excellent classical scholars and men of cultivated tastes, Bouverie being more especially the archaeologist of the party. Wood, with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor Heffner, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor Samuel E. Bassett, Professor Carroll N. Brown, Miss Mary Buckingham, Professor Sidner N. Deane, Professor Robert E. Dergler, Mrs. Edith Hall Dohan, Professor Hardle N. Fowler, D. Stephen B. Luce, Professor Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Professor Clarence Manning, Professor Elmer T. Merrill, Professor Lewis B. Paton, Professor Homer F. Rebert, Professor John C. Rolfe, Professor John Shapley, Professor Frank G. Speck, Professor Francis J. Tschan, Professor Axel J. Uppyafla, Professor Shirley Weber, and the Editors

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after June 30,

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see Vol. xxx, 1, p. 124.

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assistance of Dawkins, afterwards published notes on the ruins of Palmyra (1755) and Baalbek (1757), and an Essay on the Original Genius of Homer (1767); Dawkins also helped finance the project of Stuart and Revett. The party started from Naples in May, 1750, and visited Smyrna, Sardis, Cyme, Pergamon, Constantinople and the shores of the Propontis, the plain of Troy, Tenedos, Lesbos, Teos, Ephesus, Samos, Priene, Magnesia ad Mæandrum, Tralles (where Mr. Bouverie died of a fever), Nysa, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Aphrodisias, Alabanda, Mylasa, Euromus, Halicarnassus, Cos, Ceramus, Cnidus, Rhodes, Egypt (Cairo, Pyramids, Saccara, Alexandria), Palestine (many sites), Damascus, Palmyra, Baalbek, Cyprus, Iassus, Didymus (?), Delos, and Athens, whence they made a tour with Stuart through Attica, Pœotia, Delphi, Corinth and the northern part of the Peloponnesus, returning through Eleusis to Athens. Their descriptions and the drawings of these sites and the then existing ruins of ancient cities are of the utmost value and interest, historically and archaeologically.

Genesis of the Potter's Art.—In Mannus xx (1927), pp. 285-295 (5 figs.), Franz Langer discusses the genesis of the potter's art before the invention of the potter's wheel. The chance location of a fireplace on clayey soil or the accidental burning of children's clay toys probably led to the discovery that clay was hardened by fire into an almost indestructible condition. Only small and flat vessels could be made by hand from a ball of clay. For larger vessels a wicker-work form was lined with clay and the burning of the woven reeds or basketry helped in the The impress of the weaving gave a primitive adornment to the vase, which was later imitated by tooling. Gourds and leather bags or bottles lined with clay and then filled with sand or hot coals gave many new shapes to the Large jars were made by building up on a circular flat base successive rolls of clay in rings that were allowed to dry and harden till the desired height was These were probably produced wholesale, not by individuals for their reached. The author quotes freely from other authorities. By the time of the own use. later Stone Age the art had already reached a stage of high development.

The Horse of Sardis.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 215–230 (2 pls.; 20 figs.), T. L. Shear publishes the life-size horse's head of marble discovered at Sardis on the last day of the excavation campaign of 1914. Although this disappeared during the war, the photographs show it to be a magnificent representation of an Anatolian breed of horse long cultivated and from which the modern Arab breed is descended. The breed was already represented in Hittite art, it appears in Lydian art, and, because of the relations with Greece growing out of the Persian expansion, it became standard for Greek art, where it reached its highest glory and influence in the Parthenon frieze.

Some Ancient Weapons.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 254–277 (38 figs.), PAUL COUISSIN discusses some ancient weapons recently discovered, after calling attention to the importance of the study of arms in general. He finds that the weapons found at Mallia in Crete (Jean Charbonneaux, Mon. Piot xxviii, 1925–1926, pp. 1 ff.) are not parade weapons (armes d'apparat). The dagger is of a very well known and widely used type. The sword has a richly decorated hilt which was once covered with gold wrought in repoussé and was attached to the blade only by four rivets. But arms have always been decorated, and the rivets are sufficient, since the Minoan sword was used only for thrusting. Other similar swords are cited in comparison. The axe or hatchet is of schist and is decorated with a spiral pattern. The butt end has the form of the head, shoulders, and forelegs of a panther wearing a harness. This axe is a combination of a beast-god (perhaps the totem of a tribe) and a weapon-god. It was probably set on a slender upright shaft and worshiped. Weapons from other places are compared with this. An axe found at Beisan, in

Palestine (R. Bibl., 1927, p. 98; Syria, 1927, p. 187), has a curved, wave-like shape and the butt end terminates in four points. This, with an axe figured in a relief at Boghazkeui and one from Syria, form a group the centre of which appears to be Asia Minor. A so-called arrow head found at Nabatiyé, Lebanon (Mèlanges de l'Université S. Joseph, xi, no. 7: Syria, 1927, p. 185), bears an inscription which is translated "the arrow of Addo, son of Akki." An inscription on an arrow head, which, when once shot, is lost, is peculiar. This object is about 12 cm. long. It may be a votive arrow head or perhaps a javelin head. At Neïrab, Palestine, some arrow heads and a sword were found (Syria, 1927, p. 208). Unfortunately their dates are uncertain. The arrow heads are of common types. The sword is of one piece, both blade and hilt. The latter was once covered with plates of a non-metallic material. The weapons of the Jogassess, Marne (R. Arch. xxv, 1927, pp. 326 ff.; xxvi, 1927, pp. 88 ff.), do not show a break between the culture of Hallstatt and that of Latène, but a development. The belt with nail-head studs is a part of feminine apparel in the Hallstatt period, but appears in the first century B.C. on men.

# ORIENTAL AND CLASSICAL

#### EGYPT

The Ficoroni Medallion and Other Gilded Glass in the Metropolitan Museum.—In The Art Bulletin ix (1926–27), pp. 352–356 (6 figs.), J. Βreck publishes several examples of gilded glass in the Metropolitan Museum. The recent establishment by de Mély of the Egyptian origin and probable third-century date of the famous medallion at Brescia makes it possible to give the same origin and date, approximately, to the related Ficoroni medallion and another newly acquired medallion in the Metropolitan Museum. The Brescia medallion has occasionally been suspected, but its Greco-Egyptian word terminations combined with its mention in a seventeenth-century inventory rule out the forger.

Papyri.—In Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. (Berlin) xxvi-xxvii (1927), pp. 270–276, Ulrich Wilcken gives a larger significance to the seven Michigan papyri letters published by J. G. Winter in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology xiii (1927), p. 72 ff., by identifying the ἐπανορθωτής 'Αχιλλώς with the usurper slain at Alexandria in the revolt against Diocletian. Winter, though he notices the resemblance in name, interprets epanorthotes as meaning corrector juventutis, 'one charged with revision of the service lists.' Wilcken translates the word 'reformer' or 'restorer' and supports his interpretation by an Alexandrian inscription of, he admits, decidedly uncertain meaning. It reads:

. . . | ΙΙ | Που Σεβαστοῦ | Ἐπεῖφι Κ | ἐπὶ | Κλανδίου Φίρμου | λαμπροτάτου ἐπανορθωτοῦ,

where he thinks the emperor's name has been erased and the usurper's added.

The seven letters, read in this light, indicate that a certain Paniskos, who had gone to Koptos on other business, had become implicated in this new uprising and sends to his wife for his arms (Winter had regarded him as a dealer in arms), and endeavors to get other men  $(cf.\ \mu\epsilon\tau\dot{a}\ \dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\dot{\omega}\pi\omega\nu\ \kappa a\lambda\dot{\omega}\nu)$ , including his wife's brother to join him there. Koptos had been the centre of an earlier revolution and had been destroyed a short time before (293 a.D.).

Some Types of the Nude Goddess.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 36-49 (13 figs.), M. Pillet discusses some rude terracotta figurines found in 1922 at Karnak in surroundings which fix their date from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. Some are grotesques, derived perhaps from representations of the god Bes. The others

represent the nude female form and are divided into three categories. In the first the arms are short and extended horizontally. The navel is enormous and the sex is represented by a great triangle sprinkled with dots. The legs are separated by a line and end in a point. The face is hardly indicated, and the eyes are pellets added after the rest. The breasts are conical. The second category contains figures similar to the first, except that the hips are more developed, and a mass of hair falls over the shoulders. The arms are sometimes curved, joining the hips and looking like the handles of a vase. The figurines of these two categories are modelled separately, not made with a mould. The figurines of the third category are hollow, moulded in two pieces. The body is rounded, the breasts projecting slightly. The short arms are sometimes raised, sometimes mere projections or bosses. The head is surmounted by a great conical helmet. Black paint marks the features and ornaments the body. These figurines are similar to others found in various places in Egypt and also in other countries. The nude goddess is probably of Aegean origin, not Oriental, and such figures found in Mesopotamia are probably not very early. The date of such crude works can be determined only by careful examination of the objects found with them, and the earth of ancient sites has often been so overturned as to make the dating difficult. Methodical classification of all such objects and careful recording of all indications of date are greatly needed.

## ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

A Crowned Head and a Statue of a Child from Mesopotamia. - In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925-1926, pp. 113-123 (pl.; 2 figs.), A. W. LAWRENCE publishes two monuments from Mesopotamia which are purely Hellenic in subject. These are in the Assyrian room of the British Museum. A bearded head of marble, about two-thirds of life size, is represented as wearing a crown in the form of olive leaves with a rosette clasp. This was probably a golden crown. The style of the head, and especially the great size of the eyes, show that Asiatic influences have affected the work of the sculptor. Comparison with Parthian coins and other objects justifies us in assigning this work (probably from an honorary portrait statue) to the Parthian period of the late second or first century. The statue of a boy of perhaps two years of age is of terracotta and measures, with the base upon which the child sits, 0.37 m. in height. The base is semi-circular, the rounded part being in front. The child is nude, save for a cord passing over the right shoulder and under the left arm. A round object is attached to the cord near the neck. The outstretched hands apparently held objects one of which was probably a bird. This figure, being very like a torso from Borsippa, is doubtless of Babylonian origin. A very great number of figures of children is preserved, and they have been found in many regions of the ancient world. Some of these may represent infant deities, but nearly all may be regarded as votive offerings to some deity in thanksgiving for the birth of children. Comparison with statues of children of various dates shows that this terracotta (as well as the other, from Borsippa) belongs to the Seleucid period when Mesopotamia kept closely in touch with the larger Greek centres.

The Laws of Deposit in Early Babylonia and in the Old Testament.—In J.A.O.S. xlvii, 1927, pp. 250–255, I. M. Price discusses the laws in regard to trusts, deposits, agents, carriers, etc. as they are exhibited in the Code of Hammurabi, and in Old Babylonian contract tablets; and compares with these the laws on the same subjects in the earliest Hebrew legislation. He comes to the conclusion that the latter agree entirely with the Babylonian system, except that they are more crudely expressed and that the penalties are slightly modified.

Polynesian Words in America and in Sumer. -- In Mitt. Vorderas. Ges. xxxi, 1926, part 2, pp. 1-127, E. STUCKEN shows that Polynesian dialects closely similar to one another are spoken over an area 200° of longitude in breadth from Madagascar and Formosa to New Zealand and Easter Island. He presents a large body of evidence to show that Polynesian influence appears also in the languages of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. For instance, the word for 'butterfly' in Maori is purehua; in Tahiti, purehua; in Peru, parahu; in Guatemala, porosh. Another word for 'butterfly' or 'moth' in Maori is pepe; in Tahiti, pepe; in Guatemala, pepe; in Mexico, papalo. Such facts seem to show that there is a genetic affinity between Polynesian and some of the languages of America. On the other hand, Stucken is struck with numerous resemblances of Sumerian, the primitive language of Babylonia, to Polynesian: for instance, Sumerian ku, 'eat'; Polynesian, kai; Mexico, qua; Sumerian gish, 'wood'; Polynesian, kas; Sumerian, nun, 'great'; Polynesian, nunu, nunui, or nui. He gives a comparative table of over two hundred words that are similar in Sumerian and in Polynesian, and comes to the conclusion that the resemblances are too numerous to be accidental. There must be some historical connection between Polynesia and Sumer and America. One hypothesis is that the Polynesians originated in southeastern Asia and spread in two directions as far as Sumer and America. Another theory is that the Sumerians carried their commerce as far as Polynesia and established colonies there in pre-historic times. A third theory, to which Stucken inclines, is that Polynesia is the residue of a sunken continent in the Pacific. Here there originated a civilization that, with the subsidence of the continent, spread as far as Sumer in the East and America in the West. The stepped pyramid, which is found only in Babylonia, Egypt, Polynesia, and America, is a vestige of this civilization.

Small Sculptures from Babylonian Tombs.—In Mus. J. (Univ. of Pa.) xix, 2 (June 1928), pp. 195–212 (18 figs.), Leon Legrain discusses the above subject. A study is made of the nude female type in its significance as symbol, charm, and, finally, divinity. The influence on Greece, and of Greece in return, and the later development are treated. There follows a presentation of a number of figurines in illustration with notes and a discussion based, as Dr. Legrain says, largely on the still supreme treatise in the field, the catalog by L. Heuzey, Figures antiques deterre cuite du Musée du Louvre. A good digest of this rather fascinating subject is

provided in Dr. Legrain's study.

The Sources of Sumerian Civilization. - In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 90-104, Amélia Hertz discusses the influence of the Proto-Elamite civilization upon the Sumerians. She compares the results of excavations at El Hibba, Shurgul, Fara, and Tello with the objects found at Abou Shachrain, Moussian, and Susa. Evidently the Sumerians, when they entered Babylonia, found there a people (Proto-Elamites) of more advanced civilization than their own, as is proved by comparison of their utensils and pottery. Some of their religious practices were different; for example, the Proto-Elamites buried their dead in cemeteries and put in their tombs no offerings except objects of metal, whereas the earliest Sumerians buried their dead under their houses and deposited with them objects of stone as well as of metal. As time went on the Sumerians adopted the practices of the Proto-Elamites. Any Egyptian influence before the middle of the second millennium B.C. is impossible. The source of the Sumerian script is difficult to determine. The script was borrowed, but not from Egypt. Examples of the script of Proto-Elamites II, found at Susa, which have been in part deciphered, resemble the earliest Sumerian writing, but show that the Proto-Elamite writers borrowed their Script, as did later the Sumerians. One tablet found at Susa bears signs which may be writing of the earlier Proto-Elamites I, but this is uncertain. Discovery

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of further tablets of the Proto-Elamites I may disclose the ultimate source of the Sumerian script and at the same time make known to us the earliest of all forms of writing.

Sumerians, Semites, and the Origin of Copper-Working.—In Ant. J. viii, 2 (April 1928), pp. 217-235 (1 pl.; 6 figs.), H. Frankfort discusses the above subject. Pottery of the kind found in the lowest layers of the Tell at Susa, with geometric decoration combined with figures of animals and men, degraded into mere geometric designs. The same culture is evidenced by pottery finds in Mesopotamia, near Assur, at Samarra, at Bender Bushire near Kish, at Abu Shahrein, and especially at Al 'Ubaid, as well as near Teheran, at Urmya, at Mohammedabad, at Seistan, and to a degree by vessels discovered in Beluchistan. The possible influence into India cannot as yet be certainly spoken about, although it appears as if connection with Persia were indicated by certain evidence in hand. This style of pottery existed in the Persian highlands for a long period. Susa I apparently was a representative of a sphere of culture including all of Persia. The second style at Susa was also more than a mere local growth. The connection between the second and the first civilization here still remains to be established. The polychrome pottery at Susa comes later than the Highland culture of Susa I. This kind of ware, which appears suddenly and does not have any established connections with what preceded it in various centres, in Palestine, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyprus, and Cappadocia, may have had its native home in a region centrally located with reference to these places and this place may have been northern Syria, where actually the excavations at Carchemish have revealed a 'three-colour' scheme of decoration resembling some of the polychrome pottery from Mesopo-

The makers of the polychrome ware apparently were a Semitic element in the Sumerian culture and to Semites or Semitized north Syrians should perhaps be ascribed the cylinder seals, and also the theriomorph and multiple vases of alabaster. Sumerians perhaps originally spreading a considerable distance northward may have been responsible for certain other remains of the first civilization. Semites coming down from the north may have mixed with these Sumerians, although their number near Sumer, where their type of pottery is scantily represented, may have been comparatively small. At all events we have reached the conclusion that both the civilizations originally found at Susa seem to belong to large areas of culture, that the older belongs to Sumerians or kinsmen of these and that the younger is that of the Semites from northern Syria.

Copper-working is the great invention of these people at Susa during the period of the first civilization. Recently evidence has come forth showing that the Armenian-Caucasian metallurgy, praised in antiquity for its excellence, employed forms and shapes which existed at Sumer in the last century of the fourth millennium. The four spatula-shaped pins with turned-over tops, two of which are of silver and the other two of bronze, discovered at Ur, serve to show the connection between the two sections of the country engaged in this industry. Further evidence corroborating the same view is afforded by closely related pins, car-pendants, prongs, etc. Therefore, before the year 3000 B.C. there was in existence a centre of metal-working at some place south of the Caucasus with which the Sumerians had contact, and, if the people that carried the Highland culture were Sumerians, then the invention of this belongs to them.

The Tower of Babel.—In Z. Alttest. Wiss. xlv, 1927, pp. 162–171, E. Unger maintains that the reconstruction of the plan of the Tower-Temple of Babylon, made by Koldewey, and followed by numerous other architects, is incorrect. This reconstruction rests upon the interpretation of the word nu-har in the inscription of

Nebuchadrezzar describing the building of the tower. This Koldewey assumes to be identical with the ordinary word zikkurat, 'tower-temple.' Accordingly, he regards the nu-har as the basis of the tower, and equates it with the cubical excavation from which the original bricks have been removed that now appears in front of E-sag-ila, the great temple of Marduk. Unger holds, on the contrary, that nu-har means 'clay platform,' and denotes the open square or area on which the temple proper stood. This leads to an entirely different architectural reconstruction of the Tower of Babel, as begun in primitive Sumerian times, and as finished by Nebuchadrezzar.

# SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The Date of the Two Temples at Byblos.—In Archiv f. Orientforschung, iv, 1927, pp. 57–66, F. W. von Bissing criticizes the reports of the French expedition at Gebal (Byblos) in regard to the two buildings that were excavated. These are commonly called the "Syrian" and the "Egyptian" temple, but there is no agreement as to which building is meant by each of these terms. Vincent, Montet, and Contenau contradict one another in their use of these terms. Moreover, there is no archaeological evidence to show that either building is "Syrian" or "Egyptian." The building called "Egyptian" by some on account of the colossi found in it, is not a genuine Egyptian structure; and the statue of the Ba'alat of Gebal also found in it is a very late work influenced by Assyrian art. The objects found in the second building afford no evidence that it was a Phoenician temple, or even a sanctuary of any sort.

General Semitic Characteristics in Israelite Personal Names.—In Z. Morgenl. Ges. 1xxxi, 1927, pp. 1-45, M. Noth makes a detailed comparison of Hebrew personal names as they are found in the Old Testament and in other sources with personal names in the other Semitic languages. He finds that the most striking common characteristic is the use of names of relationship, such as 'ab, 'father,' 'anm, 'uncle,' 'ab, 'brother,' ham, 'father-in-law,' and dad, 'paternal uncle,' as titles of divinities in compounding personal names. In all the dialects these names are most frequent in the earliest times and steadily decline in frequency until they disappear, except as they occur through paponomy. This leads to the conclusion that names of this type belong to the earliest period, before the Semites migrated out of their original common home. The use of names of relationship, as divine titles, accordingly, was the outcome of religious conceptions that arose out of the conditions of primitive nomadic life.

Semitic Alphabet on Sarcophagus of Aḥīrām.—In Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth), xii (1927), 1, P. Sébastian Ronzevalle presents a more complete study (with very clear plates) of the Semitic alphabet as found in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Aḥīrām, which entered the literature about the origin of our alphabet.

Syrian Astartes, etc.—In Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth), xii (1927), 3, P. Sébastien Ronzevalle continues his "Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale." He presents descriptions (with plates) of several Syrian Astartes and a goddess-mother of Beyrouth; also of a cylinder formerly in the collection of Comte Michel Tyszkiewicz, but since 1898 in the Boston Museum. Reinach, Furtwängler, Messerschmidt, and Ward (in A.J.A., 1899) described and interpreted the symbolism on the cylinder as Syro-Hittite. On the basis of photographs made by the Boston Museum for the writer, he minutely describes the work and interprets it as presenting "un tableau théogonique établi sur le théme general 'syro-anatolien' du meurtre et de la renaissance du médiateur céleste."

The Ten Commandments Originally a Rock-Inscription.-Most of the early

Hebrew religious institutions have been illuminated by the discovery of similar institutions among other peoples of the ancient Orient, but the Ten Commandments as a portable code, carried about in a chest, the ark, has no analogy elsewhere. This fact and the non-mention of any such law-code in early Hebrew literature have led many critics to doubt whether there ever really were any inscribed tablets in the ark. In Arch. Rel. xxv, 1927, pp. 220–224, B. Gabrod claims that the story that the tables in the ark were a duplicate suggests that the original code was a rock-inscription at Sinai. The forty days that Moses took to write it were due to the necessity of inscribing it on the rock. The duplicate was made because Israel had to leave Sinai, and wished to have a copy of the code. When they entered Canaan, according to Deut. 27: 2–8 and Josh. 8: 32, they again carved the code on a rock as at first. The tablets in the ark were destroyed at the time of the capture of the ark by the Philistines (I Sam. 4). Hence the origin of the story that the original tablets were broken at Sinai, and the disappearance of the tablets from Hebrew history.

### ASIA MINOR

A Lydian Text on an Electrum Coin.—An electrum coin belonging to Mr. A. B. Cook, at Cambridge, is published and compared with other coins of the same lion type by W. H. BUCKLER in J.H.S. xlvi, 1926, pt. i(pp. 36–47). It shows for the first time that the dies used in stamping the obverse of the third-of-a-stater and sixthof-a-stater electrum coins had two lions' heads confronted, with the inscription between them, but because the dies were much too large for the amount of metal used, only one lion's head is impressed, except in the case of this one specimen. The inscription also is more complete here than elsewhere. The Lydian sign \(\) (\$\sigma\$), which is not known in any Ionian alphabet, proves that this is a Lydian word. It is to be read valves, probably pronounced walvesh, but that it represents the name of King Alyattes is by no means certain.

The New Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions.—Ten additional Neo-Phrygian inscriptions which were discovered in 1912 and 1913, with revisions of some previously known, are published by W. M. Calder in J.H.S. xlvi, 1926, pt. i (pp. 22-23). Some notes on these as well as on certain Old Phrygian texts, by A. H. SAYCE,

appear in the same issue (pp. 29-35).

The Sword-God.-In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 107-135 (21 figs.), PAUL COUIS-SIN discusses the sword-god of Iasili-Kaïa and the cult of the sword in antiquity. One of the figures of the great rock-cut relief at Iasili-Kaïa has a human head surmounted by a conical cap, the fore parts of two lions where the shoulders might be expected, and below the shoulders two lions, head downward. Below these lions is a support which has been interpreted in various ways, but is without doubt a sword-blade. The lions and the human head form the hilt of the sword, and the whole represents the sword-god or the sword as an object of worship. The blade is apparently not triangular, and it has the axial reinforcement common in bronze blades, though its form is elsewhere hardly met with before the Celtic swords of the late Bronze Age. Analogies for the various parts of this sword are found in various countries. The worship of the sword was at first a worship of the weapon itself, or rather of the magic power residing in the weapon. In course of time, as religion became more anthropomorphic, the human form (and animal forms) were added to the sword, and finally the sword became merely an attribute of the god. The Hittites of Cappadocia probably received the use of iron from the inhabitants of the Caucasus, and with the use of iron they received the sword and the worship of the sword. This would account for the fact that they, highly civilized as they were, represented the sword-god in such primitive fashion. At that time, the thirteenth century B.C., they had but recently received the cult from the Caucasus.

## GREECE

Cadmus and the Spartoi.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 278–292, GEORGES POISSON discusses the origin of Cadmus and the Spartoi. The word spartos (Sparton, Sparta) is Asiatic, identical with Sardes (Sfard). Cadmus and the Spartoi are of Asiatic origin, presumably from Asia Minor. The various parts of the Theban legend, when carefully interpreted, bear out this theory.

Certain Greek Cloaks.—In R. Ét. Gr. xl, 1927, pp. 1-16 (7 figs.), Leon Heuzer (posthumously) discusses the Greek cloaks, the epitaphis and the zeira. The epitaphis or ephestris—both terms are late—was an over-mantel fastened on the shoulder by a clasp (fibula). The terms are occasionally used by Greek historians to designate foreign cloaks, especially the Roman sagum, or paludamentum. Even in Thessaly, home of the chlamys, the longer epitaphis was worn, as being better against the cold. An illustration and contrast with the chlamys is furnished by a monument (Fig. 1) found in Macedonia. Comparison is made with the Homeric chlainé (Fig. 2, from a b.f. vase,—Mon. dell' Inst. II, pl. 22). Various materials were used, sometimes richly dyed and even embroidered.

The zeira, a Thracian clasp-garment reaching to the ankles, is characterized by a collar falling as much as one-third the length of the garment, and by heavy felt-like material often hanging woven in patterns, particularly crenelation. The Thracians seem (Xen. Anab. VII, 4) regularly to have worn the fox cap (alopekis) with this cloak. But at Athens the petasos was sometimes worn with it by the young cavalrymen (cf. the Parthenon frieze). Heuzey believes these to have been Athenian youths (he discusses the matter from vases, etc.), a style reflecting the Thracian expedition of 465, thus showing the interaction of military history and art. Military history shows continuously examples of such borrowing of fitting costume, even from the enemy.

The Death of Heracles and Life in the Lower World. -In Rend. Acc. Lincei, serie sesta, iii (1927), pp. 529-570, G. Patroni writes on the death of Heracles and certain aspects of life in the Lower World. He emphasizes the points of resemblance between the eidolon of Heracles in Hades (Homer Odyssey XI, 601-627), "looking like black night and holding his bare bow with arrow on string, ever about to shoot," and that of Iphthime sent to Penelope as a dream (Odyssey IV. 795-841). Homer (l.c.) speaks of the hero himself, in contradistinction to his ghost, as feasting with the immortals in heaven and having Hebe to wife. Patroni disagrees with Mingazzini, who argues that Heracles' death on the pyre on Mt. Oeta (where a place of sacrifice has actually been found with two inscriptions bearing the name of Heracles) must have been unknown to Homer, and was probably a later addition to the myth. Our author sees no necessary contradiction to the supposition that Homer did know of Heracles' death on the pyre, in Iliad XVIII, 117-119, where the statement is made that the mighty Heracles, though very dear to Zeus, did not escape death, for Hera's wrath subdued him. He thinks that Heracles'  $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ , a heavenly body, was translated from the pyre to the abode of the gods, whence he exerted a control over his eidolon in Hades.

Four Cults of Thasos.—In B.C.H. li, 1927, pp. 178–233 (2 figs.; pls. IX, X) HENRI SEYRIG discusses at great length the cults on the island of Thasos of Apollo, Herakles, Dionysos, and the Egyptian gods. A section of the article is devoted to each cult. The first (pp. 178–185) is devoted to Apollo. There were two distinct sanctuaries of this god at Thasos, the earliest being to the Pythian god. This was on the acropolis, and has been excavated, and although no evidence has been found as to the nature of the cult, its importance can be determined by its size and position. To this sanctuary doubtless belonged the colossal archaic statue of a crio-

phoros recently discovered. The second sanctuary of the god, in his capacity as Nymphegetes, was in the lower city. More is known about this cult, from the reliefs of Apollo and the Nymphs discovered many years ago, on which the regulations for sacrifice were inscribed. With Apollo and the Nymphs, the Graces were also associated, and divided the sanctuary. For him as leader of the Nymphs, the singing of the paean was forbidden in this sanctuary. The origin of the cult was rural and probably indigenous and pre-Hellenic, Apollo being added in Hellenic times.

The second portion of the article (pp. 185–198) deals with the cult of the Thasian Herakles. Among the Greeks, Herakles was a hero, not a god; and the writer cites the passage from Herodotos (II, 44) where the Thasian cult is spoken of as founded by the Phoenicians. The position of Herodotos is upheld in part by the author, who takes the view that the Greek Herakles absorbed the earlier cult, which was already in existence when the Greeks from Paros colonized the island. The importance of the ritual of the Thasian Herakles in the inscription published

by Picard (B.C.H. xlvii, 1923, p. 241) is especially emphasized.

The third section (pp. 198-219) deals with the cult of Dionysos and the Thracian rider, and is the most important part of the article. In this connection, a fragment of Doric frieze, showing two metopes, one of a Thracian horseman, and the other of a warrior, now in Constantinople, and bearing a dedicatory inscription, obviously to Dionysos, is published. With this fragment, another, now lost, bore a relief of Dionysos. The finding-place of these fragments, which have been known for some time, was just where the sanctuary of Dionysos has recently been discovered, and they were from a votive shrine or treasury. The period of the inscription is of the early third century B.C.: the sculptures, however, are Roman. The writer asserts that the Thracian horseman is another way of representing Dionysos, and mentions other instances to prove his point. This form seems to typify Dionysos in the aspect of the mysteries connected with his cult, and is found on other monuments from Thasos, and of these a stele is here published for the first time. This stele, set up by one Auphonius Thersilochus and Auphonia Helikion, shows the man as Dionysos the Thracian rider, and the woman as Persephone the goddess of the dead. It belongs to the period of Caracalla, and suggests strongly the influence of the mysteries. Two celebrations of Bacchic mysteries in Thasos are known to us from inscriptions as existing into the period of the two monuments here published; the πρό πόλεως βάκχειον and the lερώτατον νέον βάκχειον. It is to the latter of these that the stele probably belongs. It is a matter of regret that so little has been discovered of the worship of Dionysos at Thasos in classical times and earlier, as it ought probably to be considered an indigenous cult, of the Thracians, who originally inhabited the island, and left many vestiges of their presence.

The last part of the article (pp. 219–233) deals with the Egyptian gods. A long inscription, found in 1924, is published for the first time, with translation and commentary, regarding the cult of Scrapis, and belonging to the second century B.C. The predominance of Asiatic influence on the Thasians is shown, in coins, sculpture, and religion. We may infer from various names of individuals in Thasos, that besides Scrapis, other Egyptian gods, such as the deified Nile, Isis, etc., were also worshipped. In Hellenistic times, the existence of commerce between Thasos and Naucratis, at the delta of the Nile, is proven by stamped amphorae, showing trade in wine and oil. It was through this commerce with Naucratis, which it is suggested went back several centuries before Hellenistic times, that the familiarity

of Thasos with the Egyptian gods was engendered.

A Funerary Diadem of Gold.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 26-35 (pl.; fig.),

W. Deonna publishes and discusses a funerary diadem of gold in the museum of Geneva. It was acquired in 1925 from a private collection and is said to have been found in Etruria. It consists of a band of thin gold, 0.284 m. long and 0.043 m. wide. Small myrtle leaves of gold, only 32 of which remain, were attached to the The band is decorated in repoussé with figures between bands of ornament. The angle at the right is now empty; then follow a seated sphinx and a palmette; then a cortège facing to left, consisting of three draped women, a woman and a bearded man with a lance, three draped persons, a chariot, above which a beardless head is visible, behind the croupe of the horse three beardless persons and a bearded man all facing to right, by the horse's head a bearded man facing left, before the horse two bearded men facing right and holding lances, and three draped figures facing right; then a Doric building with two columns in antis and a domed roof. Between the columns are three vases. To the left of all these is a boat with mast and sail and five rowers, and in the angle at the left end an indistinct decoration. The building resembles closely the two buildings on the François vase, and the style of the work is so like that of the François vase that the date of about 570 B.C. and Attic workmanship are to be assumed. Whether the scene represented has to do with a funeral or is susceptible of a mythological interpretation is not

### ARCHITECTURE

The Plan of the Maussoleum.—At the January (1927) meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society, F. Krischen presented an elaborate mathematical calculation of the original architect's plan of the Maussoleum in full detail, taking as the basic measurement one hundred Anatolian feet and following the ancient custom of dividing into halves, quarters and eighths, not tenths. The results arrived at by regarding the known simple proportions used by Greek architects are strikingly confirmed both by the actual remains and by the dimensions given by Pliny. In only one case is it necessary to assume that 'feet' in Pliny's text is a mistake for 'cubits.' (Arch. Anz. 1927, pt. 1–2, cols. 162–169; 5 diagrams)

### SCULPTURE

The Aphrodite with the Dove.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 195–196, Em. Espérandieu shows that the Aphrodite with the dove in the museum at Lyons was not, as has been believed, found at Marseilles, though it was in Marseilles in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is described (No. 143) in a manuscript catalogue of the collection of the Abbé Pichony at Nîmes, whose collection, formed in the early part of the eighteenth century, contained objects from various sources. This statue, an Ionian work of the sixth century B.C., may very likely have been brought from Egypt.

Arcadian Bronze Statuettes.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925–1926, pp. 133–148 (2 pls.; 3 figs.), Winifred Lamb lists and discusses Arcadian bronzes. The Main Arcadian Style (seventh and sixth centuries) is characterized by short, thick-set figures and large heads; the subjects are shepherds and peasants, occasionally Hermes or some other deity. Twenty-one such bronzes are described, and nine of other types are added. The Fifth-Century Arcadian group comprises bronzes reflecting those motives which the leading artists of the time had made popular, but each bronze shows clearly its Arcadian origin. Ten such figurines are listed, and to these are added three male figures of the second half of the fifth century, also a dead fox and an eagle. Probably most of the earlier bronzes were made in the southwest part of Arcadia, in the region round Mount Lycaeus. Tegea may have been the centre of production of the fifth-century bronzes, though possibly their production was not limited to one place.

Chian Mask of Artemis.—In R. Ét. Gr. xl, 1927, pp. 224–233, W. Deonna discusses the Chian mask of Artemis with double expression ascribed by Pliny (N.H. xxxvi, 12) to Boupalos and Athenis. The author offers an explanation different from that given by Collignon (ibid., 1901, p. 1 ff.) for the facies in sublimi posita, cuius voltum intrantes tristem, abeuntes exhilaratum putant. Deonna believes that the goddess protected an entry, a gateway, perhaps of the city, and that a mask of menacing aspect was above the exterior of the gate, while another of benign countenance, was set above the interior. It is possible also, though less likely, thinks the author, that the face may have been a gorgoneion of the acroterion

type, above the gate.

DELPHI.—The Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury.—In B.C. H. li, 1927, pp. 1-56 (pls. I-VII; 13 figs.), G. Daux and P. De La Coste-Messelière discuss the dimensions and composition of the frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians. After a brief preface (pp. 1-5) for which both authors are responsible, the article is divided into two parts: the first (pp. 5-26), by M. Daux, deals with the dimensions of the rectangle of the frieze; the second, by M. de la Coste-Messelière (pp. 27-56), takes up the composition of the sculptures, and the position of the extant pieces in relation to one another. Each of these two parts is again subdivided. To establish his dimensions of the frieze, M. Daux is obliged to study the dimensions of the treasury from the euthynteria up, and consider its restoration in toto, in order to establish the correct position of the frieze above the epistyle. His conclusions place the frieze between the Ionic and the Lesbian mouldings associated with the treasury. His measurements conform for the most part with those of Courby and Dinsmoor, but his conclusions are often at variance with them. M. de la Coste-Messelière, in discussing the proper placing of the sculptures, takes up each side separately, beginning with the north, to which six pieces are assigned, then the east (four fragments), the south (five fragments), and finally the west, two pieces of which are preserved. This article is a prelude to a more complete study of the entire building, to appear in the Fouilles de Delphes.

A Greek Marble Head of a Horse.—A head of a horse, of yellowish-white marble, now in private possession in England, is published by R. Hinks in J.H.S. xlvii, 1927, pt. ii (pp. 218–221; pl.; 4 figs.). The technique is evidently Greek and of a good period. The close-cropped mane with top-knot is not distinctive in date, but in comparison with other Greek heads, from the horse of Selene on the Parthenon (440 B.C.) to that of Dexileos (395 B.C.), the flat cheeks and slightly concave profile of the nose suggest that this is the work of a pupil of Phidias working in the

last two decades of the fifth century.

A Marble Statuette.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925–1926, pp. 149–150 (fig.), H. W. Law publishes a marble statuette in his possession. It is of coarse-grained marble, probably Parian or Naxian. Its total height is 0.376 m. The head, the legs from about the knees, and nearly all the right arm are wanting. In the left hand is a mask—apparently a comic one—in the back of which a small portion of lead pipe is inserted. The date proposed for the figure is the first century B.C.

Whether Eros or a satyr is represented is uncertain.

The Parthenon Pediments: How the Work of Phidias Was Accomplished.—
To refute the objections raised by L. Curtius against the probable dates that have been assigned to the East and West pediments of the Parthenon, P. Johansen discusses the conditions of work of a great sculptor in the fifth century B.C., as compared with those of a modern artist, such as his greater freedom from hampering external influences, and the greater ability and trustworthiness of his assistants, and shows how much of the actual execution of the creations of Phidias may reasonably be assigned to his own hand, illustrating by a discussion of the methods of

Michelangelo, especially in the statues of the Medici Chapel of San Lorenzo, the dates for which are known. (Arch. Anz., 1927, pt. 1-2, cols. 50-48)

The Thermon Metopes.—In B.S.A. xxvii, Session 1925–1926, pp. 124–132 (3 figs.), H. G. G. Payne presents some observations on the metopes from Thermon. He calls attention to some technical details, such as the use of red and black outlines for female and male flesh respectively. The metope with Chelidon, Aedon, and Itys has been correctly interpreted; the metope with the three seated goddesses forms only part of a scene, perhaps the Introduction of Heracles or the Birth of Athena; and the metope with two seated figures is also dependent upon another to complete its meaning. An unpublished fragment (a leg and left foot of a running female figure) is interpreted as part of one of the Gorgons pursuing Perseus, and the coloring of the Perseus metope is discussed. The hunter metope is compared with vase paintings, as are also the Gorgoneion and the fragment with a lion's head, and the conclusion is reached that the metopes are to be assigned to the period of transition from the Proto-Corinthian to the Corinthian style, that is, probably, to the years between 650 and 630 B.C. An unpublished fragment of a winged figure is interpreted as "Typhon."

# PAINTING

Euphronius.—In publishing anew the "swallow vase" in the Hermitage Museum—a red-figure peliké by Euphronius, found in Vulci in 1835 and published at that time in the Monumenti—O. Waldhauer compares it with the very similar black-figure peliké in the Museo Gregoriano on which are two scenes with a dog, and discusses the strongly marked characteristics of the artist: his fondness for making a scene tell a story, his interest in a composition as primarily a decoration for the vase, and the total absence of any effect of perspective in his work. He was a great artist, not an innovator, belonging heart and soul to the era of Pisistratus, and his work has the charm of a dawning renaissance, like that of Taddeo Gaddi. (Arch. Anz., 1927, pt. 1–2, cols. 70–75; 2 pls., 2 figs.)

Macedonian Vase.—In Ann. Arch. Anth. xiv, 3–4 (Oct. 1927), pp. 117–118 (1 pl.), R. W. HUTCHINSON discusses a vase in the Free Public Museum, Liverpool. The vessel measures 8½ in. long, 7½ in. wide, and 3¾ in. high to the top of the sides and 4½ in. high to the top of the raised handles. It is hand-made of coarse red clay blackened on the outside, well baked and polished. The running spiral decoration and its history are discussed and its relationship with lower

Danubian and Macedonian ware.

The Origin of the Representation of the Human Figure in Greek Art.-In a very long and important article (B.C.H. l, 1926, pp. 319-382; 25 figs.), W. Deonna discusses the beginnings of human representation among the Greeks, in an attempt to trace the steps by which the knowledge of anatomy grew, until in the beginning of the fifth century B.C. it had arrived at a very high stage of development. The point of departure is the pottery and similar objects of the geometric period, where a more or less schematized representation is found. The object is to trace, if possible, the origin of this conventional rendering. The theories in this connection of Pottier, Walston, and Cahen are particularly examined. But, while conceding the ties that bind the geometric civilization to the Aegean, it is suggested that they are perhaps exaggerated, and that there was a spontaneous development, somewhat, perhaps, influenced by the preceding cultures, but not entirely in their debt. To prove this point, it is shown that the influences cited by Cahen to establish the dependence of geometric art on Minoan models, can be used equally well to support the theory of a simultaneous spontaneous development, influenced only distantly, if at all, by the Aegean culture. This is especially true as regards costume, several

instances being discussed. But in the case of the delineation of the human form. it is shown that one of the most noteworthy traits of the geometric style is the representation of the torso in the form of an inverted triangle. By means of illustrations as well as text, it is established that this is a characteristic of primitive art in all parts of the world, and of the crude drawings of children. This triangular manner of delineation is also found in representing other parts of the body, and applies to animals as well as human beings. When drapery is to be indicated, the triangle points upward, or two triangles are joined, point to point. Often not merely the torso, but the entire body as a unit, is conceived in a triangular scheme. Side by side with this we also find a rectangular scheme in primitive art, which is often combined with the triangular, in the same figure, the head being rendered in one manner, the torso in the other. As a result of comparisons with other primitive art, the suggestion is made that it is not necessary to admit a direct influence of Aegean art on the Dipylon style, but rather that they are both subject to impulses spontaneous in the art of all primitive peoples. This is proven by the fact that the human representations in Crete in this geometric triangular form go back to M.M. I and II, where striking resemblances to Dipylon ware may be found, and the pottery of Phylakopi is also cited, which dates in E.M. II and III, and M.M. I. In the later Minoan fabrics a more naturalistic style is found. The same truths hold for Cyprus as well as for Crete. These facts show that in Pre-Hellenic art there was a schematized geometric human type, analogous to that of the Dipylon, but having no influence upon it, owing to the centuries that separate the two periods. By means of a most enlightening series of cuts, it is shown that this triangular type of human representation existed in Pre-Dynastic Egypt, and in the early art of the Elamites and of Mesopotamia, showing that in all these countries as well as in Pre-Hellenic Greece, the beginnings of human representation start in the same way. There is consequently no reason to suppose that the new art of Geometric Greece will not take the same form of development, without necessarily being in the least influenced from outside. It must also be remembered that a lapse of from two to three centuries for which archaeological research is not as yet able to account, separates the Pre-Hellenic and geometric ages. Moreover, the earliest picture of the human form of the geometric age is not until the developed Dipylon style of the eighth century B.C., and this militates against a Pre-Hellenic influence, and in favor of an independent evolution. A similar development is also found in Etruscan geometric wares and in early art in central Europe and Georgia, all arising independently of each other. In Greece, the triangular types continue to survive through the earlier techniques of vase-painting, and distinct survivals can be seen in the black-figured and red-figured styles, in archaic sculpture, and even in the school of Polykleitos. The conclusion is therefore reached that the art of the Dipylon ware was a native creation of Greece, based on conventions common to all primitive art, and with no necessary tie to previous cultures.

Testing and Sale of Oil on Painted Vases.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 233–239, Bernhard Laum discusses anew the vase paintings discussed by F. J. M. de Waele, ibid. xxiii, 1926, pp. 282 ff. He interprets the paintings as seenes of testing, not selling, oil. The little rods are not siphons, but kalamiskoi, and are used to put a drop, or a few drops, on the hand or arm of the purchaser in order to test the quality of the oil as an unguent.

### COINS

Names of Caesars on Greek and on Roman Colonial Money.—In Num Zeitsch. 59 (1926), N.F. 19, pp. 1-70, R. MUENSTERBERG gives valuable lists of the forms in which the Roman imperial names appear on coins, and in the following

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number, 60 (1927), N.F. 20, pp. 42–105, a corresponding list of the names of Roman officials on Greek coins.

### INSCRIPTIONS

Cyprian Inscriptions.—In B.C.H. li, 1927, pp. 138–154 (1 fig.), HENRI SEYRIG publishes thirteen inscriptions from different parts of the island of Cyprus. These inscriptions have all been previously published in local Cypriote periodicals, not readily accessible outside of the island. Of these, No. 4 is in Latin, the rest are in Greek. Nos. 1-5 are from Nea-Paphos, No. 6 from Citium (the modern Larnaca), No. 7 from Salamis, Nos. 8-10 from Arsos, Nos. 11-13 from Kerynia. Of the thirteen, Nos. 3, 5, and 7 are the most important. All date in the Roman imperial period, mostly in the second and third centuries of our era.

Decrees.—In R. Ét. Gr. xl, 1927, pp. 214–223, under the general heading, Epigraphica, Leon Robert discussed: III. Isopoliteia between Pergamos and Temnos (Fränkel, Insch. v. Perg., 5), presenting a study of some of the rights involved in this decree; IV. An inscription from Delphi, on a decree by the Delphinians in honor of Athenian Dionysiac Technites (first published B.C.H., 1906, p. 277),—a new restoration is attempted; V. Decree of Priene on the cult of Egyptian gods (Insch. v. Priene, 195). The decree concerns the expenses for the cult sacrifices the 20th of Apatouria, and the choice, by the priest, of the cult officiant

from those eligible.

DELOS.—Two Graffiti.—In B.C.H. li, 1927, pp. 234–243, A. Severns discusses two graffiti, previously published, and found in the excavations at Delos. The first, found in 1894, on a wall of the "House on the Lake," has been published several times; first by L. Couve in 1895, and then in 1924 by J. Chamonard. The writer of this graffito was obviously a native of Antioch on the Maeander, and it must have been written after the rebuilding of the city by Antiochus I Soter, 281–260 B.C. It is shown that it is metrical, consisting of an iambic tetrameter and an iambic trimeter. It cannot be a quotation, on account of the poor language, but was probably the work of a homesick Carian slave. The second graffito is in the "House of Dionysos," and was discovered by J. Chamonard in 1904, and published by him in B.C.H. xxx, 1906, pp. 552–553. The writer suggests some new readings of this graffito, and gives it a date certainly later than the sack of Delos by the generals of Mithridates in 88 B.C., and perhaps in the Christian period.

DELPHI.—The Law of Cadys.—This inscription, published by the late Theophile Homolle in B.C.H. l, 1926, pp. 3–103 (for a summary of this article, see A.J.A. xxxi, 1927, pp. 491–492), is discussed by Theodore Reinach in B.C.H. li, 1927, pp. 170–177. The writer believes that the conclusions arrived at by Homolle, and before him, by Bourguet, are not altogether satisfactory in certain particulars, notably the maximum rate of interest to be charged on loans, and the penalties for infractions of the law. It seems certain that the Delphian standard of 70 drachmae to the mina was the standard to which the law applies, giving a maximum interest rate on loans of about 8.57 per cent. As regards penalties, a different reading and interpretation of that part of the inscription is offered, showing that the penalty for charging excessive interest on loans of less than a mina was a fine of 20 drachmae, but that short term loans up to 6 staters could be made at a rate of ¼ obol for every stater per month, corresponding to a rate of 25 per cent per annum.

The Delphic Paean to Dionysos.—In B.C.H. 1, 1926, pp. 263-304, W. Voll-Graff continues his series of articles on this subject. (See A.J.A. xxx, 1926, p. 490, for references to previous articles.) After giving a list of emendations and corrections supplied him by M. Roussel of the French School at Athens, the author

takes up the discussion of Strophe X, to which the entire article is devoted. This strophe throws a new light on certain aspects of the history of Delphi, and through its evidence a date after 340 B.C., perhaps 339, is assigned to the destruction by fire of the temple of Apollo, and the erection of the new sanctuary, the one which was described by Pausanias. The second half of this strophe is unfortunately very fragmentary, and an attempt is made to reconstruct the text. The series of articles on this subject will be continued.

Epidaurian Stele.—In Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. (Berlin), xxvi, xxvii (1927), pp. 277–301, Ulrich Wilcken publishes a new transliteration of the Epidaurus stele previously discussed by him in Volume xviii of the Sitzungsberichte, and recording the federation of Greek states formed in 302 b.c. under Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius. Since then Hiller von Gärtringen has discovered a new fragment and Wilcken's supposition that this might be inscribed on the reverse side has proved correct. More careful readings with the help of Dr. Klaffenbach in Epidaurus have also cast new light on the inscription. Kabbadias had put its date in the time of Antigonus Doson and Philip V, but the new fragment twice bears on the recto, as the largest fragment had on the verso, the name of Demetrius, once in connection with that of Antigonus. It is, therefore, now certain that both sides dealt with the same treaty, and that Wilcken's dating of the inscription was correct. Klaffenbach on epigraphical grounds, e.g., the existence of the Z with the bar across the lines, had also declared for the earlier date.

Kallias Decree.—In Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. (Berlin), xxviii (1927), pp. 319–330, W. Kolbe discusses at length the dating of the Kallias decree. Differing from August Boeckh and Julius Beloch, who thought that such a decree could not have been passed in the years immediately preceding the Peloponnesian War, when the finances of Athens were in a very flourishing condition, and therefore placed it after the Peace of Nicias, Kolbe agrees rather with Kirchoff and Eduard Meyer in dating the decree 435–434 g.c. More careful readings and emendations of the inscription by scholars like Adolf Wilhelm and Hiller von Gärtringen, as published in the new Corpus (I.G. I², editio minor (1924)), have made this date quite certain, he thinks. The decree on the back of the stone, as dealing with payments by the  $\tau_{\alpha, \mu}$  tau  $\tau_{\alpha}$   $\tau_{\alpha}$ 

PANAMARA.—Inscriptions.—In B.C.H. li, 1927, pp. 57–122, J. Hatzfeld publishes one hundred and thirty-nine inscriptions from this site, found and copied by the late G. Cousin and G. Deschamps in 1886, when they discovered the sanctuary of Zeus Panamaros. They fall into the following four classes: I, Decrees and regulations (1–10); II, Invitations to various cities (11–25); III, Dedications and commemorations of priestly colleges, priests, and priestesses (26–132); and IV, Miscellaneous inscriptions (133–139). For the most part, these inscriptions

belong in the Roman imperial period.

The Mysteries.—In B.C.H. li, 1927, pp. 122–137, P. Roussel comments in particular on that series of inscriptions from Panamara published by Hatzfeld in the article immediately preceding, which consist of invitations to various cities to take part in the worship of Zeus Panamaros. The resemblance to the announcements of the hierophants of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries is especially pointed out. This leads to the conclusion that "mysteries" were also celebrated at Panamara. Three great festivals were observed—the Panamareia, the Komyria, and the Heraia. Of these the Panamareia need not be considered, as it appears to be of late origin. At the Komyria, women played a minor rôle, while the

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Heraia seems to have been essentially a women's festival. The Komyria seems to have been of great antiquity, going back to the rude days of the Carians, and to have had a banquet as its principal event. From this barbaric symposium the later mysteries developed. The women's festival always appears to have been of secondary importance. These mysteries, however, did not necessarily limit themselves to the periods of the two festivals, but could be held at any time. We are ignorant of the nature of the initiation, and whether, in such initiations, the sexes were segregated. The invitations to the mysteries were sent out by the priest, speaking in the name of the god; and were not confined to the festivals above named, so that pilgrims from other places could present themselves for initiation at any time. A national character is indicated by the fact that Zeus Panamaros was identical with Zeus Karios, the patron god of Caria, and that the priests invoked special blessings on the cities of their nation. On the other hand, there is an attempt at universality—to make the god out as a benefactor to the entire human race. The principal part of the mystery at all times was a banquet, at which the initiates were supposed to be dining in company with the god. The article ends with suggestions of influence from the Hebrew worship in this Carian cult.

Religious Regulations.—In B.C.H. l, 1926, pp. 305–318, P. Roussel comments on several religious inscriptions previously published elsewhere. The first, concerning the Asklepieion of Pergamon, is published by Zingerle in the Strena Buliciana. Roussel is not entirely in accord with this publication, adopting some of its views, rejecting other emendations and restorations, and making several new conjectural readings. He next discusses briefly two similar documents from Delos, and then republishes and comments on a text relating to the sale of a priesthood from Samothrake. Finally he takes up a lex sacra found at Cos and makes several restorations in the text.

THESPIAE.—Inscriptions.—This article, in B.C. H. l, 1926, pp. 383-462 (6 figs.), the sixth that has appeared on the epigraphical material from this site, found in the excavations conducted by P. Jamot and the late A. De Ridder in the years 1888-1891, is written by A. Plassart. In a footnote, references are given to the previous articles, and two further papers dealing with the remainder of the inscriptions are promised. This article is devoted to dedicatory texts of a religious or honorary character, and to boundary marks of sacred precincts. One hundred and twenty-five inscriptions are listed, divided into the following groups: I, Archaic texts in the epichoric alphabet (1-5); II, Boundaries of sacred precincts (6-13); III, Dedications of buildings (14-15); IV, Collective dedications (16-18); V, Bases of statues of divinities or mythological personages (19-21); VI, Dedications of offerings by priests and individuals, many of which are to Artemis Eileithyia for a safe delivery in childbirth (22-53); VII, Bases of honorary statues of individual Greeks, and signatures of sculptors (54-71); VIII, Bases of honorary statues of Romans (72-85); IX, Bases of statues of Roman emperors and members of the imperial family (86-104); X, Fragments of dedications of various periods after the archaic (105-125). Each of these inscriptions is given a commentary according to its importance, and some of them are of very great interest, particularly the archaic inscriptions and some of the dedications of buildings and honorary texts.

# ITALY

ETRURIA.—In Rend. Acc. Lincei, serie sesta, iii (1927), pp.2 73—290, L. Ceci in the third of a series of articles on Rome and the Etruscans, after criticizing Carl Schuchhardt's theory of the indigenous origin of the Etruscans and Pareti's identi-

fication of them with the Villanovans of Emilia, discusses not only the words vinum and asinus but the things themselves. Convinced as he is of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, he thinks that they brought the vine and the ass with them into Italy. The words, too, he regards as West Asiatic, or perhaps Hittite, certainly not Indo-European. Even to the Greek olvor was, he thinks, a foreign word, who gave it a masculine form, while the Romans made it neuter on the analogy of malum, pirum, pomum, etc. Asinus, with its non-Latin preservation of intervocalic 's,' is to him the "Asian animal," using Asian in its original restricted sense, like the Homeric 'Asiae in Mulus, With an older form musclos (cf. Gr. μυχλόs), he derives from Mysia. The article teems with etymological lore, much of which seems reasonable, even if problematic.

The Technique of Pompeian Wall-Painting.—At the April (1927) meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society, O. Dannenberg reviewed the various opinions that have been advanced, since the discovery of the Roman paintings in the Baths of Titus in the early years of the sixteenth century, as to the process employed by the ancients in making their extraordinarily permanent wall-paintings, whether fresco, encaustic, or a process with resin or some other unknown medium. Through study and experiment he had himself developed a process which seems to give the same result as the ancient work. This begins with a very careful and thorough preparation of the ground; then specially prepared colors are applied on the wet plaster; and the surface is then rubbed over with a warm iron, which gives the necessary gloss and transparency. In those Pompeian paintings in which the figures and the ground are in the same plane, this finish, however produced, is carried over the whole surface; in those which have the figures in relief, only the background is polished, the raised figures being left dull. But in both cases a final thin coating of wax was applied, for protection and also, in the case of the raised figures, to give unity to the whole effect. (Arch. Anz., 1927, pt. 1/2, cols. 178-180).

### ARCHITECTURE

A Military Altar.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 309–319 (4 figs.), MARCEL DURRY describes and discusses a military altar in the garden of the Villa Medici in Rome, where it until recently served as the base of a statue. It is hexagonal. One side is plain; on the others are reliefs which have suffered from exposure. One of these represents an officer sacrificing, the four others vexillarii wearing bearskin head-dresses. The altar once belonged to one of the military barracks of Rome. It was probably erected by horsemen of the pretorians (equites praetoriani, speculatores, or evocati) and belonged to one of the elegant aediculae which were consecrated to the genius turmae.

# SCULPTURE

Ara Pacis.—In Jh. Oest. Arch. I. xxiii, 2 (1926), pp. 53-61, E. Loewy inclines to believe that the sculptor of the Ara Pacis knew, but outdid, the work on the Parthenon frieze. Loewy also says: "Nicht Porträtgruppe bloss, sondern Gruppenporträt, das erste, das wir besitzen, wohl das erste der Kunstgeschichte."

The Crista Transversa.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 303-308, Marcel Durry publishes a note on the costume of the centurions of the Roman Empire a propos of a bronze statuette in the Museo delle Terme published by Lucia Morpurgo (Memorie dei Lincei, VI, II, 2, 1927, pp. 226 ff., pl. I, 4-6). He adds nothing to Miss Morpurgo's statements except in regard to the crista transversa. Those with an aigrette or panache he regards as not really cristae transversae. The real ones are of one piece of metal or of closely set hairs like a brush; they pass from one ear

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to the other. The stele of Calidius and the statuette in the Museo delle Terme are examples of them. The *crista transversa* seems to have disappeared in the second century A.D.

The Problem of the Late Antique and the Arch of Constantine.—In Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. (Berlin), xxix-xxxiv (1927), pp. 342-358 (4 figs.), Hans Lietzmann discusses the problem of the Late Antique, using as his text the Arch of Constantine in Rome (315 A.D.), for which much decorative material was taken from monuments of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Only six reliefs, those above the three doorways, were especially designed for the new structure, the others being simply worked over. Four of these record the heroic deeds of the emperor, while the two over the main doorway represent him as addressing the people in the forum and distributing a largess. The author compares the treatment of these with similar scenes from the side-walls of the Rostra, executed in Traian's time in the classical spirit of 200 years earlier. In the later work low relief replaces high, a picture effect being rather sought after, and color being used to supplement sculpture. Instead of the chisel the boring auger was much used. The distribution of figures in the field was more schematized and, above all, interest was concentrated upon the central figure, that of the emperor himself. He alone is represented in full front; the others are in face-profile, though their bodies are square to the front. The importance of the emperor and the nobles is shown by their greater size. Lietzmann insists that all this is not a mere decadence in artistic skill, but that it represents a difference in the object aimed at; that the laws governing demand and supply influenced the deterioration. The people were no longer interested in art or able to understand it. Individuality had yielded to mass and originality to type. He attributes the change to Oriental and barbarizing influences, and in the last half of his article discusses parallel movements in the fields of literature and religion throughout these same centuries.

The Ransom of Hector.—In Jh. Oest. Arch. I. xxiii, 2 (1926), pp. 62-70 (Nachtrag, p. 116), A. Schober compares the broken part of a sarcophagus relief found at Ostia in 1910, in which Achilles sits listening to a bending figure of which the outstretched right hand and one advanced foot appear, with four other known reliefs portraying the ransom of Hector. Schober concludes that the Ostia relief is a composite from the Paris relief as to the position of the suppliant, and from several other reliefs as to the grouping.

A Roman Portrait in Chicago.—In *The Art Bulletin* x (1927–28), pp. 258–262 (2 figs.), A. D. Fraser publishes a Roman female head in the Art Institute of Chicago. The coiffure is like that of the two Faustinas and, though it is not possible to identify the person represented, the head can be dated within a few years of 140 a.d.

### PAINTING

Oscan Motif on Lower Italian Hydria.—In Jh. Oest. Arch. I. xxiii, 2 (1926), Beibl., col. 301-308, Margarete Lang identifies Oscan clothing and motifs on a hydria from lower Italy left to the National Museum in Budapest by Delhaes.

Studies in Pompeian Paintings.—In Jh. Oest. Arch I. xxiii, 2 (1926), pp. 71–115, the third article of W. Klein, who died in 1924, treats of the fourth style of Pompeian paintings. He identifies a number of paintings as fourth style and imperial date by the presence of Erotes.

# COINS

Coins of Thurium.—E. S. G. Robinson publishes with accompanying facsimiles ten silver coins from the collection of the Marchese Ginori, remarkable for their rarity or other interest. Some variations from known dies appear in them, as well as new points concerning the coin-engravers Histor and Molossus. (Num. Chron., 1927, pp. 297–303; 1 pl.)

Reform of Coinage by Aurelian?—Percy H. Webb puts forth reasons for dissenting from H. Mattingly's belief (cf. Num. Chron., 1927, p. 219) that Aurelian instituted a reform in the system of Roman coinage. He would instead attribute the change to Diocletian. He also believes that, as the denarius had the value of two quinarii, the antoninianus was rated at three quinarii. (Num. Chron., 1927, pp. 304–306)

# FRANCE

Celtic Swords.—In Mannus xx (1927), pp. 266–270 (3 figs.), O. Richter and M. Jahn write of certain very unusual Celtic swords with hilts decorated with spherical knobs. Only eight of these are known to exist; three were found in Eislingen, Ulm, and Bayern, in South Germany, four in eastern France in the Department of Côte d'Or, and finally an eighth specimen in western France near Nantes at the mouth of the Loire by the Vicomte de Lisle du Dreneuc. The authors think the original place of manufacture was in the Saone valley of eastern France. This sword has four of these knobs at the end of the hilt, arranged in two pairs in the plane of the blade of the sword and two more in the same plane where the blade joins the hilt. The sword seems to have been fashioned from one piece of metal. All seem to belong to the Hallstatt period.

The So-called Glazier's Furnace at Glozel.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 293–302, Madeleine Massoul discusses the so-called glazier's furnace at Glozel and shows that it is a pit for incineration, the date of which is much earlier than the Roman occupation.

## **GERMANY**

German Fibulae of Roman Empire.—In Mannus xx (1928), pp. 79–117 (14 figs.), Helmut Preidel treats of the Absolute Chronology of the German Fibulae of the Early Roman Empire. In a brief historical sketch he speaks first of Hildebrand's classification, which distinguished fibulae of the Bronze Age from the Hallstatt and La Tène forms, and then of the Dane Sophus Müller's further classification into an earlier and later Roman period. Hostmann and Tischler erred in thinking the fibulae of provincial Roman manufacture, and Montelius first vindicated their German source. To the dissertation of the Swede Oskar Almgren (Stockholm, 1897) we chiefly owe the scientific classification and chronological arrangement of the various forms of these brooches. The article lists 248 of them, arranged by place of discovery and indicating form and date as well as first publication.

### HUNGARY

Budapest Antiquities.—In Henszlmann-Lapok (Henszelmann-Blätter, studies prepared in memory of Emerich Henszlmann, 1813–1888, first professor of the history of art in the Pazmany University, Budapest), 1927, A. Hekler publishes short accounts of: I. A bust of a Greek philosopher. The soft expression of the face permits us to date it in the time of Marcus Aurelius and the hair confirms this impression. II. A bust of Philippus Arabs, a good representation of the Emperor. III. A fragment of a Greek portrait head in a private collection in Budapest which by its arrangement of the hair and general technique can be dated about 200 B.C.

### BULGARIA

A Three-Headed Thracian-Anatolian Divinity.—A relief found in Bulgaria and first published in 1912 shows the Thracian horseman-god with three heads, one

full-face, the other two in profile. The triple character thus expressed to the eye may be compared with that indicated by such names as Trikasbos, a Lycian variant of Kakasbos, for the undoubtedly related horseman-divinity of Anatolia, whether the number implies a god of three worlds, heavenly, earthly, and underground, or is merely expressive of a threefold heightening of his power and majesty. (O. Weinreich, Arch. Anz., 1927, pt. 1/2, cols. 20–23; fig.)

### SPAIN

Scipio's Camps before Numantia.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 5–17, Stéphane Gsell describes the seven camps and the wall of circumvallation built about Numantia by Scipio Aemilianus, the remains of which have been published and discussed in detail by Adolf Schulten (Numantia, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, 1905–1912. Band III, Die Lager des Scipio, Munich, 1927, F. Bruckmann). The circuit wall was 9 kilometres long, agreeing with the 50 stadia of Appian. The camps were built, with one exception, on elevated and easily defensible ground and were laid out in accordance with the shape of the sites rather than according to the mathematical rules familiar to us from the camps of a later period.

# GREAT BRITAIN

ESSEX.—'Romano-Celtic' Temple.—In Ant.J. viii, 3 (July 1928), pp. 300-326 (8 figs; map), R. E. M. Wheeler discusses a 'Romano-Celtic' temple near Harlow, Essex, various remains of which were excavated in the summer of 1927. The foundations show that the temple has a cella 1834 ft. square, placed within a portico 481/2 ft., inside measurements. The walls are slightly less than 3 ft. wide. The finding of painted wall-plaster leads to the suggestion that the walls had once been covered with plaster. It is suggested that the cella roof may have risen above that of the veranda and thus have received light from the upper windows, as was the case in the 'Temple of Janus' at Autun, although it is possible that the two parts, cella and veranda, were roofed evenly. A ditch surrounding the elevation upon which the temple foundations were found may be the remains of the normal device employed to mark out the sacred limits of the areas of such temples. Such evidence of chronology as was discovered would indicate that the temple was in use in the fourth and perhaps in the third century A.D., and was possibly constructed not before this time. There is evidence that the site of the temple was occupied to an extent by earlier structures which may be investigated. The finds consist of: a few coins belonging to the Roman Emperors from Claudius to Valentinian, and also British coins; brooches of iron and bronze; iron-ware in the form of nails, key, and knife; and fragments of pottery much of which can be designated pre-Flavian. The description of the Harlow excavations is made the occasion for a discussion of this type of temple in general. The structure was in the form of a square, or nearly square, cella enclosed by a veranda on all four sides. The floor of the cella in many instances was tesellated and the walls on the inside normally, and on the outside occasionally, plastered and painted. These temples frequently stood on hill-tops, and with them there was often associated a sacred pool or spring. Buildings other than the temple proper, and used in an accessory way, sometimes have been found within the sacred temenos formed in many instances by a ditch. The temples were dedicated either to purely native deities, or else were the centres of a composite worship consisting of Gallic and Roman or Germanic and Roman elements which had come to be designated by some name chosen from the classical religion. Mercury, Apollo, Mars are names that occur several times; others, such as Caprio and Latobius, seem to be free from classical influence. The votive objects consist

of many pipe-clay statuettes of Venus, Neolithic polished axes, sea-urchins, and silver vessels. There is slight evidence at any of the seventy-one recorded sites of these temples that would tend to show pre-Roman relics associated with the structural features. Furthermore, the coins discovered range chiefly from the first to the fourth century, many of them being of the second half of the fourth century. The general conclusion on the chronology, therefore, is that these temples were in use during the main portion of the Roman period and were then destroyed, possibly by the Franks, at the beginning of the fifth century. An interesting map accompanying this sketch shows the distribution of these temples, which are located in fairly concentrated areas; eight or nine in Britain, but all in the southern counties from Essex to Monmouthshire; a considerable number in the Gallic community about Rouen; another group in the land of the Aedui, in and about the Côte d'Or, the Auvergne, and the Lyonnais; about fourteen in the Rhine country a short distance south of Cologne; a few scattered examples in Switzerland, Holland, and Austria.

With reference to the origin of this type of temple, the conclusion is reached that it does not represent a pre-Roman architectural tradition but is an adaptation of Roman elements made by native Gallic architects shortly after the conquest of Gaul in a process by which Roman ideas about the gods were also carried over into the native cults. Just exactly from what centre of diffusion these temples spread, whether from Rouen or the Eifel, for example, cannot be safely said. Diffusions of such influence can have been readily facilitated by the annual meeting of delegates from Gallia Comata at the altar of Roma and Augustus at Lyons.

The Inscriptions of the Clyde.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 320–324 (4 figs.), F. W. G. Foat recapitulates for French readers the controversy which was carried on between 1895 and 1905 relative to Neolithic inscribed objects found in Scotland near the Clyde, objects which show similarity to others found at Alvao in Portugal. The parallel between the incredulity shown at that time in regard to the objects found in Scotland and that exhibited towards the recent discoveries at Glozel is obvious.

SHROPSHIRE.—Bronze Hoard.—In Ant. J. viii, 1 (Jan. 1928), pp. 30–47 (2 pls.; 3 figs.), Lily F. Chitty discusses a Late Bronze Age hoard discovered at Little Wenlock, Shropshire. The discovery dates as far back as 1834. Various more or less conflicting previous accounts of the hoard are now examined, and the conclusion is reached that 18 implements and fragments can be identified: a celt, a broken sword, 16 spear-heads and remnants. The spear-heads resemble one another in type, size, and general condition, though apparently no two were made from the same mould. The instruments are badly battered and were apparently gathered together as scrap.

Swanwick Refuse Pit.—In Ant. J. viii, 3 (July 1928), pp. 331-336 (4 figs.), Charles F. Fox discusses the finding of about twenty burnt clay loom weights of the Bronze Age and a portion of a tool-dressed saddle quern in a refuse pit sunk in the clay at Swanwick, Hants.

# EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, AND MEDIAEVAL

City-Gate Sarcophagi.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 1–45 (30 figs.), M. LAWRENCE makes a careful study of the type of columnar sarcophagi the architectural decoration of which shows the motive of the gate of a city, and she analyzes the relations between these sarcophagi and other types. They form a closely connected group, the purest examples being assignable to one atelier. Like other columnar sarcophagi, they reflect the Asiatic tradition and have subjects and

ornament foreign to the frieze sarcophagi of the West. Their high cubical shape, decoration on all sides, and architectural background are derived from the pagan sarcophagi of Asia Minor, whence sprang the atelier of which they and probably other columnar sarcophagi were the product.

Restoration and Fabrication of Early Christian Sculpture.—In The Art Bulletin ix (1926–27), pp. 88–141 (33 figs.), J. WILPERT demonstrates how much circumspection is necessary in dealing with Early Christian sculpture, because of the dangerous and ubiquitous activities of restorers and forgers. In his preparation of a corpus of Early Christian sarcophagi he has come upon abundant absurdities, such as "the head of Napoleon III added to the figures of a sarcophagus in the Louvre, the head of Pius VI on one in the Lateran, and the Garibaldi on a sarcophagus in Leyden." Forgery with intent to cheat is less common (though known) with sarcophagi than with smaller objects, among which Wilpert discusses with devastating results the "cup of Constantine," "chalice of Antioch," "second silver treasure from Cyprus," and other recently invented treasures.

# EGYPT

The Siren Woman-Fish.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 18-25 (6 figs.), W. Deonna writes of the siren in the form of a woman with two fish tails, a form which appears in Christian art about the twelfth century and is mentioned about the sixth century in the De Monstris, after which it appears in the mediaeval Bestiaries. These literary notices point to Egypt, and it is undoubtedly in Egypt that the source of this form, which is unknown in classical art, arose.

The Style of the Consular Diptychs.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 60–101 (34 figs.), E. Capps discusses the consular diptychs from the standpoint of style and finds that they fall into two major and one minor groups. There is first a Latin group made to order for the various consuls of the fifth century. Next there is a larger sixth-century group made in Egypt or under Alexandrian influence and turned out wholesale to meet the demands of the consuls, who after they had bought them had the necessary consular inscriptions added. Finally there are a small number of these diptychs which appear to be Latin copies of Alexandrian models: three Magnus diptychs, based on the Alexandrian diptych of which a fragment is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale; a Philoxenus diptych in Liverpool, which is a copy of uncertain date of one in the Trivulzio collection; and an Orestes diptych at South Kensington, imitated from such a model as the Clementinus diptych at Liverpool.

A Vatican Pyxis and a Sancta Sanctorum Plaque.—In *The Art Bulletin* ix (1926–27), pp. 331–340 (11 figs.), E. Capps attributes to Egypt a plaque from the Sancta Sanctorum and a pyxis from Milan Cathedral in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library. He dates them about 500 and 517 a.p. respectively.

### ITALY

Sienese and Pisan Trecento Sculptors.—In The Art Bulletin 1926–27, pp. 176–221 (55 figs.), W. R. Valentiner publishes a series of studies of Trecento sculptors. Nicola di Nuto is defined in his relations to Giovanni Pisano, Ramo di Paganello, and Lorenzo Maitani, and considerable additions are made to his œuvre. Next the work of the partners Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura is assembled along with that of the former's mediocre son Giovanni. The two great Pisan architects and sculptors, Tino di Camiano and Lupo di Francisco, are considered with special reference to the tomb monuments of Emperor Henry VII and of the Gherardesca family, respectively attributable to them. The personality of Giovanni Balducci is also clarified by a variety of new attributions, taking as their

point of departure the signed tomb of Guarnerio Castruccio at Sarzana, from which the Madonna is in the Johnson collection at Philadelphia.

# FRANCE

The Franks and Armorican Brittany.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 246–253, Salomon Reinach writes of the history of Brittany in the fifth century and later. The country was partially depopulated and was harried by Saxon pirates, but received immigrants from Great Britain. The cities were governed by the bishops and contained remnants (and descendants) of Roman armies. The Franks never conquered Brittany until the time of Pepin the Short. This is proved by the absence of Merovingian monuments of any kind in Brittany.

#### GERMANY

Jean Fouquet.—In Zeit. f. Bild. K. lxi (1927), pp. 345–349 (4 figs.), F. WINKLER discusses the illuminations of Fouquet that still remain in Germany since the miniatures of the Book of Hours of Étienne Chevalier have passed from Frankfurt to Chantilly. Germany still boasts the famous Boccaccio with the Fouquet illustrations. To these must be added the three hitherto unnoticed miniatures in the Library of Duke August, at Wolfenbüttel, illustrating a book by the so-called terror of England, Jean de Bueil. After comparing these three pages with the Boccaccio illustrations and the miniatures in Chantilly, there are no grounds for the belief that these are the work of a clever imitator.

### HUNGARY

A Reliquary Adorned with the Arms of Hungary in Bari.—In Henszlmann-Lapok, 1927, Dr. J. Balogh stresses the testimonial of the inventory of the Basilica of St. Nicholas in Bari, made in 1362, as a source for our knowledge of the liberality of the Hungarian kings. This basilica received many gifts from the house of Anjou, but they are all lost except the reliquary which is illustrated in this paper. It agrees with the account in the inventory except for the absence of the arms of Petrus de Morerijs, Prior of St. Nicholas. The author promises later to consider in greater detail the identity of the donor and the artistic relations of the reliquary.

#### RUSSIA

The Miniature in Russian Art of the pre-Tartar period.—In Slavia (Prague), vi, pp. 742–757, Vyacheslav Shchepkin points out that those miniatures which come from the pre-Tartar period in Russia are relatively few in number and are connected with princes rather than with monasteries. They seem, furthermore, to reflect the monumental style of the Macedonian dynasty of Constantinople rather than the later style of the Komnenas period. In some of these there seems to be an attempt to represent in the coloration the softness of the Ukrainian landscape, since the colors are far softer than in those miniatures which can be associated with Novgorod. The author discusses also the Psalter of Gertrude, made for the Archbishop of Trier Egbert, 977–993, but apparently decorated later, in the eleventh century. Some of these miniatures have been thought to show Western influence, but the author concludes that they were made by a Russian during one of the westward journies of Svyatopolk, whose daughter was married to the King of Poland.

#### SPAIN

The Early Panels of Catalonia.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 153–204 (77 figs.), W. W. S. Cooκ continues the publication of his studies on early painting

in Catalonia with an exhaustive study of the iconography of the Old and New Testament Panel from Sagars. The article treats monographically the following themes: The Fall of Man, The Entry into Jerusalem, The Betrayal of Christ, and The Descent from the Cross.

Gothic Painted Ceilings from Teruel.—In The Art Bulletin ix (1926–27), pp. 341–351 (17 figs.), M. S. Byne calls attention to the wealth of Gothic ceiling painting at Teruel. Although the finest example, that still in situ but hidden behind a later vault in the cathedral, remains, others have been removed. That from "the Jew's house" has been exported by a Madrid dealer. Three ceilings have come to America and are now owned by Myron C. Taylor, New York; George E. Steedman, Santa Barbara; and William Randolph Hearst.

A Romanesque Fresco in the Plandiura Collection at Barcelona.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 266–273 (10 figs.), W. W. S. Cooκ publishes the three fragments of a Catalan fresco from the parish church of Argolell in the Plandiura collection. They represent the Madonna and various saints and belong in style with the frescoes from the Cardós valley. Although still in the Romanesque tradition, the Argolell fragments are to be dated in the thirteenth century. Another late Romanesque fresco in Sr. Plandiura's collection is a fragment with a standing Apostle, which is all that is left of the decorations of the chapel at Esterri d'Aneu.

### NORTHERN AFRICA

Three Christian Objects in the Museum of the Bardo.—In R. Arch. xxvii, 1928, pp. 67-89 (4 figs.), Louis Poinssot and Raymond Lantier discuss a censer and a beaker from Furnos Majus and a eucharistic mould from Djebeniana, all of which are in the Museum of the Bardo at Tunis. The censer is a footless bowl of very thin metal of a golden yellow color. It has three rings for suspension. Round the upper part runs an inscription in letters of the sixth century A.D., κατειθυνθίτο εἰ προσευχί μου ώς θυμίαμα ένόπιον σου κ(ύρι)ε. The use of ι and ει for η and of o for ω is common enough at this time. The main decoration consists of an acanthus scroll so arranged as to form eight medallions, in which are birds. It is carefully executed and is purely classic in its inspiration. Its origin is to be sought in Egypt. The beaker is also of golden yellow bronze. The receptacle is wide, but thin, and stands upon a truncated conical base. The handle is wanting. It belongs to the class of sacred vessels called ama, and is to be dated in the sixth century. The mould is of terracotta, about 0.16 m. in diameter. It was used for moulding eucharistic bread. In the centre are a stag, a tree, and two plants. Round the centre runs the inscription Eqo sum panis vivvs qui de celo descendi, preceded by a cross with four equal arms. The letters are those of the sixth century. The stag probably symbolizes Christ, and the tree the tree of life. Discussion of the forms of tree and stag leads to Egypt. So in the three objects here discussed the influence of Egyptian Christianity is evident.

### RENAISSANCE

A Detroit Collection of Paintings.—In Art in America xvi (1928), pp. 49–58 (6 figs.), W. Hell discusses the fourteen pictures composing the uniformly fine collection of Edgar B. Whiteomb in Detroit. A portrait by Tintoretto and one of those delightful vedute by Francesco Guardi represent the Italians. Two works by Rubens and Van Dyck convey an idea of the opulence of Flemish art of the seventeenth century, while a fine portrait of Titus by Rembrandt and three landscapes by Ruisdael, Hobbema, and Cuyp represent the Dutch. From the French school are a Holy Family by Poussin, a super-refined Minerva by Fragonard, and a por-

trait of Marie Antoinette by Mme. Le Brun. Excellent paintings of the English school of the eighteenth century, by Gainsborough, Beechy, and Hoppner, complete the collection.

The Stemma of Terence Manuscripts.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 102–120 (21 figs.), L. W. Jones studies the relations of the illustrated Terence manuscripts on the basis of their iconography. He finds, besides new evidence for datings, that Ambrosianus H 75 inf. is the closest of existing manuscripts to the original miniatured archetype and that Turoni Lat. 924 and Leidensis Vossianus 38 reflect a second wave of influence from the delta line of manuscripts.

# ITALY

Antonio Vivarini.—In Art in America xvi (1927), pp. 12–15 (fig.), F. Mason Perkins attributes to Antonio Vivarini a Madonna and Child in the collection of Mr. Percy Straus, New York, which has until recently been called the work of an anonymous Venetian painter of the fifteenth century. It is a product of Vivarini's ripest period and is interesting not only from the point of view of iconography, technique, and style, but also for its purely decorative qualities.

The Art of Scenography.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927-28), pp. 231-257 (11 figs.), C. Ricci writes a descriptive account of the evolution of stages, stage settings, and methods of stage lighting from Classical antiquity to modern times. He gives special attention to the great period of Italian scenography extending from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century and brings into their proper place and prominence several neglected artists of those times.

Bartolommeo Veneto.—In Zeit. f. Bild. K. lxi (1927), pp. 280–288 (9 figs.), E. MICHALSKI discusses Bartolommeo Veneto, called the Venetian Proteus, who was at first a dilettante but later abandoned his traditions, and combined the significant innovations of the time in a striking, but second-rate, personality. His early work shows the influence of the Bellini school in some of his figures and of Mantegna in others, while Giorgionesque influence is apparent in his use of color. He combines portraiture, mythology, and allegory in his repertory. To him may be attributed the Resurrection in Berlin from the Bergamo Museum; it has been attributed to Bellini, but has the earmarks of Bartolommeo. In his later works there is a definite liberation from conventions, but though he is gifted in the use of ornament and landscape, and in the facility with which he imitates, he lacks the inner flame and inventiveness of a first-rate artist.

Francesco di Giorgio.—In Art in America xii (1928), pp. 67–71 (2 figs.), F. Mason Perkins discusses three paintings by Francesco di Giorgio. A Virgin and Child with Sts. Jerome and Bernardino and two angels, the property of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Holmes of Boston, displays in accentuated manner some of the most prominent formal peculiarities of the master's style. Two panels, evidently companion pieces, in private possession in New York, are interesting examples of Francesco's elastic and personal style in treating secular subjects.

Genoa and the Netherlands.—In Zeit. f. Bild. K. lxi (1927), pp. 273-279 (8 figs.), M. J. Friedlands.—In Zeit. f. Bild. K. lxi (1927), pp. 273-279 (8 figs.), M. J. Friedlands. A triptych by Van Eyck came into the possession of the King of Naples in the middle of the sixteenth century through a resident of Genoa. Roger van der Weyden, Gerard David, and Joos van Cleve are all represented in Genoan churches and museums. Traveling Italians brought Flemish work back with them, and Flemish artists traveling through Italy took commissions. They seem to have been especially well received in Genoa. In the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa there are four uniformly sized panels, marked Albert Bouts, which do not seem to have anything in common with his work as represented in the Poldi-

Pezzoli Museum, in Milan. In the Palazzo Reale in Genoa there is Flemish work illustrating legends of St. Catherine and St. Agnes. Genoa seems to have been more under the influence of Antwerp than of Bruges.

Luciano Laurana and the "High Renaissance".—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 125–152 (31 figs.), F. Kimball establishes the attribution to Luciano Laurana of an architectural perspective panel in the Walters Collection at Baltimore, and another in the Ducal Palace at Urbino. Proceeding from these he shows the place of Luciano in the history of architecture. Inspired by Alberti, Luciano became one of the founders of the "High Renaissance," which is the style of a school rather than of a period. In creative originality and influence his importance was comparable to Bramante's.

The Portrait of Raphael in the Louvre.—In Zeit. f. Bild. K. lxi (1927), pp. 357–358 (2 figs.), M. FRIEDBERG opposes the attribution of the portrait of the young man in the Louvre to Raphael, contrasting it with a drawing of a young man by Raphael at Oxford. His theory is that it is a portrait of Raphael by some unknown artist who has used as model the Raphael self-portrait in the Uffizi. He supports this theory by quotations from Burch, Mariette, and others.

Reconstruction of an Altarpiece.—In Art in America xvi (1927), pp. 16–25 (6 figs.), G. Gronau succeeds in reuniting five separate predella panels and in connecting them with the main panel of an altarpiece by Ghirlandaio in the Uffizi depicting the Madonna between two archangels. A charming little panel in the Detroit Institute, attributed to the shop of Ghirlandaio and representing the battle between the archangels and devils, was first linked with the Uffizi altarpiece. A panel in the National Gallery, erroneously marked David Receiving the Shew Bread from the High Priest, having the stylistic qualities of the Detroit piece, became St. Justus Distributing Bread to the Soldiers (the two bishops in the Uffizi altarpiece are St. Zenobius and St. Justus). Later three panels at the Metropolitan Museum (where they are ascribed to Botticini) were added to the series. These depict the Marriage of the Virgin, a Miracle of St. Zenobius, and Tobias and the Archangel. This reconstruction of a masterpiece seems well founded.

The Sarcophagus of San Lorenzo.—In The Art Bulletin x (1927–28), pp. 46–59 (17 figs.), F. H. Taylor discusses the class of Attic sarcophagi to which the sarcophagus in the porch of S. Lorenzo f. I. m. belongs, and he shows that this example must in its original aspect have been made in the second century of our era. The decoration consisting of vintaging putti, however, proves to be a later addition, to make room for which the original strigilation and some of the moldings were cut away. Analogies for the putti and other features of the vintage are to be found in Renaissance rather than Early Christian art. Works of the school of Filarete offer a variety of parallels for them and for some of the moldings that were carved on the sarcophagus at its reworking. We have thus an antique sarcophagus with Renaissance reliefs, not an Early Christian work at all.

Some Florentine Paintings in Russia.—In Art in America xvi (1927), pp. 25–40 (11 figs.), V. Lasareff discusses some Florentine trecento paintings at the Hermitage, Leningrad, and at the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. The earliest is a well-preserved tondo at the Hermitage, representing the Salvator Mundi. This resembles in many ways a Christ in two Paduan frescoes and a standing figure of Christ in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lower Church at Assisi, both attributed to the school of Giotto. The tondo is placed in the second decade of the four-teenth century; the nearest work in date is a fragment representing St. James Major which is attributed to Niccolo di Tommaso, likewise in the Hermitage. At the Moscow Museum is a Madonna with angels, which is connected with the school of Orcagna, being attributed to Giovanni Cristiani. Two fragments at

the Hermitage are ascribed to Spinello Arctino, by comparison with his Monte Olive to altarpiece. The school of Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini (1400) is represented by two Madonnas at the Hermitage, one of which is said to be an outstanding work of the late trecento and probably the most successful work of Lorenzo di Niccolo.

A Venetian Painting in Detroit.—In The Art Bulletin ix (1926-27), pp. 70-75 (fig.), F. J. Mather shows that the inscriptions on the back of the three-figure Venetian painting in the Detroit Institute are unconvincing as contemporary evidence of authorship and that the picture could have been derived from early sixteenth-century works at a later date. In Art in America xvi (1927), pp. 40-44, W. R. Valentiner maintains his former attribution of the painting to Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Titian. He holds that the inscriptions, although not contemporary, represent an old Venetian tradition, and that the picture has been too widely accepted by scholars to be later than its apparent style indicates.

### GERMANY

Exhibition of German Art.—In Revue de Vart ancien et moderne lii (1927), pp. 65–78 (16 figs.), R. Bonyer discusses the exhibition at the Musée du Jeu de Paume of works of art of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the time of that remarkable personality Maximilian I. The exhibition included works lent by the Austrian republic and by museums and libraries of France; there were portraits of the imperial family, tapestries, books, armor, wood engravings, especially those of the celebrated "Triumph" designed by Dürer, the history of which is here related. Maximilian in art means Dürer, for he was decidedly the most unique and outstanding figure in the emperor's reign. In the "Triumph" fantasy and reality blend. Kölderer, an architect and painter, made 110 miniatures, 95 of which remain in the Albertina. Then Dürer began his work in wood. Ten years passed before 138 pieces in wood completed the long series of scenes from the life of Maximilian, and by that time Maximilian was no longer alive.

# HUNGARY

The Abbot of Madocsa, the Miniaturist of the Royal Books.—In Henszlmann-Lapok, 1927, Dr. J. Balogh endeavors to explain the meaning of this title, which is found in the accounts of Wladyslaus II in 1495. He shows that the name of this man was Fra Zoan Antonio Cattaneo, a Dominican from Milan, who worked with other miniaturists for King Matthias Corvinus in his miniature studio in Ofen at the end of the fifteenth century. He was the fourth member of the group of which the others were Bandini, Felix Ragusanus, and Francesco Roselli. We can assign to him such manuscripts as the Parisian Cassianus, which show north Italian influence.

Andrea Scolari, Bishop of Várad as Maecenas.—In Archaeologiai Ériesitö, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 173–188, Jolan Balogh writes that at the beginning of the fifteenth century Andrea Scolari, a member of the same Florentine family as Filippo Scolari, was Bishop of Zagreb and later of Várad. At his death in 1426 he left his property to Filippo, on provision that he would found a cloister. During his life he had done much in building and establishing monasteries, etc. All of his foundations have been destroyed, but to this family belongs a great part in the strengthening of the Italian influence in this area in the fifteenth century.

Calvary Rotunda in Budapest.—In Henszlmann-Lapok, 1927, Bruno Grimschitz, discusses the Calvary rotunda in the Epreskert, Budapest. This has been studied by the Institute for the History of Art, and especially by J. Kapossy and Ivan Obilics. The City Archives of Budapest, in 1732, refer to the monument as the memorial of Frau Anna Maria Visztner (Viznerin), alias Schwartz (Schware-

zin), who died in 1717. She is recorded to have built a mortuary chapel in 1711. This reference seems to mean the subject under discussion. The work turns into complete architectural form the mediaeval mons calvariae, where an arcade and steps completely surround the inner cylindrical walls 6.25 m. in diameter. The motifs and style coincide closely with the work of Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt, who did considerable work between 1716 and 1720, and the mortuary can be connected with his work.

The Origin of the Grassalkovich Monument in Besnyo.—In Henszlmann-Lapok, 1927, J. Kapossy discusses the date of the monument of Count Anton Grassalkovich, and shows that this is mentioned in an entry in the Annals of the Capuchin Monastery of Mariabesnyo and was, according to this, erected towards the end of 1772. The monument is the work of Johann Georg Dorfmeister, a prominent, if not extremely important, sculptor of the Viennese school of the period.

The same author publishes also a color sketch by Ignaz Unterberger, which was procured in Munich in 1926. The sketch seems to be a study for the altarpiece in Cavalese La Madonna che offre il Bambino a Sant' Antonio. Unterberger went to Vienna in 1776 and became a member of the Viennese Academy and a much sought-after painter of Late Baroque Church work.

## RUMANIA

Slavonic Parallels of Paris MS. Gr. 74.—In The Art Bulletin ix (1926–27), pp. 222–274 (62 figs.), S. Der Nersessian publishes two Slavonic Gospels of the monastery of Sucevitza, Moldavia, that were shown in the exhibition of Rumanian art at Paris in 1925. One is of the late sixteenth, the other of the early seventeenth century. Both belong, like Curzon 153 of the British Museum and the Elizavetgrad Gospel, to the group of Paris Gr. 74, an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript. For it is the—presumably Syrian—tradition of this manuscript rather than the Constantinopolitan tradition exemplified by Laur. VI, 23, which seems to have been accepted by the Balkan Slavs, part of whose Christianity was derived from the East directly and not via Constantinople.

# THE NETHERLANDS

A Former Attribution to Ouwater.—In Art in America xvi (1928), pp. 72–77 (fig.), P. Ackerman challenges the attribution of the Resurrection of Lazarus in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum to Albert Ouwater. It is not essentially Dutch in style, nor is there any kinship with the work of Geertgen, Ouwater's pupil. Besides, on one of the cloaks Mirin is neatly and clearly printed in gold. On one of the hats of the spectators another inscription reads Nai. This is Jan backwards. Various versions of this name appear in the documents of the Northern guilds of the time. In view of this inscription and the intrinsic evidence in the painting, there seem to be no justifiable grounds for continuing to regard the painting as the work of Ouwater.

### BELGIUM

Self-Portrait by Rubens.—In Art in America xvi (1927), pp. 3–11 (4 figs.), F. E. W. Freund writes of a hitherto unknown self-portrait of Rubens which has recently been acquired by Mr. William R. Timken of New York. A chain is established connecting this portrait with the portrait of Rubens and Van Dyck by Van Dyck in the Schlieting collection at the Louvre and an engraving of Rubens and Van Dyck by Paulus Pontius. The self-portrait seems to have been used as a model for the Van Dyck Rubens, and when the engraving is stripped of the usual embellishments given to popular idols, we have Van Dyck's portrait.

#### SPAIN

Pictures by Zurburan.—In Zeit. f. Bild. K. lxi (1927), pp. 289–292 (5 figs.), A. L. Mayer discusses some hitherto unknown works by Zurburan. Two panels of St. Jerome and St. Benedict, formerly in the collection of Lord Heylisbury and now in the Boehler collection in Munich, must have belonged to a series executed about 1630. In private possession in Madrid there is a Monk dated about 1630 also, which is undoubtedly by this artist. Zurburan may safely be accredited also with the powerfully executed picture of a Dominican friar in a private collection in Barcelona, where it is now marked anonymous. Two characteristic Kneeling Angels, as well as a beautifully conceived Liberation of Peter, in the collection of Molina Dazas in Madrid, may be added to the list. Another characteristic work, though not of the finest, is the St. Agnes in the possession of José Suarez in Seville. Other works here attributed to the master are a Child's Portrait, in the possession of Dr. Carvollo, a Crucifixion, in Sonora, indicating the influence of Ribera, and a St. Dorothy, in Seville.

### NEWS ITEMS FROM ATHENS

The reports from the excavations of the French School during 1927 were not available until this summer. They were, for the most part, continuations of previous campaigns on the same sites, but in addition M. Bon carried out an exhaustive survey of the Frankish remains in the Peloponnesos, and in September he explored the mountainous region to the north of the Alpheus, identifying the ruins in Paleokastro of Galatas as the castle of Akova, the seat of the first barony of the principality of Achaia. The fortress was larger than Karytaina, corresponding to Kalavryta in type, situated on a rocky eminence between two confluent valleys. The outer circuit of walls was very extensive and was defended on the north where the slope was more gradual, by three heavy square towers. There are traces of other walls within this circuit, and on the summit of the hill there is a large square donion.

The French excavations at Thasos in 1927 centred within the sanctuary where the two large altars, one circular and one square, had been found in 1925. This sanctuary is rectangular in form and runs approximately north and south. It was built on sloping ground which made it necessary to have a very strong supporting wall along the west face of the peribolos while the east face is cut into the rock of the hillside, and this part of the enclosed area was never levelled and could not have been built upon.1 The western supporting wall served as the façade of the sanctuary and shows five courses of marble blocks still in position. The great doorway was not in the centre of this façade but nearly ten metres nearer the northern corner. The approach to this entrance must have been by a ramp of packed earth. The marble sill is still in place, a monolith 6.30 m. in length and shows traces of a square central dividing pillar. Five metres south of this gateway there was, at the same height in the wall, a window, 0.90 m. wide with a base below it which would point to the setting of a statue in this recess. The peribolos showed drainage openings through the outer walls. Within the enclosure the altars found in 1925 appear to have been the important elements while foundation walls along the south face of the sanctuary and in the northwest angle would seem to have served as dwellings for the priests. The attribution of this sanctuary to Poseidon is fixed by the finding of two inscriptions which bear the same dedication: "Xenophanes son of Myllos to Poseidon" and by a fragment of a decree of an association

 $^1{\rm The~peribolos~measures};$  on the west face 48.50 m.; on the east 52.50 m.; on the north 29 m.; on the south 32.50 m.

of Poseidoniasts and a small lead anchor of the characteristic ex-voto style. Directly in front of the sanctuary was an altar built of marble which apparently carried the plaque with a short sacred law forbidding the sacrifice of goats to Hera Epilimenia. To the south of the great entrance and against the wall of the peribolos there was found a marble statue of Aphrodite riding a dolphin with Eros perched on its tail.

In Samothrace M. Chapouthier of the French School cleared a building to the north of the sanctuary. This exists in foundations only, but these are of the same poros used in the foundations of all the great Ptolemaic buildings and the structure must therefore be dated about the middle of the third century B.C. In plan it shows a three-stepped crepidoma with inner divisions. Fragments of marble from it were found built into modern walls and further exploration will undoubt-

edly establish this as one of the important temples of Samothrace.

At Mallia in Crete members of the French School spent two months clearing the north and east fronts of the palace. The limits of the building and its entrances on the east and northeast have been definitely established. The eastern walls, composed of great blocks of blue limestone, were c. 1 m. thick. At the height of the central court this wall was interrupted by a large opening flanked by two round columns. Farther to the north there is a jut in the wall, pierced, perhaps, by a window. In the eastern wing there are two regions of storerooms opening on the colonnade of the central court; the first includes six rooms for storage, reached from a NS. corridor with a narrow side passage; the second was divided into three rooms. To the north the rooms were grouped around a small court with a portico on two sides. The western part of this group is composed of rooms at a slightly lower level reached by steps in each narrow doorway. One room showed a low bench around the walls and on it were found numerous cups and jars; another room contained an immense pithos sunk in the ground. Between this quarter and the portico was situated the northern entrance to the palace, a real propylon composed of two successive vestibules at right angles to each other, paved with blue limestone very carefully worked. The sill of the outer doorway was of this same material. In front of the door there was a courtyard paved with short irregular slabs and from this emerged a roadway (1.15 m. wide) which descended obliquely in the direction of the Port. The arrangement here is identical with that of the SW. propylaia of Knossos. This would appear to be the official entrance as it leads through a small court to the north portico of the central court near the "Hypostyle Hall," while the east entrance gave access more directly to the magazines. The new discoveries have confirmed the former views as to the date of the palace. There are distinct traces of two occupations; the latest, found especially in the region around the northern court, shows typical M. M. IIIb remains, whereas the rest of the construction must be contemporary with M. M. I.

Mr. Rhomaios very kindly let us have a brief report on the Helleno-Danish excavations at Calydon which were resumed in 1928 in the same region where digging was carried on in 1926, i.e., in the Sanctuary of Artemis Laphria and the Heroön. In the Sanctuary it was ascertained this year that a second smaller temple, also archaic, existed alongside the large temple. This second smaller temple must have belonged to Apollo Laphrios who is mentioned only by Strabo. This attribution is made certain by an archaic boundary inscription:  $\Lambda \pi \phi \lambda \sigma \sigma \Lambda \Delta \phi \rho i \sigma$  while an intact bronze inscription of c. 300 B.C. supports the view that to the goddess must be attributed the chief worship and consequently the larger temple. Figurines of terracotta were collected in large numbers. These are of various periods,

 $<sup>^1\</sup>mathrm{From}$  its foundations the temple appears to have been 15.45 m. long by 10.50 m. wide,

although the archaic predominates. To the forty fragments of metopes discovered in the excavations of 1926, eighty new pieces were added. From some of them may be put together a curious Gorgoneion with snakes issuing from the cheeks and ascending to the hair above the eyes. An important find is a terracotta head, life size, representing a goddess, undoubtedly Artemis. It is of the severe style of c. 470 B.C. Of slightly later date and smaller size is a head of Dionysos preserving its color. Important also are the new finds among the architectural terracottas; especially noteworthy is the sima of a gable of c. 350 B.C. with beautiful painted representations of Victories in chariots. The excavations of the Laphriaion cannot yet be considered finished. In the Heroön work was carried out on a smaller scale and the results show that the building above the vaulted tomb appears to be much more important than was supposed in 1926. To the east of this building the end of a great colonnade was uncovered showing a peculiar variety of Ionic capitals.

A third campaign at the Argive Heraeum was conducted by Mr. Blegen from April 18 to June 8, 1928, with funds generously provided by Mrs. Joseph Clark Hoppin. The campaign resulted in the discovery of two burials, apparently of the Neolithic Period, nineteen Middle Helladic graves, and twenty-one Mycenaean chamber-tombs. The Neolithic burials, the earliest interments yet found at the Heraeum, were very simple: the bones lay heaped together, packed in with small stones, in shallow depressions of no great size cut in native rock. Some of the bones had clearly been burned, and above the graves was a layer of black earth and carbonized matter, certainly the result of fire. Almost no objects were recovered in these graves, but the earth covering them contained a good many potsherds of exclusively "Neolithic" types. Twelve of the Middle Helladic graves were discovered in a group close together, forming a small cemetery on the upper slope of the East Yerogalaro ridge. They were all cist-graves, generally small rectangular pits hewn in hard pan, frequently, but not always, covered with large slabs of limestone. They yielded a good many vases, chiefly diminutive pots decorated with dull paint, a few small bronze implements, and some simple jewelry of paste, crystal and bronze. The Mycenaean tombs, of the same type as those excavated in the preceding campaigns, proved unusually rich in pottery, jewelry and bronze weapons. The total number of vases recovered is not far short of four hundred. The two most important objects unearthed were a gold ring with a large bezel bearing an engraved scene of two heraldically confronted griffins, standing one on either side of a spirally fluted column; and a small ivory statuette of a standing "goddess." The latter wears a characteristic Minoan costume, with a flounced skirt, decorated with foliate sprays and rosettes, a low-cut bodice, open about the full breasts, and an elegant necklace about the throat. The figure was unfortunately badly shattered.1 The right arm is missing, but the remains of the fingers show that the hand was laid over the right breast. The left arm was bent at the elbow and held across the body. This statuette is the second of its kind to come to light on the mainland of Greece, the only other example yet known being the one found by Tsountas at Mycenae.

The University of Cincinnati which had financed the three campaigns at Nemea (1924–27) began an exploration of the territory farther south in the Peloponnesos with a careful excavation of a low mound at Hagiorgitika not far to the east of Tripolis in Arcadia. The campaign took about three weeks and was conducted by Mr. Blegen. The deposit covering the mound had a maximum depth of three metres and proved to be the gradual accumulation of debris from prehistoric settle-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>It has now been skilfully repaired by M. Gillièron of the National Museum, Athens.

ments. The remains of simple dwellings came to light; these houses had stone foundations (the superstructure was of more perishable material), their floors were of packed clay and there were fixed hearths, either circular or rectangular. Vast quantities of potsherds were found illustrating clearly two chronological stages in the occupation of the mound. The characteristic pottery from the deeper strata is decorated in red on a white or buff ground and corresponds with the painted ware of the first Neolithic Period in Thessaly. The second style apparently represents a regular development from the earlier one, but the colors change to brown and black on a buff ground. No examples of "Dimini" ware came to light. No trace of metals was discovered, but the excavations yielded numerous implements of stone: celts, pounders, slingshots, etc., and a considerable quantity of pins, needles, chisels and other instruments of bone. There were also numerous objects of terracotta including several fragmentary figurines. An astonishing quantity of animal bones was found in the mound, many of them well preserved, in fact almost petrified. One small grave also came to light which contained in a small space the closely packed bones of an adult skeleton. All these remains seem to belong to a pure Neolithic phase of civilization. At a few points here and there about the hill traces of later occupation appeared, chiefly in the form of several Early Helladic bothroi cut through the earlier deposit and filled with fragments of Early Helladic pottery.

E. P. B.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus, by Einar Gjerstad, pp. 342. (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1926). A-B Lundequistska Bokhandeln, Uppsala. 12 kroner.

Cyprus has not been well treated by archaeologists. When the island's great richness in ancient remains was first discovered it was exploited by excavators who dug for plunder to ornament museums rather than for information to illuminate ancient history and to throw light on the relations of the island with the neighboring countries. This is specially true of the vases and other antiquities of the prehistoric period which in the absence of written history are the only clues to the history of the island in the Bronze Age. Even the British Museum excavations at Enkomi "the Mycenae of Cyprus" were, to quote the author, "carried out in a very unsatisfactory way, carelessly and unmethodically." But for the splendid and patient work of Professor Myres, who has reduced the prehistoric pottery of Cyprus to order and evolved a classification out of the chaos, we should not know one tenth of what we do know about its history in the Bronze Age. His work in the Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum and in the Catalogue of the Cesnola Collection laid a secure basis for future investigation. Dr. Gjerstad is now attempting to widen our knowledge of Prehistoric Cyprus still further and the present volume is first fruit of his researches, and it is pleasant to read his acknowledgment to Professor Myres and to learn that the latter unselfishly allowed the younger scholar to make use of his unpublished material from Lapithos. A similar acknowledgment is paid to Dr. Markides. Dr. Gjerstad has by his explorations much increased the list of known prehistoric sites. He has even found a neolithic station and best of all he has excavated inhabited sites, the stratified remains of which are an indispensable corrective for the uncertainties of tombs, The author begins with a list of the prehistoric sites and follows this with an account of the finds, especially the pottery which is classified typologically. After this analysis of the material he proceeds to arrange it chronologically and to define the relationships of Cyprus with the outside world, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the Aegean. He divides the Bronze Age into the three periods which are now usual, Early, Middle, and Late, and each of these is subdivided into three phases. We thus have Early Cypriote I-III between 3000 and 2100 B.C., Middle Cypriote I, 2100-1900; II, 1900-1750; III, 1750-1600 B.C. and Late Cypriote I, 1600-1400; II, 1400-1200; III, 1200-1000 B.C. Apart from the typological classification of the Cypriote pottery and its chronological arrangement the differentiation of the foreign pottery found in Cyprus and the Cypriote pottery found in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt is most useful. The author is wisely cautious in his grouping of a number of vase types of varying fabrics under the heading of Syrian Ware. This is done more for convenience than as an arbitrary assignment of the vases to that region, for he candidly admits the origin of many of the types is a very open question. He advisedly adopts a rather skeptical attitude about the relationship of Cyprus and Asia Minor in the Early Bronze Age in view of the contradictory opinions advanced by others often on the slenderest evidence. They separated from each other in the Early Bronze Age and during this period Cyprus had no direct connections either with the Aegean or with the Balkans. The later relations to Asia Minor naturally remain in doubt because of our very limited knowledge of the Bronze Age culture of Asia Minor, especially of the districts nearest to Cyprus. In regard to Cyprus and the Aegean he shows that apart from one or two casual links with Crete in the Middle Period and in the beginning of the Late Period the great connections of the island are with the mainland through Rhodes. His separation of the Late Minoan and the Late Helladic finds is a distinct step in advance. He suggests that though intercourse with the mainland of Greece began in the first phase of the Late Period it was of small moment. In the second phase there was a marked turn to the west and Late Helladic III pottery is found in Cyprus in quantities. He thinks that this was all imported and rejects the idea of a Cypro-Mycenaean Ware. As during this same time he shows that the connections of Cyprus with Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were strong, there is every hope that further crystallization of these results will produce important historical conclusions particularly as regards the influence of the Mycenaean culture in the Levant.

A work of this type is naturally easy to criticize in detail, but taking it all in all it may be unhesitatingly recommended and we look forward with much interest to the author's future excavations and researches in Cyprus. To have written a work like this in a foreign language, English, is in itself an achievement and though there are some inevitable awkwardnesses of expressions or misuses of words, they will cause no trouble to those for whom the book is intended as the conclusions are clearly and unmistakably set down.

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The Architecture of Ancient Greece. An Account of its Historic Development, being the First Part of the Architecture of Greece and Rome by William J. Anderson and R. Phené Spiers. Revised and rewritten by William Bell Dinsmoor. pp. 241, pls. 65, figs. 83. 8 vo. New York, 1927, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$7.50.

The new edition of the Architecture of Greece and Rome by Anderson and Spiers, which first appeared in 1902, and in a revised form in 1907, has developed into a work of two volumes. The first of these, by Professor Dinsmoor of Columbia University, has now appeared. It is devoted to Greek architecture alone, and although the author has retained as far as possible the arrangement and language of the edition of 1907, the book is much more than a revision. It has practically become a new work. There are seven chapters entitled, the Aegean Age, the Origins of Greek Architecture, the Rise of the Doric Style, the Rise of the Ionic Style, the Culmination in Attica and the Peloponnesus, the Beginning of the Decadence, and the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Phases. Then follow maps, a chronological list of Greek temples, a bibliography, a glossary, and an index. Altogether there are 186 pages of text as compared with 144 in the edition of 1907.

The book contains much that is new. A striking example of this is the first chapter which is the best general survey of Aegean archaeology known to the reviewer. There are, of course, in it statements about which archaeologists will honestly differ, but as a whole it represents the best opinion of the day.

The most valuable part of the book will probably be regarded as that which deals with the development of the temple. Here the author is at his best. A few only of his ideas can be mentioned. He thinks (pp. 69f.) that the Greek temple is an independent growth and not a development from the Mycenaean megaron. He follows the edition of 1907 in denying a connection between the so-called "Proto-Doric" columns of Beni-Hasan and the earliest Greek Doric columns, and in this he will be very generally supported by Greek archaeologists. The Ionic capital he thinks (pp. 71f.) was derived from a combination of the Egyptian lily and papyrus. To pass to the temples themselves, we find him stating (p. 100)

in regard to the older of the great temples of Artemis at Ephesus that "The west (main) facade was made octastyle, the rear facade enneastyle (with nine columns), and on each flank twenty-one columns." Here he follows Fergusson and Lethaby in opposition to Murray, Hogarth, and Wilberg. Hogarth would restore it with eight columns on each of the fronts and twenty on the sides. Pliny's statement that there were CXXVII columns Dinsmoor would emend to CXVII in order to

make the number fit his reconstruction.

There are few things in the book which one would wish to criticise. The idea (p. 62) that only privileged persons could enter a Greek temple and "that the one view which the people had of the god (except perhaps at festivals) was from the open doorway, to the east, at sunrise" does not seem probable. It is more likely that access to a temple might be had by anybody who complied with the local regulations. See e.g., Euripides, Ion 228 and Herondas IV. Again, the statement that the excitement of religious festivals neutralized "the contempt which greater familiarity with the lifeless symbol in a temple might inspire" is hardly a happy one. The ancient Greek would be no more likely to have contempt for the statue of the god than the Roman Catholic today has for a statue of the Virgin; and in addition the cult statues would undoubtedly inspire admiration for their beauty as works of art. On p. 125 in connection with the Parthenon sculptures the words "Drawings said to have been made by Jacques Carrey" might better be expressed as "Drawings by an unknown artist once supposed to be Jacques Carrey." One would like, too, a little fuller discussion of secular buildings, though the author is right in laying his emphasis on the temples.

The plates are in general excellent, but an exception is that of the theatre at Ephesus (Plate LXV). Some of the figures taken over from the earlier edition are poor and should have been redrawn. In the Glossary several architectural terms used in the body of the work are not to be found, e.g., consoles (p. 131), rinceaux (p. 140), finial (p. 147), rosaces (p. 148), meta (p. 152), purlins (p. 155), battens (p. 156), tenons (p. 168), ogee (p. 178). Misprints are very rare. On

p. 102, fig. 27, should read Plate XXVII.

But these are small matters. The book is an excellent one and we should be grateful to Professor Dinsmoor for it. It should prove very useful alike to archaeologists and to students of architecture.

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PAPERS ON THE ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE MALAY PENINSULA, by I. H. N. Evans, pp. 164, pl. 43. London, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1927.

The volume consists "of papers on the pagan races of Malaya, on Malay beliefs, on Malay technology, and on some of the antiquities of the Peninsula." It embraces materials published by the author before, with important additions. It is subdivided into four parts, namely: Papers on the Pagan Races; Malay Beliefs; Malay and other Technology; and Archaeology.

The items of special interest are the sections dealing with the negritos of Siam,

and those referring to the prehistory of the Malay Peninsula.

The negritos studied particularly were those of the Chong district in Siam; but it was possible to make observations also on some other groups. The Chong negritos appear to be full-blooded. They are dark, though not absolutely black, in color, and show the usual short stature. Measurements of the head in six individuals show mesocephaly in the males, slight brachycephaly in the females. On

other negrito groups there are only notes. On the whole the data, both physical and cultural, leave much to be desired, though this applies to quantity rather than quality.

As to the archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, the author heard of a wild tribe who are said to be still using stone tools. All the stone implements which have yet been found in the Peninsula (except some from the Kuantan District of Pahang and the majority of those from cave deposits) "appear to be of a true neolithic culture, and it seems that they probably are of much more recent date than those of that type which are found in Europe." There are also instances of stone implements found at considerable depth, but their age, in view of the rapid erosion in these parts, is uncertain. "Rough implements of a palaeolithic (Chelleo-Mousterian like) type are not uncommon, but, in almost all cases, they have been found in association with implements which have been made by grinding."

Taking the cave remains of the Malay Peninsula, they show the following: Some of the implements are of palaeolithic type. The skeletal remains are very scarce and thus far insufficient to show anything definite. Red paint, probably for painting the body, was used. Cord-marked pottery ("au panier") was found in the caves, but only in the upper layers. It is ascribed to an upper (later) neolithic culture. It has been found with stone implements of the finely polished type. Human bones found were, in some cases, carbonized. Pounders, with grip depressions on opposite sides (sometimes only on one side) were found in a cave at Giouc-Giao in the Bac-Son massif and are said to have been common here. The mammalian remains seem to be confined to those of extant species. There are great similarities between this culture and the rude lithic culture of Indo-China.

The book is well printed and bound, and the illustrations are very serviceable, though one should like to see more and better portraits of the negrito.

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Körper und Rhythmus, Griechische Bildwerke, with an introduction by Friedrich Back, pp. 4, pls. 52. Teubner, Berlin, 1927. M. 4.

This slender volume of 52 full page figures gives selections of Greek art which are exhibited in an exposition in the Landesmuseum of Darmstadt to illustrate "Körper und Rhythmus in der Kunst der Griechen." The illustrations are taken chiefly from sculpture, with a few examples of vase painting and figurines. These are arranged in groups according to the movement of the figure.

G. W. ELDERKIN

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Epigraphische Untersuchungen, by R. Laqueur, Leipzig, Teubner, 1927. 10 M.

Ordinarily a decree passed by the popular assembly of a Greek city was prepared beforehand either by a committee such as the prytany of Athens, or by a board of officials, or by the individual who presented the motion. In the course of the debate amendments were often proposed and, if adopted, were either added as a rider to the original document or were incorporated in the body of the text. This combination of original motion and amendment forms the main part of Laqueur's study, and in pointing out amendments in the decrees which have hitherto been unobserved, he has made a notable contribution to epigraphical study.

Laqueur finds amendments in the body of Greek decrees, and their presence is revealed (1) by the repetition of formulae such as  $\delta i \delta \xi e \nu$  followed by  $\delta \epsilon \delta \delta \chi \theta a \iota$ , (2) by introductory phrases such as  $\kappa a i \delta \pi \iota \delta \eta$  or  $\delta i \delta \pi \sigma \delta \sigma \iota \iota \delta \nu$ , (3) by irregularities in grammatical structure, as, for example, the shift from the aorist to the present tense, or from the genitive absolute to nominative or accusative, (4) by additions after the order for publication is expressed, (5) by a repetition of the formula of publication, or of the name of the person in the motivation, or by the recurrence of similar ideas in different phraseology, (6) by the separation of formulae usually consecutive. Furthermore Laqueur considers those decrees where the document as recorded on stone bears evidence of being a fusion of two decrees passed at different times. In some cases this fusion is self-evident. In others it has not hitherto been noted.

The addition of a rider at the end of a decree offers no difficulty. But in cases where the scribe has incorporated the amendment in the body of the original motion, the fusion has often been awkwardly carried out and sometimes contradictory statements may be found in the same document. In offering this explanation of some of the difficult problems in the interpretation of Greek inscriptions Professor Laqueur has made a notable contribution to the study of Greek epigraphy. While we are not prepared to accept all his conclusions in this study, nevertheless, epigraphists and historians must hereafter take cognizance of his investigations and theories in the study and interpretation of ancient Greek records.

Allan Chester Johnson

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A HISTORY OF THE PHARAOHS, Volume II: from the accession of Amenemhet I of the twelfth dynasty to the death of Thutmose III of the eighteenth dynasty, 2111 to 1441 B.C., by Arthur Weigall, pp. xv+424, with 16 illustrations. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927. \$6.

The late Inspector-General of Antiquities of the Egyptian Government and member of the catalogue staff of the Cairo Museum has brought out with this volume the second of the set which the forthcoming Volume III will complete. His first volume with its new system of Egyptian chronology was reviewed in this JOURNAL, XXX, 2, 1926, pp. 191–193.

Mr. Weigail is no less cocksure of his facts in this volume than he was in the previous one, and it is difficult to refrain from relishing so refreshing an attitude. The bomb of chronological explosives which Mr. Weigall has cast into the entrenchments of the older school must have created considerable consternation; at all events, thus far no retaliatory explosive, either bombastic or inflammatory,

no retort even of tear gas, has appeared.

The outstanding points in the author's new solutions of the well recognized difficulties in Egyptian chronology may be stated at the outset. In his first volume, which closed with the end of the eleventh dynasty, Mr. Weigall outlined his new chronology, for the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasties. In this second volume he gives a table (pp. 4–20) of the years and dated events of the first eleven dynasties before he begins to fit the known material into the total from the Turin Papyrus, as he does for the twelfth dynasty (pp. 30–36). In a later table (pp. 224–233) he gives the dates for the dynasties XIII–XVII, and for the eighteenth alone. In his new and interesting table (pp. 239–241), in which by attributing thirteen years to the reign of Thutmose I and by dating the obelisks of Queen Hetshepsut in the sixteenth year of Thutmose II instead of Thutmose III, he arrives at what he calls, and at what seems to be, the key of the problem. Perhaps

most notable of his many new conclusions is the proof that the regnal years of the reigns of the Pharaohs coincided with the calendar years. Mr. Weigall has also corrected several dates which in his first volume were given approximately. He now gives the Sothic date as 1992 n.c. instead of "about 1990 n.c.," he corrects former date of 1577 n.c. for the establishment of the eighteenth dynasty to 1576 n.c., and the rising of Sirius as exactly 1543 n.c. instead of his former "about 1544 n.c."

It should be repeated here that Mr. Weigall bases his new chronology upon a reconstruction of the Palermo Stone annals and comparison with the totals of years given in the Turin Papyrus, his most important and irreproachable conclusion being that the ninth and eleventh dynasties were founded at the same time, the rulers of one reigning at Heracleopolis and of the other at Thebes. That gives him an unbroken chronology, astronomically fixed, from the first to the twelfth dynasties, and counting back gave the date 3407 B.C. for the accession of Menes, the founder of the first dynasty. His prettiest piece of work, which was hinted at in the first volume, and elucidated in the second, is the settling of the method of reckoning the regnal years, a thing which has never been understood hitherto. We may give briefly his final statements of proof. The reign of Menes ending in year 63 of the annals closes with the statement "6 months and 7 days," which means that he reigned 62 years, 6 months and 7 days. Now, his successor's reign begins with 4 months and 13 days. This seems to leave 45 days unaccounted for in a 365 day year, but this, as the only dating that does not tally with even calendar years, proves that Menes instituted the calendar. Manetho states that Hetshepsut reigned "21 years and 9 months," and so on, but for Thutmose I he says, "13 years." As that Pharaoh died on New Year's Day, as recorded in an inscription in which his daughter Hetshepsut states that she began her rightful reign on New Year's Day, the fact that his reign is the only one that has no fraction added to the regnal years proves the synchronization of the regnal and calendar years.

The story of the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty, whose dates Weigall fixes with a simple but uncanny certainty, reads almost like a novel. Were there not so many strange looking names, and if considerable of the accessory material had been relegated to notes, the "man on the street" both could and would read the narrative with tremendous interest. Particularly compelling is the way the author produces the date 1959 B.c. as that in which Joseph was released from prison, and reconstructs the Hebrew story from the Bible, the Talmud, and Josephus, and then fits the composite into the Egyptian sources.

Dynasties XIII–XVII do not take much space (pp. 136–233), and many of those pages are filled with chronological tables. The Pharaohs of these dynasties are little known, and their long and ill-looking names will tend to militate against close acquaintance. But Chapters VI–VII (pp. 234–405) which contain the story of the eighteenth dynasty is a piece of constructive, thrilling, and authoritative work. There is no other such impressive account of this great dynasty, in which Queen Hetshepsut plays as fine a part as any of the Thutmose triad. Tutenkhamon, as Weigall spells him, belongs here too, but his fame has become great not through his own deeds, but those of Carnarvon, Carter, Breasted, and others.

The comparisons which Weigall makes from the dates on monuments checked against the quoted versions of Manetho in Josephus, Africanus, Eusebius, and the Armenian version of Eusebius, gives him a chronology with which he challenges all other Egyptologists. He gives a splendid account of the joint reign of Hetshepsut and Thutmose III, and devotes his last chapter entirely to the sole reign of the third Thutmose. In passing he corrects Breasted and the German School, who place the battle of Megiddo on May 15, and sets the date as April 29. The author

also takes a passing shot at the shipment (one in 1877 to London, and the other in 1880 to New York City) of two obelisks which Thutmose III had set up in Heliopolis. Of the one sent to England, Weigall says, "The least reparation the Londoners of today could make to the outraged spirit of the grand old warrior, Thutmose III, would be to keep his sacred jubilee monument clean, and not to dub the pathetic thing 'Cleopatra's Needle."

If Mr. Weigall's third volume, which will begin with the history of the first Rameses of the nineteenth dynasty, is as good as the two which have appeared, many people will be saved the supposed necessity of writing histories of Egypt.

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The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italic Antiquity, by Dr. F. M. J. De Waele. The Hague, Jacob van der Doesstraat, 1927.

Dr. De Waele has made a valuable and fascinating study of the magic rod in the art and literature of classical antiquity, including the rod of Hermes,  $\dot{\rho}\dot{\alpha}\beta\delta\sigma$  or  $\kappa\eta\rho\delta\kappa\omega\nu$ , the thyrsus of Dionysus, the staff of Asklepios, the rod of Kirke, the mixing-rod of Persephone, the rods of the herald, and the soothsayer, the sceptre of the Homeric king, the festuca of the lictors, the hasta sanguinea of the fetiales, and many others. The author is in agreement with recent authorities in holding that the  $\kappa\eta\rho\delta\kappa\omega\nu$  is identical with the  $\dot{\rho}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\beta}\delta\sigma$ s in its origin and that the first form of the latter was a "Zwieselstab," a forked stick described by the word  $\tau\rho\iota\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\tau\eta\lambda\nu\nu$  in the Hymn to Hermes, v, 530. The original apotropaic value of the forked stick is expressed in the latter part of that verse—

χρυσείην τριπέτηλου, άκήριου ή σε φυλάξαι.

As Dr. De Waele says, "it was a kind of preventive, used to protect its bearer." He wisely refuses to give a definite answer to the questions who first carried this forked stick for this purpose and what relation it has to some primary function of Hermes, in whose hands it appears in both Iliad and Odyssey, agreeing as he does with Boetzkes that there are too many possible hypotheses to make any one beyond cavil.

In discussing the evolution of the form of the rod he notes that the plaiting of the ends of the forked stick, which results in the figure of eight form, and the other alterations, such as the serpents, are apotropaic and an effective means for increasing the power of the bearer. In this, too, he is at one with Thraemer, who emphasizes the protective value attached, especially by those of the lower stratum, to the serpents and the ram's head in warding off evil.

The discussion of the transference of the magic power of the  $\dot{\rho}\dot{\alpha}\beta\delta\sigma$  to the  $\kappa\eta\rho\dot{\nu}\kappa\iota\sigma\nu$  of the herald is excellent. He points to the Talthybios relief as having the first example of this emblem of the herald known to us in Greek art. The word  $\kappa\eta\rho\dot{\nu}\kappa\iota\sigma\nu$  occurs first in Thucydides and Herodotus.

Although Hermes is the special possessor of the  $\dot{\rho}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\beta}\delta\sigma$ , other deities use it on occasion, as is but natural with a rod of such an origin, to which such power is attached. Of the witch-goddesses it is most potent in the hand of Kirke. Even Athena uses it in the Odyssey. It is an interesting point that the magic of the healing deity Asklepios is always practised without the aid of his staff. The little rod in the hand of Persephone on the Locrian terra-cotta reliefs is said by Dr. De Waele to be the same as the little rod of Kirke and used for stirring the sacred mixture in the bowl held by the goddess.

In the discussion of the rod of Dionysus, the thyrsus, a rod famous as that of Hermes, he follows Reinach in the Thracian derivation of the word and in the belief that the thyrsus must, like the narthex, have been a simple stalk or branch. He speaks of the thyrsus as being by its magical power an effective weapon in the hands of the Maenads and in his reference to the help given to king Argeus of Macedonia by the mythical followers of Dionysus, the klodones, says that the Maenads had been armed by Argaeus and then put to flight with their thyrsi the Talantioi and their king. The suggestion is that the Maidens from the Hill actually struck blows with their thyrsi. Polyaenus, however, says that the king told the maidens to appear, ἐπιφανῆναι, to the enemy when the latter started to advance. They did appear and were descending from the hill, waving their thyrsi, with their garlands hiding their faces, when in the distance the Illyrian king thought they were men and took to flight in terror, leaving arms and baggagetrains, without waiting to meet the oncoming host of thyrsus-bearers. It is clear from the narration that the king had not armed the maidens, but relied on the magic power of the thyrsus-bearers.

The discussion of the gradual loss of power of the  $\kappa\eta\rho\dot{\nu}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\nu$  and the use of a smooth, plain rod for the typically magic deeds of Hermes and other conjurers from the fifth century on is illustrated from works of art, and the further development of this wand is treated in various connections in the book. It is curious that there is but one example in classical art of the use of the magic wand by Medea. Dr. De Waele says that her magic box for her ointment and her herbs, and her branch or twig for sprinkling, play a much more important part with this witch than her wand.

Dr. De Waele has chosen an excellent motto for his delightful book—the lines from Goethe:

"Wünschelruten sind hier, sie zeigen am Stamm nicht die Schätze:

Nur in der fühlende Hand regt sich das magische Reis."

He shows in this study that he himself has indeed "die fühlende Hand."

The illustrations are many and excellent, and his command and use of the material for his subject in art and literature, and in the work of other scholars, manifest the scholarship and good sense of the author.

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A CRETAN STATUETTE IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, A STUDY IN MINOAN COSTUME, by A. J. B. Wace, pp. 49, pls. 13, figs. 2. Cambridge, 1927.

The Fitzwilliam Statuette, though of unknown provenance, is said to come from a point east of Candia, and from the discoloration of the stone it is thought by Dr. Wace to have been in a shrine which was destroyed by fire. The material of the statuette is Cretan marble of poor quality.

In the first chapter of the book on the "Provenance and Technique" we learn that the statuette was made in two pieces joined at the waist by means of a peg inserted in the upper half of the figure. This peg fits into a circular cutting in the top of the skirt, apparently much as Greek column drums were joined. While this system of construction in two parts seems hardly necessary in the case of a statuette of stone, the author is of the opinion that the sculptor was influenced by the coroplasts of Eastern Crete who usually made the terracotta statuettes in two pieces from the Middle Minoan I to the Late Minoan III period.

The second chapter, the "Description and Costume," shows an exact knowledge of dressmaking and gives a detailed description of the flared skirt, the apron cut on the bias, the placket, the cutting and boning of the bodice, etc.

Chapter III, "Analogous Illustrations of Costume," is particularly valuable, as it describes many well-known examples of Minoan and Mycenacan female figures,

whether in fresco, bronze, gold and ivory, or terracotta. Each part of the costume—headdress, bodice, apron, and skirt—is given in detail including the decorative patterns and colors used.

In the chapter on "Textile Materials and Methods," the author's special knowledge of textiles has made it of great interest. The opinion is expressed that linen material decorated with inwoven patterns of colored thread as well as linen embroidered in wool was used in Minoan-Mycenaean times. Bead work and applied metal work were also possible.

The present restoration of the Fitzwilliam lady shows the flounces of the skirt horizontal on the sides and in front, and meeting in a V-shaped point in the center of the back. This may be correct and it is, of course, unsafe to make suggestions on the basis of photographs alone. Since, however, the figure has a central pivot at the waist, it may perhaps be that the skirt should be reversed and that the pointed flounces belong in the front. The bronze statuette from Berlin which is of contemporary date is described as having flounces horizontal in back, but dipping to a point in front. The chryselephantine statue in Boston has flounces pointed in back and in front both, but those in front are deeper and more accentuated.

The author speaks of the placket of the skirt in the case of the Petsofas terracotta as being below the point of the bodice in front and covered with the ends of the girdle. In the present arrangement of the Fitzwilliam statuette if the placket is in a similar position it must have been cut specially, as the author thinks that the material joined where the flounces came together in points at the back. This difficulty would be overcome by reversing the skirt. If one thinks that by so doing the hips would be too high in comparison with the position of the abdomen, one needs but to look at the chryselephantine statue in Boston to note how low is the swell of the abdomen and at the Woman with the Casket from Tiryns to see how high up the curve of the hips may occur. Moreover, by reversing the skirt, the girdle would more nearly correspond to that of the Boston Goddess, for her girdle is higher in front than in back.

The author concludes his study by saying that the date of the Fitzwilliam Statuette is L. M. I, namely 1600 s.c., that she is probably a votary and originally formed part of a cult group. The important fact is that the Fitzwilliam Statuette is "the earliest piece of true sculpture in stone yet found in Greek soil and is . . . almost two centuries older than the Lion Gate of Mycenae."

KATE McK. ELDERKIN

PRINCETON, N. J.

Essays in Aegean Archaeology, Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in Honour of His 75th Birthday, edited by S. Casson, pp. ix+142, pls. 21, frontispiece, and figs. Oxford University Press, 1927.

It comes as something of a shock to those who are not personally acquainted with Sir Arthur Evans to find that he has fulfilled a complete lustrum beyond man's allotted span of life, and that in the course of nature his long and brilliant career as an active archaeologist must soon come to an end. In the island of Crete his enterprise, which has latterly been directed towards the restoration of Minoan monuments, appears as keen as it was a couple of decades ago. Of his recent writings, it may be said that, so far are they from showing any of the weaknesses that we associate with advancing age, they possess not only a middle-age vigor and precision but likewise no small element of youthful energy and inspiration.

The studies which this book contains are slighter than those ordinarily found in the festgabe type of work. It was seemingly the purpose of the producers to bring out a volume of moderate size which might enjoy a much wider circulation than the usual sumptuous tome. The compliment paid to Sir Arthur thereby is all the more genuine. As regards the contributors, the name of no living English scholar who has greatly distinguished himself in Aegean research—with the notable exception of Mr. A. J. B. Wace—is lacking.

In the first article, Professor V. Gordon Childe, of Edinburgh, indicates certain Minoan influences on the Bronze Age culture of Central Europe. He finds that various weapons and trinkets, imported presumably in exchange for the gold of Transylvania, entered the region during the L. M. II and III periods, by way of the Danube. Dr. A. E. Cowley, of Oxford, contributes a note on a number of similarities which he observes between Minoan signs and Cypriote syllabaries. The subject of Aegean writing is further touched upon by Mr. T. E. Peet, who discusses—with somewhat negative results, it must be acknowledged—an Egyptian tablet in the British Museum which purports to supply a list of "Keftiu" names. A strong defense of the term Keftiu as denoting the ancient Cretans, and not, as has been maintained, Cilicians, is furnished by the veteran scholar, Dr. H. R. Hall, of the British Museum, who in an additional note draws attention to a predynastic Egyptian double-axe found at Luxor.

Dr. L. R. Farnell writes a lengthy and valuable essay on the subject of the debt owed by Greek religion to Crete. His study appears to have been just too early to have encountered the Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion of Nilsson. His views are distinctly discouraging to those who put their confidence in easy, if brilliant, conjecture. Mr. E. J. Forsdyke discusses a late Mycenaean vase in the British Museum, and Professor J. L. Myres publishes several "bird-jugs" from Cyprus in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford. While the latter writer's observations of form and design are admirable, his suggestions

regarding the technology of the pieces appear very doubtful.

Dr. G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, publishes a number of Cretan coins from the Seager Collection. Owing to the necessarily late date of these, this article seems quite out of place in the book. The interesting suggestion is made by Dr. D. G. Hogarth (recently deceased), of the Ashmolean Museum, that the so-called nature goddess figurines frequently found in Aegean tombs are of the nature of ushebtis, destined to minister to the wants of the dead in the future world. It would be interesting to observe, if possible, in forthcoming excavations on Aegean sites, whether female types of this sort are to be found invariably in the tombs of men. In a careful paper, Sp. N. Marinatos attempts to reconstruct a dagger with representations of swimmers which was found in a Vaphio tomb. Dr. G. Rodenwaldt discusses (in German) a well-preserved votive cup and the fragment of another, which have within them the slightly modelled figure of a man with his hand raised in adoration. He assigns the type to the L. M. period. References to Crete in Babylonian texts and in the Old Testament are treated in an illuminating way by Dr. A. H. Sayee.

The most pretentious article is perhaps the concluding one, from the pen of the Greek scholar, M. Stephanos Xanthoudides. He publishes a number of potter's-wheel disks, or "wheel-bats," as they are more generally called in this country at least, which were discovered on various Minoan sites in Crete and were formerly regarded as tables or the lids of pithoi. The resemblance of these to modern "bats" is indeed most extraordinary. The study contains also some account of the methods of modern Cretan potters who specialize in the making of pithoi.

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